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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HUME.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXVI.

JULY, 1901.

No. 1.

GREAT MOVEMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE SWEEP OF THE CENTURY AND ITS MEANING.

THE mariner must know the currents of the sea he sails and watch the winds that press upon his ship, or the vessel may be driven through the mists upon some dangerous shore, while he, absorbed in daily routine, reckless pleasure, or unthinking toil, is quite unconscious of the peril, which proper care and watchfulness might easily have averted. So we who sail life's sea must know the movements of our time to save ourselves and the ship of state from wreck, and guide the vessel toward her port through smooth, safe waters unshaken by the tempest.

Some of the currents in the sea of life to-day are so powerful and so obvious that even the most careless voyager can scarcely fail to note them, though he may not understand them. The increase of wealth and power through invention and discovery, steam and electricity, manufactures, commerce, railroads, telegraphs and machinery; the growth of knowledge and its wide dissemination; the development of liberty and democracy; the trend toward union, coöperation, and organization; and the spread of civilization round the globe by colonization, commerce, and conquest—these are patent to all, as

is also the progressive aggregation of enormous wealth in the hands of a few individuals, resulting from processes of industrial organization dominated by the ideal of commercial conquest, and intended to secure the mastery of the many by the few instead of the union of all for the benefit of all.

The meaning of these great movements is not as obvious as their existence; yet it is not difficult to decipher. The last named movement means *aristocracy, mastery, despotism, power for the few*, industrial limitation and restriction for the rest; the other movements mean *the liberation and enrichment of life for all the people*—the concentration of wealth entails the sure subjection and impoverishment of the masses: while the growth of knowledge, wealth and power, union and civilization, linked with liberty, democracy, education and coöperation, must make all the people rich and free.

These movements of the nineteenth century, therefore, fall into two opposing groups—one lifting the whole world into freedom and plenty, the other capturing the world for the profit and pleasure of the few; one tending to elevate a little body of monopolists and submerge the rest, the other tending to elevate all. Another influence more important than any other, perhaps, but not yet named, because it could not be put in the list of obvious movements, is the deepening and broadening of sympathy and the rising power of its best ideals. This influence joins the group that tends to enrich and liberate all human life, and would of itself in time, if left unchecked, conquer the concentration of wealth from the inside and abolish the despotism of capital by abdication.

Let us examine, first, the united currents carrying all toward a richer and freer life, which together make the grandest movement of the age; the gulf stream of the century just passed; a compound movement toward the mastery of Nature and the emancipation of humanity; the subjection of material forces and the liberation of life—the transfer of servitude from man to matter.

How much the century has done to free mankind from the limitations of ignorance and poverty and the arbitrary control

of his fellow-man, no language yet invented can adequately express. A hundred years ago man was the slave of Nature and of man. He lived like one imprisoned in the midst of paradise—confined in a land filled with treasures and magic sources of delight, but with no instruments or knowledge to unlock the doors or move aside the heavy curtains of his cage, or open the treasure-houses fastened with Nature's secret combinations. But one great century has changed all this. To her favorite epoch Nature has revealed her cunning fastenings, so that curtain after curtain has been drawn, and many all-important doors and avenues, with teeming harvests, blossoming orchards, healing fountains, picture galleries, power plants, and treasure vaults are open to our use.

It is difficult even to imagine the difference of conditions now and in the early years of the century. Only an actual and sudden transfer in full maturity of faculty from one life to the other could give a really vivid sense of the change—a transition worthy the pen of a brilliant novelist, but far beyond the reach of common English. A Stevenson, a Howells, a Doyle, a Twain, or a Bellamy might do justice to the theme, but no mild scientific or historic sketch can give more than a faint conception of the marvelous transformation wrought by the intellectual and material development of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the nearest approach to a realization of the change without the novelist's aid may be attained by taking a list of all the inventions and discoveries—scientific, educational, moral, political, industrial, and social achievements—of the century, and then devote a month or two to picturing in our thought with due intensity the condition of things if all these discoveries and achievements were swept into oblivion. Think what life would be without the railroad—only the stage-coach to carry our letters and ourselves across the country! Think of pulling oranges from Florida or California to Boston stores by team! Think of a city without a street-car or a bicycle, a cooking stove or a furnace, a gas jet or electric light, or even a kerosene lamp! Think of a land without photographs or photogravures,

Christmas cards or color prints! Think of striking a flint and steel, whenever you want a light, till a robust spark may condescend to touch the tinder and ignite it! A match that fails to light at the first or second stroke is a cause of profanity now—of what stern stuff was morality made in those old days of flint! No wonder Washington could not tell a lie, living in an age of stone, with little or nothing to lie about, and no sensational papers to corrupt his veracity and provoke the habit of deception by the daily impact of untruth!

How times have changed! Science and invention have harnessed steam and electricity to do the world's work and developed hundreds of utilities and comforts to deepen and broaden modern life. (George Washington never rode in a trolley-car or even a horse-car, or talked through a telephone, or ate rolled oats, or saw a locomotive, or a steamboat, or an elevator, or an arc light, or a department store, or a pile driver, or an asphalt road, or a phonograph, or a moving picture, or even an inactive photograph. Ben Franklin, one of the wisest men of the olden time, wrote his letters with a quill and blew on the ink to dry it. He did not know enough to use a blotter, and never dreamed of a fountain pen or a typewriter, or even a pen of steel. He never rode a bicycle, or wore a pair of rubbers, or had his trousers made on a sewing-machine, or lit his candle with a match. He never heard of a bath-room or furnace or electric launch, or liquid air, or a barbed-wire fence, or smelled chloroform or listerine, or had a rebellious tooth pulled without pain by the aid of laughing gas or cocaine. Even Napoleon could not send a telegram or ship his troops by rail, or secure breech-loaders or smokeless powder or submarine ships, or take kodak views of his battles, or get a chromo for his greatest victory, or quell an insurrection in his appendix by having it cut out without danger from the nervous shock or from blood poisoning. Hundreds of thousands of lives could have been saved in Napoleon's wars if the use of anesthetics and antiseptics had been known—yes, millions if the anesthetics had been used at the proper time and in sufficient quantity on Bonaparte himself!)

The development of industrial power and time and labor saving machinery is one of the principal facts of the century. In raising wheat, from breaking the ground to sacking the grain, one hour with modern machinery will accomplish as much as twenty-two hours with the old-time plow, sickles, flails, etc. Four men with the aid of machinery can plant, raise, harvest, mill, and carry to market wheat enough to supply with bread one thousand people for a year. To shell 60 bushels of corn by hand takes 95 hours of labor time; with machinery 1 hour is enough. To make a plow by hand took 118 hours, with a labor cost of \$5.34; with machinery now a plow is made in $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours, at a labor cost of 79 cents. To build a standard platform road-wagon with two movable seats and a leather dashboard takes $53\frac{1}{2}$ hours of labor time with machinery, against $204\frac{1}{4}$ hours with the old hand tools, and the labor cost with machinery is \$8.48 against \$43.07 with hand work.

In sawing lumber by machinery, the saving of labor time is 375 to 1 and the saving of muscular exertion much greater still. One man with a double-surface planer will smooth as many boards in a day as 40 carpenters with hand planes. To make .2 hardwood bedsteads now takes 41 hours and $6\frac{1}{4}$ minutes, against 571 hours by hand, or 14 to 1 in favor of machinery. The labor cost by hand was \$141.90 and by machinery \$6.06. One woman with a sewing-machine can do as much as 12 to 20 women with needle and thread. The sewing of 100 yards of Wilton carpet takes $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours by machinery and 27 hours by hand. The making of 100 lbs. of 6-oz. carpet tacks requires 8 hours to-day, against 810 with the old hand tools—100 to 1 in favor of modern methods. In the making of hammers a man can do as much in a day with machinery as in 14 days without it. By machinery now one man can make as many 4-penny steel cut nails in a day as 130 men could make in 1813 (23,000 nails in 2 hours, against 260 hours to make that many nails in the olden time).

The making of a bar of soap in the early years of the century took twenty-fold the labor time that is required to-day. The labor cost of making 25,000 lbs. of laundry soap is \$3.25 now, against \$43.20 in former years. A McKay machine enables one workman to sole 300 to 600 pairs of shoes a day, while he could handle but five or six pairs in a day by former methods. The ruling of 100 reams of single-cap writing paper with faint lines on both sides required 4,800 hours with ruler and quill in 1819, while with the modern ruling machine the work is more accurately and uniformly done in $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours with full allowance for foreman's time, etc.—a ratio of 1,920 to 1 in favor of the modern method.

A good compositor will set 6 or 8 thousand ems in a ten-hour day by hand, while with a linotype he will set 50,000 to 70,000 ems in the same time. A modern printing-press with the help of 5 men will do the work of 3,000 to 4,000 persons. Franklin printed his paper on a little press with a big lever pulled down by hand for each impression, and making 60 or 70 impressions an hour. What would he think if he could see one of our giant steam cylinder presses printing, folding, cutting, pasting, and counting 70,000 or 80,000 papers an hour? Two persons with modern machinery print, fold, and gather the sheets for 1,000 pamphlets of 32 pages each in 7.6 minutes, while with a hand-press and bone folder 25 hours were needed—197 to 1 in favor of modern machinery. The total time consumed in making and printing the pamphlets was 21 times as great by former methods as at present. The labor cost of printing and binding 1,000 32-page pamphlets with the aid of modern machinery is 14 cents, against \$7.10 by former methods.

To make 12 dozen pairs of trousers with machinery takes $148\frac{1}{4}$ hours of labor time, against 1,440 hours by hand, with labor costs of \$24 and \$72 respectively. For a dozen pairs of seamless half-hose, cotton, the labor cost is 9 cents with modern machinery, against \$1.30 by former methods—with labor time 80 to 1 in favor of modern machinery. With the old spinning-wheel, one man could spin 5 hanks of No. 32 twist in a week; now 55,098 hanks are made in the same time—or 11,000 times as much for one man with the aid of two small boys. A girl in a cotton mill can turn out calico enough in a year to clothe 1,200 persons, more or less, depending somewhat on the size of the persons and the number of changes of cotton they have.

The railway, motor-car, bicycle, and automobile are fast relieving the horse of his ancient burdens and transforming him into a leisured aristocrat. A first-class locomotive will pull as much as 1,800 horses or 10,000 men, and a day of labor with the railway (i.e., ten hours of labor for one man in connection with the railway service) will move as many tons of freight ten miles as 200 days with a two-horse wagon and driver. We cross the ocean in 5 days instead of 25 or 30, and go from Boston to San Francisco in less time than it took our great-great-grandfathers to go from Boston to Philadelphia. We travel a mile a minute in place of ten miles an hour, as in Franklin's day. The news from South Africa, China, and Europe is flashed round the world every day, so that our papers each morning print yesterday's news for the globe. When Washington died the fact was not known in Boston for two weeks after the event. In 1870, if A in New York wished to hold a conversation with B in Chicago, he must travel 800 miles to do it; now he can go to his telephone or round the corner to a public station and talk to B by electricity, which is able to fly many thousands of miles a second.

Illustrations of the enormous increase of power and saving of time and labor achieved in "The Wonderful Century" might be indefinitely extended. Further facts from the data accu-

culated by Carroll D. Wright, as Labor Commissioner for the United States, will be given in a later article on "Industrial Development." The total mechanical and horse power of the country is equal to the labor power of half a billion willing slaves, or an average of 20 to each human worker. Before the twentieth century ends we may have the equivalent of 50 or 60 slaves per man, or more than 100, perhaps, for every family. A family with 100 tireless slaves, or even the 30 or so we have on the average now, need not labor very hard, and if the benefits of power and mechanical development were fairly distributed among the people a few hours' easy work every day on the part of each able adult would enable all to live in comfort. If the principles of equality that have entered so strongly into political life in the nineteenth century, changing absolutism into constitutional government based on universal suffrage, should enter with equal strength into industrial life in the years to come, the result would be a far nobler civilization based on universal comfort—the principle of equality or copartnership, in unison with vast industrial power, labor-saving machinery, and thorough organization, would make this world a paradise in comparison with which old Eden would fade into insignificance. There were not people enough in Eden to make it interesting for any great length of time, and there were too many wild beasts in the immediate neighborhood. No chance to have a fine house filled with beautiful pictures and handsome furniture, or to take a Pullman to Niagara or Yosemite, or to see Julia Marlowe, or Joe Jefferson, or Irving, or Sherlock Holmes. No chance to hear Sousa's band, or the Symphony Orchestra. No telegrams, telephones, phonographs, or biographs; no libraries or schools; not a single book or newspaper, nor even a chance to cook a decent meal of victuals; nothing but gooseberries, plums, and crab-apples that made the eater thereof desire to leave the premises. I would rather live in America now with all its imperfections than with Eve in the ancient garden; the means of life are greater, infinitely greater, and only their fair diffusion is needed to fill the world with happiness.

Knowledge has marvelously increased and has been diffused among all classes to a degree unknown in former times. Geology, biology, psychology, sociology, and many other sciences are developments of recent years; almost the whole body of modern science, except pure mathematics and the rudiments of astronomy, physics, and chemistry, is the creation of the nineteenth century. The spectroscope has analyzed the stars. The Roentgen rays have lighted up the innermost recesses of the human body and made it easy to see through even the least transparent man. The camera has registered more than the eye can see, and the phonograph more than the ear can hear. With the telegraph, telephone and phonograph, color photography, the vitascope, and kinetophone, we can bring the world to our doors. The molecular theory of gases and definite proportions in chemical union, the wave theory and the measurement of light vibrations, the mechanical equivalent of heat, the conservation of energy and the correlation of forces, the glacial epoch, the meteoric amendment to the Nebular Hypothesis, electrical and magnetic developments, the new surgery and the germ theory of disease, the results of hypnotism and psychic research, the localization of the functions in the brain, the scientific interpretation of history, the antiquity of man, embryology and organic evolution, have given us totally new conceptions of the universe and man. To hold the records of phenomena that science has studied and the laws that have been deciphered requires a library a thousand times as big as the library of science a hundred years ago. A high-school boy to-day knows more about the *laws* of Nature, life, mind, history, and society than the greatest savant of the eighteenth century.

A hundred years ago ignorance held the chief domain. The area in the light was but a speck to the long stretches in the dark. Schools were few and poorly equipped. Even the universities stopped with Horace and Aristotle, and gave their chief attention to Virgil and Homer. Greek and Latin were the warp and woof of a college education, weaving a brilliant tissue of ancient myth and poesy in the brain and bring-

ing men to a high degree of unfitness for modern life. Free public schools existed only in America, and were quite rudimentary. Libraries were luxuries unknown to most communities. Newspapers and magazines were curiosities to the majority of people. The literature in common use was limited to the Bible and "Pilgrim's Progress," other books being rare outside the homes of the well-to-do. With the masses lack of information was compound and exhaustive, and even the best informed did not possess a thousandth part of the knowledge easily available to-day.

Sympathy, too, has grown, and with it justice and the moral elevation of the people. Kindness to animals, laws against pugilism and gambling, the growth of temperance and tolerance, reform of penal codes and prison discipline, improved conditions of labor, amelioration of war, the Red Cross Society, the Czar's manifesto, the growing strength of the Peace Association, the rising demand for the realization of brotherhood, and a hundred other indications point to the moral development of the century and the evolution of a new ideal.

The development of political liberty surpasses anything in political history before our time, and governments have become democratic to an extent that makes the nineteenth century the century of democracy. Since the closing years of the eighteenth century, almost every nation in Europe has passed from absolutism to constitutional government, with the final power in the masses of the people. The same is true of South America. In North America and Australasia also the rule of the people is established. Slavery and serfdom have been abolished throughout the civilized world. Three continents are free, and important parts of two others are also in the light.

In 1800, only 1 country, with less than one-hundredth of the population of the globe, and less than one-fiftieth of its land area, enjoyed the blessings of popular government free of despotic control. Throughout the rest of the world, with varying forms of government, the actual rule, internal or external, was despotic. In 1900, nearly 50

countries, with more than a quarter (30 hundredths) of the total population of the globe, and over two-fifths of its land area, possessed constitutional governments, with the fundamental powers of legislation and taxation in the hands of the people: a fifty-fold growth of popular government as to countries, thirty-fold as to population ratios, and a twenty-fold growth as to area. A hundred years ago less than 2 thousandths of the land and people of the globe were controlled by free governments and clear of the taint of slavery or serfdom (one 650th of the people, to be exact, and one 830th of the land); now more than half ($\frac{11}{20}$) of the people in the world, with nearly two-thirds ($\frac{11}{17}$) of its land area, and almost the whole water surface of the globe are included in or controlled by countries having constitutional governments and laws prohibiting slavery and serfdom. The dominance of free institutions has grown 540-fold in respect to land controlled (or from 1.2 thousandths of the world in 1800 to about 650 thousandths in 1900), and 350-fold in respect to population (or from 1.54 thousandths to 550 thousandths)—a gain 140 times as great as the growth of the world's population.* It must not be understood, however, that an ideal freedom has been reached in half the world or indeed in any part of it. Great as has been the advance of liberty and democracy in the nineteenth century, there is plenty of room for improvement in the twentieth, not only in respect to the extension of free institutions but in respect to their quality. As we shall see hereafter no country has yet perfected the substance and machinery of free government. Nevertheless, although much still remains to be done for liberty and self-government, the progress toward free institutions in the nineteenth century was of unexampled strength and breadth, and the world to-day is white as an angel's wing with freedom's holy light compared with the darkness of the eighteenth century.

* The facts upon which these generalizations are based will be stated in a special article on "The Political Movement of the Nineteenth Century."

Free thought and free speech have evolved with political freedom. In religious thought and expression the change is specially marked. A little more than a hundred years ago intolerance was a profession, an organized cult, an established institution;—creed and dogma reigned supreme. New ideas were regarded in much the same light as microbes are to-day. Intellectual activity touching religion was a dangerous disease. The Inquisition was still alive in Europe, and men could be cooked for their beliefs. Even in America, men that held unfashionable opinions on religious matters, and mentioned the fact, were treated as social pests. Doubt was a deadly sin and tolerance was a crime. To question the teachings of the Church was to incur the penalties of perdition, and, being infectious, the salvation of others was imperiled. Such iniquity could not be tolerated. The pestilence of unbelief must be stamped out. Unquestioning faith was one of the conditions of existence. A man could hardly hope to retain his employment if he were so perverse as not to believe as his employer did in respect to the creation, the stopping of the sun, Jonah and the whale, Noah and the ark, and other essential elements of the spiritual life of those good old days. And no respectable person would associate with a man sufficiently wicked to doubt eternal damnation or total depravity, or any other of the comforting doctrines from which our gentle ancestors derived religious consolation. Investigation was outlawed. Thought was in chains, and religion was buried in petrified theology.

Now tolerance is a virtue recognized in large degree even by the clergy, and practised by the rest of the community to an extent that makes our time the age of tolerance as compared with any period of the past. A man may hold his judgment in suspense about the hot hereafter, and question the whale episode or the stoppage of the sun, without losing his job or discovering a premature perdition in his social environment. We do not discharge men for their religious opinions, but only for their political opinions, or for believing too much in labor organization; and we do not expel a man from good

society on account of his thinking or the cut of his theology, but only on account of bad conduct, disagreeable disposition, loss of fortune, or the cut of his clothes. Religious tolerance has grown so great that it is beginning to be safe for a man to tell the truth, expressing his honest doubts and conclusions, whatever they may be, and finding, except in fossil communities here and there, a respectful hearing for his thought. The light has touched even the pulpit, and preachers forget to proclaim the iniquity of entertaining ideas different from those adopted by their own denomination. Sometimes they go so far as to speak in a church of another creed, and we have heard a Beecher and a Phillips Brooks declare that religion is a *life*, not a creed. Best of all, the men who preach theological doctrines least and the Golden Rule and noble living most are the men the people love and the Church delights to honor. Thus, while liberal thought has banished some of the errors that clung to religion, the real heart of Christianity as taught by Jesus himself has gained a stronger and stronger hold upon life, and may at no distant day make the Christian ideal of brotherhood a controlling power even in government and industry.

Injustice prevailed one hundred years ago in many forms that are extinct to-day. The slave trade was a lawful industry. Feudal serfdom bound the peasants of Europe like cattle to the land, and chattel slavery blackened even the Constitution of the United States. Pirates infested the ocean and open robbery prospered in many lands. In Europe a man might be arrested and locked up without warrant or legal process and held without trial. In England man-catching was systematically practised in the sea-board towns. Press-gangs seized men at night, dragged them on board a man-of-war, and held them for duty in the navy without redress. No effort was made at the reformation of criminals. Prisons were slaughter-pens, chambers of torture, and nurseries of vice. Capital punishment might be inflicted for any one of 160 offenses. Stealing an apple or a plum from a rich man's orchard was as grave a crime as murder. Imprisonment for debt was still permitted,

and a man might languish in jail a life-time because he could not pay a few shillings he had borrowed. Women had very few rights in law or in fact. A woman belonged to her husband, and all she earned was his. He owned her clothes, her jewelry, her mirror, her complexion, and even her false teeth, and might chastise her like a child if she did not behave to suit him.

Slavery and serfdom have been abolished. Piracy is dead. The press-gang has vanished and thievery is trying to hide itself. Our principal robbers do not club their victims on the highways, but carry them in street-cars and railway trains, or capture their money politely with stocks and trusts. Nothing has improved more than robbery. Instead of a dangerous encounter with pistols, to get the goods and cash that two or three travelers may have with them, the modern highwayman builds a railroad system with other people's money, or a gas or electric plant, or a street railway, or secures a telegraph or telephone franchise, or waters some stock, or gets a rebate on oil, beef, or wheat, or forms a giant trust and robs the population of a continent at a stroke. Then the robber buys a newspaper or caresses it with greenbacks, and has himself entitled a "Napoleon of Finance," while the rudimentary, undeveloped aggressor or speculative survival of more primitive times who steals a bag of flour instead of a grain crop, or takes a few hundreds instead of a million, has to put up with the old-time, uncivilized name of "thief." Imprisonment for debt has been abolished, and also imprisonment for theft—if it is committed according to the law and by methods approved by the particular variety of "Napoleon" having control of the government. Capital punishment is administered under our law for only two offenses—murder and treason, though the death penalty is still incurred, outside of the law sometimes, in punishment for slander, violence, or offenses against the family.

Some attempt is made at the reformation of criminals; personal liberty and trial by jury are guaranteed, and on the whole are well enforced. Women have made much progress

toward equality—economic, social, and political. They are no longer regarded as personal property, as in days of yore; but under most governments they are still classed politically with infants, idiots, and criminals, and even their economic and social rights are not quite equal to their brothers'. As compared with the past, however, the nineteenth century has been the age of emancipation for women. Upon the whole, in spite of the new development of theft under the forms of monopoly taxation and fraudulent contract, justice has made enormous gains in the last one hundred years.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

A COLLEGE FOR THE PEOPLE.

TO be free a people must be enlightened. He who would rob them of their liberties can pursue no more effective course than to darken their minds, befog their thinking, and poison the springs whence flow the streams of enlightenment. "Give me the youth till he has reached the age of ten," a distinguished ecclesiastic is said to have exclaimed, "and you may have him thereafter."

The children of this world are wise in their generation. That the economic bonds which they for years have been forging may never be broken from the limbs of the people, the "owners of the United States" have deliberately set themselves to subvert our educational system. In both number and character the facts are startling. The recent Stanford case but serves to advertise more widely a situation of which the observant have for years been aware.

How may this condition be met? First, by publishing the facts; second, by redeeming the State educational institutions, the people's own schools which they have in so many cases heedlessly permitted to be muzzled or turned against them; and third—the practical thing now for the friends of progress too widely scattered to rescue a State college or university from monopolistic control—by uniting upon an institution that does stand for intellectual freedom and the coming day and making of it a power in the land.

What characteristics should mark such an institution? It should, if possible, be central; its course should represent not the dead past but the living present; the widest freedom of choice among studies should be accorded students of reasonable maturity that each may develop his special talents; stress should be laid upon education for citizenship; hand training should accompany mental training, that the student may be fitted for the world of work; provision should be made whereby the privileges of the college may be enjoyed by students of

scant means, and the faculty should consist of men and women abreast of the times, facing the morning and fully prepared to instruct, rouse, and inspire. From such a college, unless freedom be already dead, may be expected to come forth leaders of the people, statesmen, prophets, apostles—if need be, martyrs to the cause of human progress and the coming kingdom. But to find the college and enlist it! Is such a feat possible?

One hundred miles northeast of Kansas City, at Trenton, Missouri, on the Rock Island Railroad, stands an institution known till recently as Avalon College. Adversity had almost closed its doors until the spring of 1900 when Dr. George McA. Miller assumed its control under a ten-years contract, opened its class-rooms, called back its students, and began in it again the work of a college. A little later Mr. Walter Vrooman, founder of Ruskin Hall, Oxford, England, and recently returned to America to establish here the Oxford or Ruskin Hall movement, heard of Avalon College, visited it, and effected a combination with President Miller whereby the institution, to be known thereafter as "Ruskin College," became the center of the Oxford movement in America. Mr. Vrooman purchased a fifteen-hundred-acre tract of land lying near the College, contributed directly to the College treasury and teaching force, and then entered the field to work for the promotion of the institution and the movement of which it is the center.

It is not my purpose to publish here a catalogue of Ruskin College. The friends of progressive education are, however, entitled to know something of the leading facts regarding the opportunities here afforded for realizing their ideals.

In addition to the land is the college building, almost new, handsome, commodious, and worth with its grounds fully \$40,000. Here the executive offices are located, the classes and literary societies meet, the public exercises including church services of liberal type are held. Here also the college book and supplies store is going on and two of the college industries, the carpenter shop and the sewing department, are located; for Ruskin College seeks to train hand as well as brain. Near by is the college laundry, just instituted. A few blocks distant,

on a slightly hillside, is the site of the Trenton-Ruskin factory. This enterprise, recently incorporated and uniting local and college interests, begins with a capital of \$13,500 fully subscribed and largely paid up. In it will be carried on, under the direction of the best business men of Trenton and the college president, broom-making, handle-making, and various forms of wood-novelty manufacturing. Canning is also to be one of the important industries to be begun this summer, and extensive farming for this purpose will doubtless become a leading activity of the College and neighborhood. On the farm the beginnings of a dairy department have already been made, and a friend who will put into this industry his capital, labor, and skill will shortly arrive. Other industries are in prospect.

These industries—sewing, laundry, shop, dairy, garden, farm, and factory—are designed to serve a double purpose: *viz.*, to train the student for the practical duties of life and to enable him to earn his way through college. A student entering on the "industrial plan" contributes to the "equipment fund" such sum as he may be able, receiving therefor, for each \$25 paid in, a transferable scholarship guaranteeing opportunity to work in the college industries one hour a day at ten cents an hour during a stay of four years at college. The student advancing \$125 works thus thirty hours a week for four years, and earns an amount that will cover board, lodging, and tuition. Additional opportunity for remunerative labor is afforded during the summer vacation.

The College departments cover preparatory, college, art, commerce, music, oratory, and physical culture, and normal. A beginning is soon to be made with a kindergarten as an adjunct to the Model School in which normal students will be trained as practical teachers.

The College courses of study have recently been reconstructed throughout, wide opportunities for modern culture studies being afforded, and the course, like that of Harvard, being made almost entirely elective and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The advantages of such a course over the old-fashioned, medieval iron-clad curriculum are inestimable.

It is plastic, constantly subject to change and improvement, adapted to the varying needs of the student body, especially the more mature, and conducive to growth on the part of the faculty, stimulating each member to make the most of his department.

In addition to the above resident courses the College gives correspondence instruction in a fine line of highly practical subjects, including Business and English branches, Newspaper Work, Art, Architecture, Trades, Metallurgy, and Mechanical, Steam, Mining, Civil, and Sanitary Engineering. This is made possible by an arrangement effected with one of the leading correspondence schools of the East.

In the faculty and teaching force are found representatives of Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Oberlin, and German Universities, and some of the best of the smaller colleges. Four of the faculty have served as college presidents, the principal of the normal department having for a dozen years had charge of one of the State normal schools of Missouri. Among the lecturers are Prof. George D. Herron and Prof. Frank Parsons, the latter planning to spend four weeks in May and June in the work of the College as teacher and lecturer.

The College enrolment, beginning last June with almost nothing, has already reached for all departments for this year, and including the summer normal, 300, the States and Territories of California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Texas, as well as England, being represented. With the new opportunities now developing and the continued assistance of the friends of the movement we may expect several hundred more within the coming year.

An additional evidence of stability is found in the fact that friends of the work are removing to Trenton, enrolling their children as students in the College, investing their money in the college industries and their labor and talent in the work of class-room, farm, and field. Several of such families have recently arrived and others have arranged to come. The factory enterprise will prove especially attractive to such.

Cost of living in Trenton is moderate. Parents desiring to educate their children can remove to Trenton, buy or rent a few acres of land and engage in small farming, selling their products to the Trenton-Ruskin factory. Knowledge of this fact will doubtless bring many within the next year.

The reception given the College by the local community is most cordial. The three daily papers of the town have opened their columns to the institution, the funds for the factory have been very largely subscribed by local business men, and encouragement for the work is given on all sides.

But education to be effective must be available. The higher culture must be democratized: it must be brought within the reach of the poorest. Ruskin College can already do much for the poor boy, but it would do far more. It would open its doors to him though he come without one cent. How may this be made possible? By means of a Loan Fund, from which an advance of \$100 or \$125 can be made to the student on entrance. This he may repay after graduation from his increased earnings. This fund the College is working for.

What can the friends of the College throughout the country do for it? They can inform themselves more fully as to the status and work, and can then inform their friends and especially the youth of their acquaintance who desire, at small cost, a well-rounded, practical education free from monopoly influences. They can, in cases, remove to Trenton and aid with suggestion, funds, and labor in building up the institution and its interests. They can raise the Students' Loan Fund and can contribute directly to the College treasury.

If education in America is to be maintained by the Rockefellers and Stanfords, rest assured it will be controlled by them. If controlled by wealth, the influences of our colleges will favor the maintenance of triumphant plutocracy. If the people are not willing that those who control their industries, their fortunes, and their lives shall also control their thinking and thus control permanently their national policies, it is needful that from their own small earnings and savings they shall furnish the means that will make at least one institution in

America independent of the millionaire who to-day controls so largely both private and public colleges and universities—the one through the bludgeon of the endowment, granted or withheld, and the other through the might of the party “boss.”

THOMAS ELMER WILL.

Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo.

GEOLOGY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

In its most modern aspects, earth-study has shifted its main view-point from the product to the process. This step alone immeasurably separates the new from the old. By recognizing the genetic principle, geography, geology, and astronomy have become sciences that are new in every sense of the word.

Advancement in earth-study has been greater during the century just passed than in all previous time. It has been more rapid in the last twenty years than in the hundred preceding. A century of active, fruitful, and systematic effort has not only produced unparalleled progress, but has introduced into geological science a multitude of ideas entirely novel. Many of these are bound to have a lasting influence upon scientific thought. Some of them bid fair to be handed down through the ages as the most brilliant conceptions of a copiously productive period. To geology, they are the great landmarks of the nineteenth century. A half score of them stand out prominently.

The determination in the rocks of a measure of time has given to earth-study much of its widespread interest. Before this discovery, geology as a science was impossible. It never could have risen above a monotonous description of minerals. Now it is thoroughly philosophic. It treats of cause and effect, of process and product, of events and their sequence. A history is read that is as fascinating and full of action as human history, with chapters ever new and ever thrilling.

The establishment of a geological time-scale was truly epoch-making. From this time dates the rise of modern geology. Up to the close of the eighteenth century, the conception had only been faintly outlined by the contemporaries of the great Werner and Hutton. In England, William Smith had already discovered the key for recognizing certain strata by the fossils that they contained. But

it remained for the master mind of Lyell, a quarter of a century later, to develop the idea into an actual working scheme of geological chronology. Henceforward, so all-absorbing became the study of the ancient organic remains, as a means of paralleling rock strata in all parts of the globe, that for fifty years all other branches of geology seemed in comparison almost to be at a standstill.

The newly established time-scale in geology stretched out the age of our earth enormously beyond the generally assigned Biblical period. From 6,000 years, the geologist's best estimates were for more than 25,000,000 years for the stratified rocks alone. At once the geologists had the theologians arrayed bitterly against them. As in so many cases when science has come into apparent conflict with religion, the scientists went quietly along with their work of searching after truth only—and won. Now there are no longer hostile camps; and many an eminent divine has become an ardent student of Nature.

The proving that there existed in late geological times a vast polar ice-cap, reaching down in this country to the latitude of Cincinnati and St. Louis, may be considered as one of the grand triumphs of science. Until a generation ago, scientists had no idea that an arctic climate had prevailed so recently over the northern hemisphere. It was a veritable Ice Age; and "its conception is one of the scientific novelties of which," says a recent writer, "our century may boast and which no previous century has even so much as faintly adumbrated."

The difficulties that beset the investigation of former glacial action are somewhat appalling. McGee most clearly depicts the conditions when he states that "the trail of the ice monster has been traced, his magnitude measured, and his form and even his features figured forth—and all from the slime of his body alone, when even his characteristic tracks fail." But the geologists have overcome all obstacles and made the glacial theory one of the firmest tenets of science.

To Louis Agassiz is due the honor of launching upon the scientific world the general theory of glaciation. To be sure, others, a little while before the appearance of his great work on "*Etudes sur les Glaciers*," had attained something of the main idea in limited areas; but it was the work of the great Swiss widely to apply the principles and develop the conception into a grand general hypothesis. It took twenty years to get the theory firmly established. The last two decades have been devoted to accumulating facts and solving problems connected with the causes and effects produced by the various phases of the great ice movements. The glacialists have been, during this time, the most active and numerous of any class of geologists. During the last ten years no branch of geology has produced so voluminous a literature. The subject is constantly expanding at an astounding rate. All earth students are brought more or less closely into contact with glacial phenomena; many geologists are devoting all their energies in this direction. In Europe the names most prominently associated with glacial work are those of Penck, Geikie, Croll, and Schmidt—in this country those of Chamberlain, McGee, Dawson, and Leverett. As long as geology lasts the works of these scientists will remain classics.

Twenty-five years ago the main geological features of the upper Mississippi basin were deciphered with great difficulty on account of the heavy deposits of "drift" covering the whole country. Strangely enough, this very region has become, glacially, the most interesting in the whole world. Glacial history was here first found to be long, complex, and full of stirring incidents. Instead of a single ice period, no less than half a dozen great glacial drift sheets are now known to exist. To this region the eyes of the world are now directed for a complete time-scale of ice movements, with which glacial deposits in all parts of the globe may be compared. Stranger still is the discovery of evidence of other great ice ages in remote geological

times. Regarding these, we yet know little of what the future has in store for us.

William Smith's discoveries concerning the fossils in the rocks were epoch-making in directions other than purely geological. Fifty years of active interest accumulated a vast mass of facts. Comparisons of successive faunas showed that the later-formed rocks contained organic remains very nearly like those living, but that as we examine older and older strata the fossils become more and more unlike present forms.

About the middle of the century embryological studies were making great progress. It was at this time that the ancient organisms began to have an unusual interest to the biologist. It was widely thought that in the fossil types could be secured forms that would represent all the early stages of the living organisms. Erroneous as this hypothesis proved to be, it long served to stimulate, to an extraordinary degree, the study of the fossils from the biotic standpoint. It eventually removed paleontology from the domain of geology and united it with biology.

When Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared, in 1859, a new light was thrown upon the vast body of largely unconnected facts that had been long accumulating regarding the fossils. These facts furnished some of the strongest proofs of the theory of descent. With the new way of looking upon the organic remains of past ages there arose an active search for specific pedigrees. The results were startling. One has only to mention, among many, the work of Marsh on the horse, of Cope on the camels, of Naumayr on mollusks, or of Gaudry on the cats.

In studying the evolution of existing organisms, natural selection is the great factor to be considered. The fossils emphasize a wholly different set of laws. It is this fact, chiefly, that divides the evolutionists into two great schools, known as the Darwinists and the Lamarckians. The one gives greater prominence to natural selection, the other to physical environment.

While the testimony of the fossils has been a great boon to the biologist, it has, as perfecting a detailed and universal scheme of geological chronology, proved rather disappointing. Careful surveys of various zoological classes of fossil organisms now show that there is little or nothing intrinsically to locate a given form in time. This must be derived from the known superposition of the rocks. This phase of the subject has been dwelt upon lately by our distinguished countrymen, Wachmuth and Springer, who have gone into the most exhaustive investigation of a large group—the crinoids—that has ever been made.

Another singular fact to be mentioned in this connection concerns the time that organisms have been on earth. It has generally been conceded that at the beginning of the fossil record, in the early Cambrian, organisms as a whole were already at least nine-tenths differentiated. Consequently, they were regarded as existing eons before. Brooks has recently pointed out that, while organisms change very slowly in the open sea, along the shore their differentiation goes on with great rapidity owing to the intensity of the struggle for existence. Hence, the very marked divergence of animal types at the time when our earliest known records were made militates strongly against long previous careers. On the other hand, this radical separation of the main types may have taken place during a comparatively short period.

Whatever contributes greatly to the amelioration of man's condition must always have an honorable place among grand achievements. To have one of the greatest industries brought under rational control is a feat comparable to any discovery in pure science, or any production of art. A new epoch begins with the placing of mining upon a basis truly scientific. From time immemorial, mining has been the great game of chance. Vastly more wealth has been put into the earth annually than has been taken out through this channel. Up to the time of the establishment of modern geology there was an excuse for haphazard min-

ing. Although the ordinary miner is still slow to grasp the advantages held out to him by science, every large mining enterprise now has the geology of the district carefully examined before the first shovelful of dirt is turned. Most of the great mining companies even have a regular geological corps employed all the time. One of the greatest petroleum concerns at present operating owes its immense success, not so much to questionable business methods, as so often claimed, as to far-sightedness in employing at a large salary the scientist who worked out, by purely scientific methods, the geology of natural oil.

The esteem with which pure geology is held by intelligent people is further shown by the support of special governmental bureaus, called geological surveys, by nearly every civilized State. An officer of one of the largest iron companies of the Lake Superior region recently said that if he and his associates had only placed even a little faith in the State geological survey twenty years ago, they would have saved hundreds of thousands of dollars. This company, as myriads of others do constantly, then believed firmly in "practical" work, not in "scientific" work—as if science, rightly applied, were not preëminently practical, and as if it were not, as Huxley says, only enlightened common sense.

Mining to-day is capable of being put on as secure a business foundation as any manufacturing enterprise. From start to finish it may be carried on with the certainty and despatch of the running of a railroad train or an ocean liner. Lucky "finds" will, however, continue to be made; but henceforward mining as a business will no longer be a vast lottery—ever developing, to their fullest extent, the gambling propensities of mankind.

The microscope revealed a new world to the student of animals and plants. Its later use in the study of rocks brought to light another world, equally undreamed of and equally vast. Modern geology began in a consideration of the materials with which the subject has to deal. For the

first three-fourths of the nineteenth century little progress was made over what was bequeathed by the century preceding. This branch of the science had come practically to a standstill. Other branches sprang up and grew so rapidly that inorganic geology bade fair soon to be relegated to a very subordinate place.

When, then, it was discovered that when thin plates of rocks were magnified under polarized light their minutest mineral constituents could be identified, the most powerful of weapons was placed in the hands of the geologist. At a single bound inorganic geology took its place by the side of the organic branch. A century ago the study of rocks had gone as far as it could because laboratory methods of examination were crude. But the simple grinding down of rock fragments into thin plates at once overcame a seemingly insurmountable difficulty. Large rock sections are now made with ease, so that equal sizes of the thinnest tissue-paper seem in comparison like thick slices of bread. The blackest lava or basalt in thin sections becomes as transparent as window glass. At a glance the mineral constituents can be told from one another as easily as horses from cattle or sheep in a meadow. Under the microscope the dull gray granites break up into brilliant hues that rival the rainbow. The gorgeous stained-glass windows of many cathedrals give but a faint idea of the wondrous beauty of the rock mosaic. But this is not all. A moment's viewing under the microscope tells the essential chemical and mineralogical composition of a rock with greater accuracy than the most refined chemical analysis. The mineralogical changes that a rock may have gone through are also evident. A rock may be metamorphosed beyond all recognition through ordinary means, but in thin plates its original condition is at once disclosed.

The last twenty-five years of petrography have been devoted largely to the development of working methods. With these labors will always be associated the names of Rosenbusch, Zirkel, Michel-Lévy, and Judd, and in this

country G. H. Williams, Gross, and Iddings. The effort of the next twenty-five years will be directed toward more directly productive work. Among the great problems to be solved are the genetic relationships of the crystalline rocks, the genesis of rock-types, the detailed manner of the origin of the crystalline schists, and the establishment of a rational and genetic classification of local rock phases.

It is due more to the celebrated chemist, Bunsen, than to any one else, perhaps, that geology is indebted for the keynote to a rational theory explaining the character of rock magmas. The nature of the subject would indicate that it is a problem involving strictly physico-chemical principles. However, as in the case of so many other questions of like character, the ordinary laws of physics and chemistry, as we commonly know them, break down, and the geologist has to depend upon his own investigations to furnish a satisfactory solution. Just why a molten mass erupted should give rise to a granite, then a gabbro perhaps, and finally to other kinds of rocks, has long been most puzzling. The question is not answered by any appeal to theoretical physics or chemistry. Our recent tremendous advancement in knowledge regarding the structure and relations of the igneous rocks, owing to the application of the microscope, has given the greatest aid.

The phenomena are complex. Several important principles are involved. Of these sometimes one is most active—under different conditions certain others. To appreciate how complicated may be these operations one has only to refer to the principle of maximum work as framed by Berthelot, the principle of Soret, the changes taking place when liquids are mixed, the effects of supersaturation of solutions, the influence of pressure, and the action of intense heat. Whatever may be the history of molten magmas, of which we can only surmise, it is certain that to the geologist the period just preceding solidification is by far the most important. If we follow Loewinson-Lessing, we would distinguish three kinds of differentiation: (1) Mag-

matic differentiation, or static, taking place in the depths of the earth; (2) differentiation by cooling, during ascent to the surface, and a little before solidification; and (3) crystalline differentiation. That we shall be able from surface scratchings to decipher the history of the rocks deep down in the interior of the earth is a thought of grand proportions. Its theoretical bearings are far-reaching. In it we find the clue as to whether originally the composition of the earth was heterogeneous or homogeneous.

Most persons are not accustomed to ascribe cycles of development to the land forms they see around them—cycles involving periods of birth, infancy, youth, maturity, old age, and death, that are comparable to the stages of growth in the organism. Of recent years the geologists have demonstrated that all those phenomena connected with land waste go on with far greater rapidity than is generally supposed. Mountains are high and rugged because they are very young. Without constant uplifting the greatest mountain chain would soon be planed down to a flat lying but slightly above sea-level. Such a flat has approached its base-level of erosion, or is a peneplain, and it is the ultimate condition to which all erosion tends to reduce every portion of the land surface. Such a peneplain uplifted into a general upland soon becomes trenched by deep, narrow valleys. These are widened out until the relief becomes intricately dissected and diversified. The divides are then lowered, the streams lose most of their former velocities, and the whole region again finally approaches the condition of a base-leveled plain.

This doctrine—that all land forms have had a history—is now a fundamental tenet of our new geography. It is distinctly American in origin. Within a decade it has been accepted by advanced geologists and geographers the world over. The names of our American geologists, Dutton, Powell, Gilbert, Davis, and McGee will always be connected with this work. A host of others have done, and are now doing, able work in applying the principles.

The remnants of extensive base-leveled plains are still visible over the country, some of them often uplifted hundreds or even thousands of feet above sea-level. Abundant traces of them are discernible in the rocks of all ages, even those more ancient than the earliest Paleozoic. They furnish us with a new standard for measuring geologic time. The political history of nations assumes a new meaning. Our multifaceted civilization is referred directly to its causes in a way that never before was dreamed of. Altogether the base-level of erosion is one of the most novel and brilliant conceptions in the science not only of the nineteenth century but of all time.

When a science reaches that stage in its development when its facts and principles are capable of being systematically arranged according to the causes producing the phenomena, it is at once capable of being placed upon a philosophic foundation. This is the most important period in the history of that science. Geology to-day is just stepping upon the threshold of this important stage. In the beginning, classification of phenomena in every branch of natural science is crudely outlined from those superficial features that, at first glance, are the most striking. This is, at a later stage, modified to one in which similarity of common characters, irrespective of natural relations, is taken into account. A vastly more advanced conception is classification based upon affinity, in which, for similarity of features, is substituted similarity of plan. The final stage is the one in which origin, or causal relationship, is the governing principle. This is genetic, or philosophic, classification.

Thus always presenting prominently the underlying principles of cause and effect, classification by genesis gives expression to the products in terms of the agencies. Only then are the broader distinctions and real relationships made visible. Taxonomic groups are able to be properly separated only when it is recognized how and in what manner the component parts of the materials dealt with are

influenced. The outcome of proper attention to the only natural scheme of classification is clearer discrimination of facts, greater precision of statement, and vastly better comprehension of the whole subject. A science with a truly genetic classification takes front rank among the branches of knowledge.

One of the great problems of practical geology has been to find some means whereby the rock succession in one locality may be accurately paralleled or correlated with the sequence of formation elsewhere. A hundred years ago this was thought to be found in the lithological characters. When this standard failed signally, the fossils were believed to furnish the key. But this criterion is also known to be only of local use. Other standards have been set up. When carefully tested and checked none of these methods alone have been found to be widely applicable; and all the broader questions have had to be left as only approximations—until more accurate results through other means could be obtained.

Of late years there has been a general tendency among geologists to adopt the historical method; that is, to sum up all the data derived from the different sources and from them strike a mean as nearly as possible. This plan is not very satisfactory, because there are so many variants; and readings from one source, when compared with those from another, are apt to prove very discordant.

The recent discovery of the base-level of erosion and all that it signifies has given us another means of exact geological correlation. It is the geological cycle. In the more recent geological formations its most conspicuous feature is the peneplain. In the earlier, when these are covered by subsequent deposits, they are indicated best by the unconformities. McGee and Davis have been preëminently successful in working out great stratigraphic problems on the strictly geographic principle. Among the ancient unfossiliferous rocks, Irving and Van Hise have emphasized the great value of the uniformity.

These criteria are as far-reaching as any criteria for correlating geological formation can ever be expected to be. They are natural. They are independent of any intrinsic characters. They are therefore absolute—the long-sought-for desideratum in correlative geology. This branch of the science will, in the new century, receive an immense impetus, and the whole subject of stratigraphic classification will soon require complete remodeling.

The principle of mutation of organisms has been appropriately extended to the rocks. Probably no more startling statement was ever made than that "rocks grow." They have ever been the very embodiment of the unchangeable. Now, at a single stroke, the entire idea is swept aside. Professor Judd, the distinguished president of the Geological Society of London, would have the barriers now set up between the mineral and the organism wiped out altogether. He alludes especially to the marvelous disclosures arising from the application of the microscope to the rocks. In closing a recent address he makes this observation: "In the profound laboratories of our earth's crust, slow physical and chemical operations, resulting from the interaction between the crystal, with its wonderful molecular structure, and the external agencies that environ it, have given rise to a structure too minute, it may be, to be traced by our microscope, but capable of so playing with the light waves as to startle us with new beauties and to add another to 'the fairy tales of science.'"

That rocks are dependent for their form and structure upon their environment, and that they are readily altered by every change of their physical surroundings, is a conception the effects of which upon geological science are difficult to realize. It immeasurably broadens our ideas of life and brings within Spencer's classic definition the whole range of rock materials that we have always been accustomed to regard as perfectly inactive.

The central idea is that in the rocks there are ever going on changes that are analogous in nearly every respect to

those that we usually ascribe only to animals and plants. As the organism is made up of multitudes of small parts, which we call cells, each leading a more or less independent existence, so the rocks are formed of myriads of separate mineral particles, each of which also has a distinct personality, follows a more or less individual course of existence, and continually undergoes change as the surrounding physical conditions change. In fine, the life and changes in the organism and in the rock are not only very much alike, but they are, in all probability, merely somewhat different expressions of the same great laws.

In speaking of organisms, Huxley has referred to *life* as a "property of protoplasm." The day may not be far distant when we have to modify this definition somewhat, and say that "life is a property of matter." Then may we consider not death, but life, as omnipresent and everlasting—existing wherever matter manifests itself.

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POVERTY AND SOCIAL DECAY.

A KNAVE may be so environed that cupidity and selfishness will dictate fair dealing; and, finding that under the circumstances surrounding him honesty is the best policy, even a rogue may in time improve wonderfully and become "reasonably honest." The saying that we all are more or less creatures of habit is trite but true. Manners mature into morals easily and rapidly. Some "sort o' get into the habit" of cheating; others, of fair dealing. And the latter are not invariably more scrupulous by nature. Powerful as are prenatal influences and the circumstances of birth, yet circumstances attending life may defeat the intentions of destiny. The value of the force of rightly directed public opinion as a reformatory factor is vastly underrated. Men and women will stint and half starve themselves in the struggle to keep up appearances. Nor is this so reprehensible, since a failure to keep up appearances usually involves the loss of the respect of the world, followed perhaps by the loss of trade or employment, and ultimately by the loss of self-respect. The desire to be respected, when not excessive or perverted, is a powerful stimulus to human endeavor and advancement. And it may be made a greater power for good, because most men when prosperous fear public opinion more than they fear the law, and covet distinction rather than gold.

The influence of association and environment is far-reaching. Russians have a saying that "who lives with cripples learns to limp." The Spanish version is, "Who lives with wolves learns to howl." The same idea is expressed, less figuratively, in the proverb, "He that lies down with dogs will rise up with fleas." Character, like a plant, depends very much upon the soil and atmosphere in which it grows. Hard conditions produce warped and stunted characters. To improve man's conduct, therefore, improve his social environment. This is the scientific, the common-sense method. The economic structure of society at any given time forms its real

basis, and explains, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of social relations.

Our ethical teachers, our moralists, our theologians and philosophers are painfully slow to grasp the great truth that the development of man's moral, mental, and spiritual nature is largely dependent upon his material prosperity. A mind harassed and haunted by the uncertainties of the average man's condition can think of little but its own cares and troubles. Long hours, short wages, and uncertain tenure of employment are not conducive to the development of mental, spiritual, and social graces. The intellectual and moral faculties may be repressed, stunted, and paralyzed by incessant toil and physical exhaustion. One cannot preserve a healthy, vigorous development and activity of mind in an insufficiently nurtured body. "An empty sack cannot stand erect." There are toilers who get so little time for thinking that they almost or quite "forget how the trick is done." At least they grow to dread and shirk mental exertion until they relapse almost to the animal plane of existence. "Men housed like pigs can hardly pray like Christians." Our abnormally crowded cities, to which stratified conservatism so often points with pride, are festering social ulcers.

A soldier, on being reproved by Wellington for some dereliction, reminded the "Iron Duke" that "you can't hire all the cardinal virtues at seven dollars a month." The soldier's reply hints at a great philosophic truth. Our economic system in large measure determines our moral status. Every period of "hard times" is marked, as a natural sequence, by an increase of immorality and crime, particularly of those offenses by which wealth is to be won. Likewise, the annually recurring phenomenon of a greater increase during the winter months of theft, prostitution, and other offenses prompted wholly or partly by want, clearly shows that necessity, rather than choice, is responsible, directly or indirectly, for a large proportion of humanity's wickedness and woe.

The extremes of opulence and indigence are alike baleful—alike brutalizing. Abnormal wealth usually proves a curse

to its possessors as well as to the dispossessed; it enervates with gilded debauchery and Sybaritic ease, intoxicates with excess of power, or maddens with lust for gold. In the language of one of Shakespeare's characters, "They are as sick that surfeit with too much as they that starve with nothing."

The presence of involuntary poverty surrounded by a profusion of wealth is a terrible objective arraignment of our social system. In a high order of civilization the skeleton specter of want could not materialize. Only amid the gloomy darkness of ignorance and injustice can it "live and move and have its being." Before the dawning light of liberty and justice it swiftly retreats and vanishes. Amid universal enlightenment it cannot survive. Abject poverty is the prolific mother of vice and crime. Want or the fear of want breeds rogues and vagrants, murderers and suicides, lunatics and misers, prostitutes and drunkards. It deprives its countless victims of those elevating and refining influences so essential to the development of symmetry and beauty of character; it curtails both opportunity and capacity for the enjoyment of those social amenities which serve to make life worth living; yea, it multiplies and intensifies temptations—stimulates to abnormal activity the selfish, bestial propensities—stunts and stupefies the reasoning faculties—stifles noble aspirations and blunts the finer feelings—breaks down personal pride, courage, and integrity—destroys hope and energy—and oftentimes even transforms the sacred joys of motherhood into a prolonged torture of mental fear and anguish and makes the fond mother wish the babe at her breast had never been born!*

Let us digress and consider for a moment the chief immediate causes of poverty. To attribute most cases of poverty to either indolence or intemperance—laziness or liquor—is to add insult to injury. The charge of indolence is contradicted

* "There is," said a New York supreme judge to Henry George, "a large class—I was about to say a majority—of the population of New York and Brooklyn who just live, and to whom the rearing of two more children means inevitably a boy for the penitentiary and a girl for the brothel."

by the fact that wealth has increased four times as fast as population during the last decade; that of intemperance, by the fact that the consumption of malt liquors is steadily declining relatively to population. True, many cases of poverty are due to drunkenness; but more cases of drunkenness are due to poverty. Man is a gregarious creature, and, if out of work, how natural to seek rest, recreation, and "good cheer" at the "poor man's club," the saloon! Lack of wholesome food, the depressing weariness of monotonous drudgery, and the exhaustion produced by excessive toil frequently beget a feverish craving for alcoholic stimulants. The constant dread of business failure or loss of employment, hanging overhead like the sword of Damocles, drives thousands to seek momentary relief in the Lethean cup. The late Frances E. Willard, president of the W. C. T. U., after wide experience and mature thought, came to the conclusion that "it is time we cease trying to make men comfortable by making them sober, and try to make them sober by making them comfortable." Temperance reform, to be effectual, must be preceded by economic reform. Alcohol has countless sins to answer for. But alcohol is not responsible for the poverty of the sober Hindus and Turks, nor for the poverty of America's seamstresses and factory girls. In fact, the results of all the scientific investigations made on the subject in the United States, England, and Germany—as collated and tabulated in Prof. Amos G. Warner's work on "American Charities"—show conclusively that lack of work (including insufficient and inadequately paid work) constitutes the supreme immediate cause of poverty, the second being sickness or death in the families of the poor. The contributing influence of drink cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent. of the cases, and in most of these was only a secondary cause.

To enter into a discussion of causes and remedies for the anomaly of a lack of work—amid so much need and latent demand, or so long as a single human want is unsatisfied—is not within the purview of this article.

A mere glance at official statistics relative to the growth of

crime reveals tendencies astounding to those who cherish the erroneous idea that moral improvement has kept pace with mechanical and industrial progress. A well-fed clergyman once undertook to convince the writer that the world is fast being reclaimed from evil, and in support of his contention quoted statistics furnished by church authorities going to prove that the ratio of church membership is steadily increasing every year. On being shown by the findings of criminologists that prison inmates are increasing even more rapidly—at a rate twice that of population—the good man elevated his hands and feelingly exclaimed: “Great Heavens! If this thing keeps up for another decade or two everybody will have become criminals—and church members!”

Travelers tell us of a country in Asia where the merchant often absents himself from his store all day, or even places his goods by the roadside, with the prices plainly marked, and a box of “change” beside them, so the traveler who may chance to pass can buy with little trouble—then goes off, and returns at night to gather up his money and the goods unsold. How would this plan work in our marts of trade or on our high-ways? Verily, do we not seem to need missionaries from the East—Buddhists and Confucians to teach us honesty, truthfulness, chastity, and filial love, and Mahometans to inculcate the virtue of sobriety?

A traveler in another Asiatic country, it is said, became tired while on the highway and asked his guide where to leave his pack while he went on a short trip. “Right here,” said the guide. The traveler demurred, fearing his goods would be stolen. The guide ran up a hill, swept the surrounding plain with a spy-glass, and returned, saying, “Have no fears; the goods will not be touched; there is not a Christian anywhere within twenty miles!”

In the towns of India it is easy to approximate the English population merely by noting the number of its meat-shops and saloons. These two great industries receive no patronage from the benighted Hindus.

It is a startling reality that in this “age of murder” the

United States has outstripped the world, and now ranks as the most murderous nation on the globe. The year 1891 was a "record-breaker"—the number of homicides being 5,906, exceeding the record of 1889 by nearly 60 per cent., and that of 1885 over five-fold; yet by the year 1895 the number swelled to 10,500.

A traveler once got lost and wandered about, almost distracted, for many days, seeking in vain for evidences of civilized life. At last one day his attention was attracted by a conspicuous object dangling from a noosed rope suspended from the limb of a spreading oak. As he approached he saw unmistakable evidences that Judge Lynch had recently passed that way and officiated at an informal reception, or "social function," known in Western parlance as a "hanging bee," or "neck-tie party;" whereupon he sank upon his knees, and, clasping his hands in an ecstasy of joy, cried: "Thank God, at last I've struck a civilized country!"

A few years ago a learned high-caste Chinaman, Wong Chin Foo, fascinated by the garish light of our brilliant Christian civilization, came to this country imbued with an ambition to study our institutions, embrace Christianity, and master the secret of the marvelous activities and achievements of Occidental thought and action, and, thus equipped, to return home prepared to diffuse among his benighted countrymen some of the inestimable blessings of our glorious Western civilization;—to inject, so to speak, the leaping blood of the puissant, wide-awake West into the sluggish veins of the effete, moribund East. This was his noble, self-imposed mission. Upon closer inspection of the structure of our civilization, however,—seeing the hideousness of its seamy side; seeing its incompleteness and unsymmetrical, misshapen proportions; seeing that, like our dress, it is largely shoddy and tinsel,—he was disenchanted. When he found, for instance—among other things equally repugnant to his peculiar Oriental ideas—that more murders occur every six months in New York City alone than are committed during a whole year within the entire vast domain of the Chinese Empire, with

a teeming population a hundredfold greater, our heathen visitor concluded that possibly it was safer for his benighted countrymen to cling to their own time-honored forms and institutions for a time, and "endure present ills rather than fly to others they know not of."

It were difficult, perhaps, to form an estimate even approximately accurate of the extent to which anxiety and despondency produced by financial distress are responsible for the augmenting prevalence of suicide and insanity. It is significant, however, that these evils keep pace with the concentration of wealth and the increase of debt and enforced idleness. Insanity doubles within a decade. The New York State Board of Lunacy estimates that "seven thousand young women in New York and Brooklyn go insane every year for want of sufficient food and clothing." Twelve suicides in one day is the awful record scored by the city of New York, which eclipses Monte Carlo, the gambling hell of Europe. The number of cases of suicide in these United States in 1896 (6,529) marks an increase of 187 per cent. relative to population since 1890—a yearly increase of 31 per cent. Moreover, it may be styled as a civilization disease. Among savages lunacy is almost or quite unknown.

This picture is by no means attractive, I freely concede; and more's the pity—for, unfortunately, it is true. A man with a large crooked nose, of a roseate hue, once had his photograph taken. When shown his likeness, he said: "That photo is pretty good, only—I don't like that nose." The artist replied: "Neither do I—but it's yours!"

The fetters of debt and penury are doubly burdensome and intolerable to those who have grown accustomed to comparative prosperity. Frequent fluctuations of fortune; insecurity of position; shifting uncertainties of employment, wages, prices, or trade—these evils are even more trying and more corrupting than the stationary uniformity of industrial and commercial life prevailing in Asiatic and European countries. The Eastern subject or peasant, schooled by stern necessity to habits of rigid, niggardly economy, plods along in "the

even tenor of his way" to satisfy his few and simple active wants, allured and tantalized by no illusive expectations of future gains and by feverish ambitions undisturbed.

The typical American citizen, on the other hand, has enjoyed years of comparative prosperity. He is unaccustomed to that pitiful parsimony which need has long imposed upon the toiler in the Old World; his ambition and pride of character have not been dwarfed by tyranny and oppression; his wants, his real requirements, are greater and more complex; his sensibilities and his susceptibility to suffering are keener. It is only a natural sequence of this era of industrial depression and maddening uncertainty, therefore, that the ever-present fear of poverty should so unduly excite and irritate his nervous system and selfish instincts as frequently to impair self-restraint and self-control, if not self-respect, and render him peculiarly liable wholly to give way to the promptings of passion.

Were further evidence requisite to establish to the satisfaction of any reasonable mind the truth of the proposition that poverty is the active missionary of sorrow and sin—the destroyer, and not the promoter and conservator, of the virtues—the tragic experience of the ill-starred "Jeanette" crew in the Arctic regions presents an extreme example fraught with significance. Refined, cultivated Christian gentlemen were for a time metamorphosed into ravenous bipedal beasts. When hunger assailed the citadel of life, stern, cruel necessity knew no law save that "first law of Nature," self-preservation. Christians were converted into cannibals. On the other hand, English criminals, transplanted in Australia and afforded opportunities for earning an honest and comfortable livelihood by dint of work, built up a prosperous, peaceful, law-abiding commonwealth. Mark the striking contrast, and the profound lesson it contains. Favorable environments improved their conduct and general character. Inducements—that is to say, temptations—to do wrong were diminished, or overcome by more powerful inducements to do right. Why, indeed, should they stoop to crime, when a living could be made as easily

by honest work? In both instances, quite naturally, they simply followed the "line of least resistance."

Nor need we draw upon Australian history for a striking demonstration of the saving grace of healthy economic conditions, for one of the original thirteen States of the Union has a similar chapter, and perchance the high-toned Australian nowadays takes great pride in tracing his lineage back to the "first families," *a la* our own F. F. V.'s. The experiment of Robert Owen at New Lanark eighty years ago affords another notable example of the regenerating influence of favorable environments upon human character and conduct. The thinkers of that period were amazed to see a population living in squalid want, intemperance, and crime, speedily converted into a sober, happy, law-abiding people.

A clergyman once asked a bright urchin, "How many bad boys does it take to make one good boy?" The lad replied, "Only one, sir, if you treat him well." Young and old alike are more easily led than driven. Fortunately love and kindness are "catching"—yet so are hatred and malice. But how much more pleasant and profitable to win by gentle kindness than by ruder means!

Gov. Pingree's famous potato-patch experiment at Detroit thoroughly demonstrated the fact that the reclamation of even the average "hobo" is possible and practicable. That concrete object-lesson should serve forever to silence the slanderous claim that the unemployed poor are such from choice, and dispose finally of the correlative assumption that in a recourse to drastic vagrancy laws lies a "solution" of the problem of the unemployed. The "free employment bureau" established about four years ago in the city of New York could find employment for only 20 per cent. of the tens of thousands who filed applications in the year 1897. A St. Louis daily that advertised in a single issue for a night watchman boasted of receiving almost 1,000 applications, and a New York daily twice that number.

During the reign of that royal impersonation of gluttony and greed, Henry VIII., England was filled with vagrants,

robbers, and beggars. Rigorous measures were adopted for their extirpation. It is estimated that during that period over seventy thousand people were legally hanged for vagrancy or theft. Yet there was no perceptible diminution of their numbers, for as fast as the public executioners decimated their ranks fresh recruits pressed into the vacancies. Pick-pockets plied their arts in the very shadow of the gallows on which other thieves were being hung.

The deterrent effects of racks and whipping-posts, of gibbets, torture-chambers, and lynchings, are vastly overestimated. The psychologic influences of such spectacles react most deleteriously upon the general public through the power of suggestion. Collective homicide and a rigorous criminal code, by presenting public examples of cruelty and hatred, often seem to operate as active inciting causes of new crimes. Long or frequent mental contemplation of brutality and viciousness tends to make us more brutal and vicious. "For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he." Every outward manifestation is a harvest. Whoever aspires to virtue must not dwell upon evil. The results of repressive measures, therefore, are usually quite disappointing.

As for our prisons, every humanitarian demands their conversion into reformatories for the reclamation of the criminal through kind treatment, the aim being, not to inflict retaliation and revenge, but to reform. Habitual criminals might be isolated in labor colonies, and their labor applied to the support of the defective classes.

If the moral mentors of society would assume a different attitude toward existing economic ills, addressing themselves more to the removal of causes that generate crime and disorder and less to the regulation, palliation, and repression of symptoms and effects, their efforts—now so sadly misdirected—would merit and enlist the hearty coöperation of every progressive thinker and humanitarian, and accomplish infinitely more genuine permanent good. In almost every mind lie the potentialities of every crime and every virtue. Instruction in ethics, admonitory homilies on the various vices and virtues, fall

upon deaf ears so long as poverty and ignominy are the customary reward of honest toil and unearned wealth carries the key to the temple of fame. The ultra-conservative, "goo-goo" class, with characteristic superficiality, direct their activities to phenomena and overlook fundamental causative forces. Many pretentious guardians of personal morals seem to have no conception of any direct relation between ethics and empty stomachs. Apparently it never occurs to their placid minds that a hungry and ragged person is more liable—simply because of more pressing need—to succumb to the temptation to take that which belongs to others than if he were well dressed and well fed; that a good "square" meal will do a hungry man's soul more real and lasting good than a two-hours sermon on the virtues of Christian humility and contentment; that admonitions to cultivate contentment and patient resignation may tend to tantalize rather than comfort a man out of employment, or whose children's minds and bodies are cramped and crippled and aged prematurely by excessive toil amid noxious surroundings; that Scriptural quotations do not satisfy an empty stomach, nor bring renewed strength, hope, and courage to a body and mind jaded and wearied by a fruitless search for a decent job at decent wages; that a man living in constant dread, lest bankruptcy or loss of employment render him unable properly to provide for his family and educate his children, is scarcely in the proper frame of mind to weigh a nice point in ethics; that it were as unreasonable to expect exemplary conduct on the part of those who breathe the noxious atmosphere of the city slums and social cellars, as among the prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta, and that well-meant advice to be good and kind would in either case be a waste of words—energy misdirected; that it were infinitely wiser to strive to abolish the root causes of chronic want and misery than merely to multiply places of refuge for the poor and miserable; that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

An official report of the labor commissioner of one of our

Eastern States a few years ago makes note of one establishment where women were making shirts at thirty-six cents a dozen; and one of the rules of the establishment was that the day's labor should open and close with prayer. How touching! Who can fail to be struck with the profound and tender solicitude displayed by this saintly firm for the spiritual welfare of its feminine wage slaves? It is to be hoped that the women thus shielded from all evil temptations will ever feel humbly grateful to their truly good and pious industrial taskmasters. Although the scanty wages paid them scarcely enabled these women to live at all—certainly not in any degree of moderate comfort—without the aid of "gentlemen friends," yet the saintly managers quite overlooked all such mere temporal considerations in their holy, zealous anxiety to insure the eternal salvation of the immortal souls of their employees.

Even such ultra-orthodox workers as the Rev. Charles Loring Brace, Frances E. Willard, and Gen. Booth, who certainly cannot be suspected of underrating the efficacy of religious training and exhortation, after years of varied experience and investigation found no escape from the conclusion that even though the land were as thickly strewn with religious tracts as leaves in Vallambrosa, and though vaster armies of theologians portray in most vivid colors the divine bliss in store for the fortunate few in the sweet by-and-by, yet,—while the wrapt contemplation of post-mortem happiness in a land flowing with milk and honey perchance may momentarily dispel the bitter consciousness of present material needs,—so far as rescuing humanity from real earthly ills is concerned, these technical orthodox methods are little more than absurd attempts to nullify the law of cause and effect by undertaking the impossible task of suppressing natural consequences—suppressing vice and crime while sustaining crime-incubating social conditions. They finally acknowledged the futility of persisting, Mrs. Partington-like, in an attempt to sweep back the rising tide of social decay with a lot of ancient theological brooms. This lesson many good, pious, well-meaning folks have yet to learn.

Henry Ward Beecher once assured his congregation that "the laws against larceny have no relation to me. I am on too high a moral plane to steal." (He spoke of theft, not adultery.) I doubt it. Beecher was, indeed, on too high a plane to steal—not *morally*, perhaps, but *socially* and *financially*. I dare say the spur of hunger could have driven the great divine to the alternative of theft as an escape from the pangs of protracted semi-starvation, just as other mortals—clergymen excepted, of course—have been driven by the goad of passion to choose adultery as a relief from ungratified desire. "Even a bishop will steal," says a Russian proverb, "if he is very hungry." Ask any old soldier if he cannot give you "pointers" on foraging. The Hon. Horace Seymour once declared: "After listening to thousands of prayers for pardon I can scarcely recall a case where I did not feel that I might have fallen as my fellow-man has done, if I had been subject to the same demoralizing influences and pressed by the same temptations." "Even a Roman Lucretia," says the Rev. J. K. Applebee, "would hardly be able to preserve her virtue in the conditions that compel so many American girls to shiver as they toil. The angel Gabriel would lose his angelhood in a month if he were compelled to live in an unventilated, fever-haunted tenement-house, and had to keep himself, Mrs. Gabriel, and half a dozen little Gabriels on the average wages of a seamstress." The dollar-a-day man may well argue that abstinence from theft and rascality on the part of the 100-dollars-a-day man is at best a negative virtue of comparatively easy attainment.

You may talk and teach, you may advise and admonish, you may scold and sermonize, you may plead and preach and pray as persistently and perfervidly as you please, but until willing workers have assurance of a decent living with reasonable effort, and until they can have homes of their own, suicide, drunkenness, prostitution, insanity, and crimes superinduced by the craze for wealth or the fear of want will be frightfully frequent.

Ye who have never dwelt within the somber shadow of

poverty, or whose pride has banished its bitter memories, be slow, be very slow to condemn its countless victims. When poverty stares you in the face—when the gruesome fear of impending poverty haunts your slumbers and your waking hours; when your children are forced to grow up half clad, and less than half educated—then will you realize what maddening temptations assail the poor. The devoted mother who sees a tear in the eye of her hungry babe will barter body and soul to place her darling above the fear of want. In the overcrowded urban districts, especially, the wonder is that the delicate plants of virtue, honesty, and kindness can exist at all. Their survival, amid such baleful, noxious surroundings, is a practical objective refutation of the doctrine of total depravity. Their presence is an assurance that human nature possesses much inherent goodness and turns instinctively toward the light. It affords a glimpse of the immeasurable possibilities of humanity. Favorable environments will unfold and expand the divine in man. The sunshine of prosperity universal will burst asunder the cramping chrysalis of narrow selfishness which has ever “cribbed, cabined, and confined” the soul of man, dwarfing and stunting his moral, spiritual, and mental stature.

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THE POTTAWATOMIES IN THE WAR OF 1812.

LET us imagine that it is now July 17, 1812, and for a brief space of time fancy ourselves entering one of the grandest woodland theaters on earth—fashioned, finished, and furnished by the hands of the Great Spirit himself. We seat ourselves in this auditory under the blue, frescoed arch of heaven by day, lighted by unnumbered glittering gems by night. We are located on the highlands just south of the St. Joseph River, Michigan, near its mouth, close by the old Indian Council House.

Throughout the broad and fertile valley of this river, southward and toward the rising sun, are scattered the numerous villages of the warlike Pottawatomies. The lower peninsula of Michigan, stretching northward three hundred miles and over half that distance east and west, is the stage on which our drama is to be enacted. Encircling this romantic stage, on the west, north, and east, roll the deep blue waters of the great twin lakes, Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, each nearly three hundred miles long, linked together at the extreme north by the Straits of Mackinaw, which for untold ages have been guarded by the historic island of Mackinaw, which rises out of the water like a monstrous snapping-turtle to the height of nearly three hundred feet, looking southward across the water passage between the two lakes. Great pine forests and other varieties of evergreen, and all kinds of hardwood known to the temperate zone of America, cover the deep broad stage before us, under whose spreading branches roam the deer, the elk, the wolf, and the bear—all undisturbed except by the twang of the string and the flying arrow of the red man's bow. Through the deep green foliage the wild birds pour forth their sweetest songs in thankfulness to the Great Spirit who gave them birth, while on the shaded earth beneath blossom the most beautiful wild-wood flowers ever seen by mortal eyes, scenting all the air with their sweet perfume.

Having glanced over the grandeur and beauty of the romantic stage and scenery, with its grand domain of hills and vales and sweep of plains, its hunting-grounds and winding rivers long and wide, patiently we watch and wait for the opening of the drama, listening to the roar of the lakes and the murmuring winds as they sweep through the branches of the grand old forest trees, mixed with the shrill screams of birds of prey and the sweet songs of those that sing.

The bell rings. The curtain rises. With the eyes of the mind that scorns all distance and all intervening objects, we look far to the north in the background on Mackinaw Island three hundred miles away. There we see three companies of British soldiers under the mantle of night, secretly landing on the island from a vessel, together with one thousand red warriors of the north, landing from our one hundred canoes. Civilization has joined hands with barbarism, and well Christianity might weep aloud. The combined forces of red and white soldiers are moving quietly toward the United States fort on the southern brow of the island, garrisoned by only seventy men. Day is just dawning. The little village between the bluff and the straits is fast asleep. Now comes a man rushing in hot haste from door to door telling the inmates that the fort just above them on the bluff is about to be stormed by the British and Indians, and that unless they leave their homes at once, and go to the west side of the island to be guarded by British soldiers, they will all (in case the fort does not surrender) be massacred by the savages. All is now astir within the little village; men, women, and children in great excitement are rushing westward as directed—yet all about the fort is still and quiet. Cannon are now being planted on the height commanding the fort. The red men are swarming like bees through the woods all about it. Is it possible that it will be stormed and taken by surprise? There goes a man, climbing the steep precipice between the village and the fort. Thank Heaven, he has reached it and given the alarm!

All is now astir about the fort preparing for battle or for siege. What does that mean? Now there comes toward the

fort a party of British bearing a flag of truce. The captain of the fort goes out to meet them. Hark! Hear the British Commander. He says: "In the name of His Britannic Majesty, the King of Great Britain, I demand you to surrender yourself, this fort, and its garrison forthwith to my command." Pale and astonished, the captain of the fort replies: "Your nation and ours are at peace—hence, why this demand?" He answers: "Is it possible, sir, you have not heard that the United States a month ago declared war against England?" "No; by my word I have not heard it, or thought of such a thing." "It matters not. There is no time to parley—surrender at once. I have under my command three hundred English soldiers and one thousand savages; should you fire a single gun, or spill one drop of blood, I could not restrain them from massacring and scalping every soul within this fort. If you regard your life and that of your soldiers, surrender the fort, lay down your arms, and move at once to the west side of the island under guard of my soldiers. It is the only chance to save your lives." Ten minutes are given to consider the command. A consultation is now being held between the chief men of the fort. Will they surrender or will they fight? There they come, marching out in single file and delivering up their arms to the enemy. The Stars and Stripes are taken down from the flag-staff above the fort, and in the place of the American Eagle is run up the British Lion. Unarmed, the crest-fallen sons of liberty march to the rear, and to the west side of the island, led by fife and drum amid the shouts of victory and the deafening yells of the Indian warriors.

And now the curtain falls. There is no cheering or clapping of hands. Our audience are all the sons of freedom, and, instead of applauding, well might weep. Some one I hear, asking, "Po-Ka-Gon, how comes your race aiding the King?" I will tell you. They were solemnly told by his sons that the war was begun out of pity and love for them by their great chieftain King, and that by their help he would restore to them their ancient lands—that they might live as their fathers did before the white man came among them. They believed those

lies to be true. Their hearts burned with as pure and patriotic zeal for their cause as did those of your revolutionary fathers for theirs, when they struck for liberty.

Again the bell rings and the curtain rises. Look again toward the island and the fort. The English commander has called for the fleetest warrior of all the northern tribes. One steps quickly forward, and as we listen we hear these words: "Go in haste; tell the good news to the Pottawatomie warriors of the south three hundred miles away; tell them Fort Mackinaw is in our hands, and the garrison are held as prisoners of war. Tell them that the brave Tecumseh with his warriors is marching on Detroit, and that too must fall. Tell them to call their warriors together without delay to meet us in council on the day of the first full moon, at which time we will send delegates to meet them at the council fires and make known our desires unto them."

The clansman starts; he is slim and tall but strong of limb, moccasined, girdled, and equipped for flight. Now he is bending to the oars, crossing the straits southward. He lands, and springing from the boat upon the shore, still southward, holds his course running like a deer following an ancient trail. He is coming toward us at the rate of seventy-five miles a day. Wild birds scream above him; beasts flee before him. He heeds them not, but still right onward holds his course through tangled swamps, swimming rivers deep and wide.

Four days have now passed since he left the island. He appears at the front of the stage in the valley of the river before the old Indian Council House. He calls for the Pottawatomie war chief, who goes out to meet him. Excitedly he tells how four days ago our warriors led by the white chief Charles Roberts, sent out by the King of England, captured the United States fort at Mackinaw, with all its artillery and white warriors, who are now held prisoners in our hands. "I am instructed," he says, "to have you call together all your warriors at this council house, on the day of the first full *te-bik-ke-sus* [moon], or night sun, at which time a great white chief with a band of our victorious warriors of the north will meet them

here to have them unite with our northern tribes and join the British warriors against the United States. The great King who rules beyond the ocean and the Great Lakes has seen the afflictions of our people and stretched out his hands in pity and love to help us. Yes, he is determined that we shall inherit and enjoy this land of our fathers forever."

Runners are sent out in hot haste with orders from the old chief, to call his warriors together from near and far to prepare for the coming war. To-morrow will be the first full moon. It is now early morning. The river's shore about the council house is crowded with men, women, and children, waiting to greet the warriors as they come by boat down the river. They are now beginning to arrive in canoes, one, two, three and sometimes more at a time, like crows migrating southward in the autumn. Every now and then he heard: "Do look there! See; they are unloading from their boats what they have killed on their way down the stream. What lots of game!—ducks, turkeys, squirrels, deer, and other animals of the woods." As soon as they land they pitch the tents all about the old council house.

The sun has not yet gone down, but at least a thousand warriors have arrived to attend the war council to-morrow. All are busy now within the camp, preparing the game for a great feast. The sun has now gone down, and one by one the stars appear. The night is beautiful; unnumbered fires blaze throughout the deep valley, lighting up the grand old forest and causing strange lights and shades to flit from place to place like spirits from the happy hunting-grounds beyond. The meat is divided while yet raw, and each warrior roasts his own—well cooked or rare, to suit his taste.

The feast is now prepared. Around each camp-fire the warriors incline upon one side, with elbow resting on the ground. No dishes rattle, and no clinking knives are heard within the camp. Like cats that use their paws in eating, so these natives use their hands. All talk of their brave hero Tecumseh, of the coming war, of England's noble chieftain King, of liberty and their native land.

Four days have passed, and the little party from Detroit reaches the great encampment of the Pottawatomies, who are assembled about their council house waiting for the warriors from Mackinaw, who are to meet them here to-day. The Detroit party, all unheralded, enters the camp. The half-breed Frenchman is cordially greeted on every side. All seemed highly pleased to shake hands with him, as with an old friend tried and true. He now introduces to the chief a white man, who came with him, as Robert Forsyth of Detroit, Mich., sent out by General Hull of that place to talk with the Indians and to learn what course they intended to pursue in the impending war. Battees quietly inquires of an old chief for what purpose so many of the warriors are assembled. He tells him that Fort Mackinaw has been taken by the English and red warriors of the north, and that Tecumseh sent some days ago, from the island, warriors who are on their way to meet us here to-day and make arrangements with us to join the British army, who are going to fight for us to save our homes and native land. Battees remonstrates with him, telling him they ought to try to save the country in which they live and not fight against it, to destroy it. Several chiefs are now gathering about, listening to his advice to their people in meditative mood. Now comes the answer:

"Battees, we love you. When a boy you shared with us the perils of the chase and the camp. We taught you to lisp our mothers' tongue until you could speak our language better far than we ourselves. You were welcome to every wigwam of our tribe. You left us a few years ago as our friend. We love you still. But we have lived to learn that the Americans hate us with a deadly hatred. Many times in the last ten years they have burned our villages and destroyed our provisions at winter's near approach, and less than one year ago they marched a vast army into the center of our country, defeating us in battle at Tippecanoe and killing many of our bravest warriors, for whom the children, maidens, wives, fathers, and mothers are weeping yet."

But, hark! What mean those deafening yells within the

camp like shouts of victory? Look; there comes marching into camp with stately tread the white warrior from the north, with his thirty Chippewas as a bodyguard. He is recognized by the chiefs, who rush to meet him. He speaks to them fluently in their own language. He says: "All listen! I have here a despatch from your brave Tecumseh, who wishes you to join forces with him and the English in the coming war with England against the United States. I am instructed to inform you that he has received a solemn promise from the English general that if you will join him Michigan shall be yours forever."

Battees, now advancing toward the Frenchman, recognizes him as his own uncle. Gruffly he replies: "What business have you here, traitor? You miserable half-breed, son of my brother who married a squaw! Surrender and lay down your gun and join the British or I will handcuff you and take you with us back to Mackinaw." Battees replies: "Uncle, I will not turn my back on the American cause; nor will I be taken prisoner by you alive." He cocks his double-barrel gun, and with daring bravery exclaims, "Uncle John, you cross that trail between us toward me, and I will shoot you through!" His uncle draws his sword and with equal daring attempts to arrest him. The sudden crack of a rifle rings through the camp. His uncle falls dead across the trail, shot through the heart. The eyes of the Chippewas flash fire as they rush forward toward Battees. Quickly he reloads his gun, telling them: "The first one of you who dares cross the trail my uncle tried to cross is a dead Indian. These Pottawatomies are my friends, tried and true; they will not allow you to take me. I sorely regret I was compelled to kill my uncle, but all the fault was his. Now, do not get excited; take hold and help bury my uncle, and to-morrow morning you shall receive of Burnett at this trading-post twenty gallons of fire-water. That will do you more good, and make you feel much better, than to have a troublesome prisoner on your hands." See; they quiet down. They help dig a grave. The dead man is buried and a rude

cross of wood placed above his grave. Battees and his little party leave the camp for Detroit, and the curtain falls.

Some one is saying, "Po-Ka-Gon, where did your tribe cast their fortunes—with the Americans or the British?" On August 5, some of them went east and joined Tecumseh, taking part in the slaughter of Major Van Horn's command on the River Rosin, and were present at the surrender of Detroit and the State of Michigan to the British on August 16; while a few took part in the battle of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, about the same time. Their last engagement was the battle of the Thames, Canada, fought between the Americans and the British on October 5, 1813. In this battle our tribe, the Pottawatomies, with their allies fought with desperation, for all their hopes of final triumph were staked on the success of that day's battle. I have frequently heard old warriors say that after the British infantry gave way they still fought desperately against overwhelming odds, until the brave Tecumseh fell mortally wounded, when they yielded and fled. This was the last battle fought between the Americans and the confederacy of the Algonquin tribes. Their utter defeat on that day, and the death of General Tecumseh, extinguished forever all hopes of successful resistance. Those who escaped returned to their villages sad, dejected, and thoroughly subjugated, never raising the tomahawk or sounding the war-cry again.

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THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

VI. PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS OF FEMALES.

IN the last preceding article, the tests of the senses were given. This one will include all those that are dependent upon the senses but do not relate solely to them. These include memory, association of ideas, coördination, fatigue, and quality tests, together with some suggestions from the work with the kymograph. Satisfactory methods have been devised, so that this year's measurements of the students include those of attention, imagination, reason, observation, and language. These additions make a more complete series and secure broader results.

The test for memory is made in the following way: There are six series of numerals, each containing ten figures. The first series of ten consists of four figures, as 3,851; the second of five, as 74,281; the third of six, and so on. Each series increases in length by one over the preceding, the last series containing nine numbers. Beginning with the first series, the numbers are read distinctly and the subject is required to write them as she has heard them. She cannot write until each number is finished, as 7,641. If she cannot write, she repeats them to the experimenter, who writes her answer. The series are given in order of increasing difficulty until the subject fails or makes three kinds of errors: omits, transposes, and substitutes a figure. The series in which these occur is the one that represents her capacity. In order to prevent any efficiency that comes through the use of numbers, as with bookkeepers, this experiment is repeated with letters, as x m p f, and so forth. There is no change from the method used with numbers, only all vowels are omitted; while among the figures only zero is not used. Results show that the negroes rarely pass series 3—containing six figures. Beyond this they become confused, impatient, and make many errors.

For letters, the series is the same, though the percentage is less. Thus, in numbers, over fifty per cent. can produce six figures, less than twenty-five per cent. seven numbers, and less than twenty per cent. eight figures. In letters a larger number can reproduce six figures, but few go beyond this. Negro criminals are inferior to white students, but compare favorably with white criminals, even though the latter are more familiar with both letters and figures. Difficulty in the formation of figures lessens the average for the criminals, for in their efforts to write the letters they often forget what has been read. The negroes do not give up as easily as the white criminals, and are less impatient. The latter are more sensitive to failure, and, if they are not doing well, much tact and encouragement are needed to secure their best records. The students' average is, for numerals, eight; for letters, seven. Among the whites the penitentiary inmates are slightly above the negroes' average, and the workhouse inmates slightly below. This is not an all-sufficient test, but indicates the possibilities of such work in determining memory, concentration, attention, comprehension, and other facts.

Card assortments and precision tests are given to determine discrimination and resulting coördination. The subject is required to assort thirty-two cards into four boxes of equal sizes. Upon these cards are pasted small round disks, eight each of blue, red, yellow, and green. She is required to throw the blue into one box, the red into another, and so forth. She does this as rapidly as possible, and the time required and number of errors are carefully noted. First she must discriminate between the colors, and then the hand must execute her judgment. When this is done, she is given thirty-two cards similar to the others, but upon these are drawn eight each of squares, circles, triangles, and pentagons. She is then required to distribute these in the proper boxes, by the same process as the colors.

The precision test is given for the purpose of determining the coördination of the eye and hand. A sheet of paper, upon which is printed a target, is hung upon the wall. The subject

is seated in front of this, and with a continuous free-arm swing from the shoulder is required to strike the center as nearly as she can. A pencil is held in the hand, and every time it strikes, it leaves its record in the form of a dot. The striking is done upon regular time, so that all subjects work at the same rate. Among the negroes, 45 per cent. made dots outside the inner circle, which was $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. Both students and white criminals were more accurate than the negroes, although the individual blanks show that the white criminals are more nervous. Thus there were fewer dots outside the inner circle, but they were further from the center. To secure the contrast, a few dots were made with the subject's eyes closed. Some of these were without the outer circle of the target, which was seven inches in diameter, and none of them were within the inner circle. Both of these tests show that the criminals average below the normal; but that they can do as well and as poorly individually is indicated by the range.

The next test is perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most suggestive. This is called association of ideas. A word is given the subject and she is requested to write down whatever she thinks. Instead of writing the whole idea, she puts down one word for each idea, and her train of thought is then represented by a column of words, as "dog, cat, lawn, dark, rain, party, disagreeable," meaning that a dog suggested chasing a cat across the lawn; that cats howl at night, when it is dark; it rains when it is dark, and it is disagreeable going to a party in the rain. Here is a definite train of thought represented in a test of words. This test was the most difficult for the criminals to grasp, for they would put in such words as "of" and "the," or write sentences.

Three series of associations were given, the first for the purpose of determining the strength of the various sense organs in memory. Thus the subject closed her eyes and at a given signal a color was shown her. She wrote all the thought which followed that, starting with the idea of the color. One minute is allowed for each word, and the subject

can think of anything she chooses, whether connected with the word or idea given or not. For hearing, a whistle is blown, and she records her thought, starting with this idea; for taste, she is given a drop of quinine solution; for smell, camphor or perfume; for touch, a sharp pin prick. Starting with the idea of each of the sensations, the object is to see how long each persists. Each series of associations is carefully analyzed with the subject's aid, so that each idea is as clearly defined as possible. The results show that the visual persists the longest, the auditory second, tactual third, and gustatory and olfactory about the same. Thus, where a color was shown all the associations were of the eye, and rarely involved the others, as where all the other colors were named or where pictures were recalled of persons, places, or things.

The second series was given for the purpose of determining the rate and route of association and for the content of the mind. The rate of association shows the capacity for associative thought under a given stimulus in a given time. For this series the words *marriage*, *religion*, *habit*, *value*, and *mind* were used, and *work* and *punishment* were added, where the subject failed to associate with these. The meaning of the words must be within the grasp of the subject or no thought is aroused. The rate shows that the students' average is about ten associations per minute, the white criminals 5.2 and the negroes about 7.6 associations. One reason why the white criminals' rate is so low is because of their difficulty in writing. Sometimes it was so slow and labored that only a few associations could be given. If the associations had been written by the experimenter as with the negroes, the two would not have been radically divergent in rate.

Again, among the white criminals the workhouse class are more degenerate, physically, from excessive bad habits than are the penitentiary classes; and this lowers the rate. Among the negroes there are not the extreme and varied excesses found among the whites. On the whole, they are in better physical condition. Another reason why the negroes' rate

is high is because their associations are elementary. The better educated persons show more complex associations, as will be seen later.

One other reason for the difference in rate is that the deficient mental training of the criminals prevents concentration, and this is essential in association work. In subjects of low mental caliber and in feeble-minded persons the associations were broken, sometimes no link being found with preceding or succeeding words. The criminals, more than the students, suppress their thought, often unconsciously, for they are constantly on the defensive and suppress ideas that are immoral or detrimental to themselves. This was revealed in the analysis of the ideas.

The routes of the association are three. All the ideas may go back to the original word, as under *habits*, where all kinds are named. Thus the idea of "habit" is carried to the end; this is called reverting association. The second is where the original idea is completely lost, as in the following: *color*—"blue, pretty, dress, baby, my own, wish to see." Here the idea of *blue* is lost entirely. This is progressive association, and is most common to the educated classes, as whole scenes are often presented. The third is a mixture of the two. Wherever criminals of good education have been tested, the tendency has been toward progressive and mixed associations.

The third and perhaps most important datum is the nature of the thought—mental and moral. On the mental side the following facts are revealed: the criminals' associations were almost invariably within their own experience or feeling. Among students and educated criminals there were associations of general knowledge, as books read, or of general facts. The range of ideas with the criminals was necessarily smaller, narrowing as the intelligence and education decreased. This is shown through the repetitions and elementary associations and through the breaks in the continuity of thought. This is also shown by the limited number of associations which they gave upon abstract words, such as *value* and *mind*. The spelling and chirography in the cases where they could write, and

the difficulty with which they made their meaning clear in the analysis, further revealed this. The conversations developed by this analysis, in which they were asked to tell their thoughts, gave much light upon the mental scope. This mental scope is more limited in the negro than in the white criminal.

The moral tone of the subject's thought is revealed chiefly through the associations upon *marriage, religion, habits, and value*. As most of the students were not married, the first word brought forth theoretical associations, as their ideas about it. The criminals showed clearly the nature of the domestic life. A few had been happy, but the words "fighting," "divorce," "unhappy," and "not marry again," occur very frequently. *Religion* secured some good results. Among the students there was often included the ethical side of religion, while the criminals confined their thought to the form. This was especially true of the white criminals. The following is an illustration: Students—"prayer, heaven, peace, contentment, happiness;" "beautiful, good, safe, nun." Criminals—"sacrament, singing, choir, organ;" "heaven, home, dress, holiday, good time." Among the negroes the expression is more emotional, as "shouting, preaching, get religion, hallelujah." This favors the statement that criminals are often religious but not moral. Sometimes they would cry while giving their association, and then would pray for strength to "down" an enemy when they "got out." The associations show that their religion is a matter of the soul, and has but little application in improved daily living.

Under *habits*, the criminals almost always included the bad ones, and there were often whole lists made up of such words as *lying, stealing, cheating, killing, snuff, whisky*, etc. It was only occasionally that good habits were included, or formed a large part of the association. *Value* showed more of an economic condition. Some of the things named as valuable, by the criminal, other classes on a higher plane would not notice. They included groceries, articles of dress, furniture, small money, etc. Value in the abstract they did not give at all,

as cost, exchange, etc. Occasionally the value of friends, home, and similar things would be included; but most of the things were material and showed a very limited and simple economic sphere. Wherever well-educated criminals were secured—and these were very few, being only three among the whites and one among the negroes—the associations showed clearly the educational and cultural forces mixed with the degraded and immoral.

The third series consisted of constrained association. All of the preceding have been free. Under the present series the subject is allowed to think upon only the subjects given. These were: "Name the kinds of birds you know," and "Give the causes of fire." The time limit and process were the same. For the students the rate is lower than for criminals, when compared with the rate of free associations. The criminals are imitative and think faster on a given subject. They seemed confused by the wide range of free association. Constrained association, by reason of the discrimination required, averaged less than the free. "Causes of fire" was more difficult than naming birds, and in all classes the rate is less in the latter test.

This brief outline of an elaborate test shows clearly the nature and value of the material that may be obtained first-hand from the individual's own thought process, and it throws light upon the actual mental and moral status. This test can be extended to cover many subjects and has been used in this investigation in a suggestive and by no means exhaustive way.

Fatigue tests are, perhaps, familiar to many, by reason of their use in public-school measurements. The method used in these tests is very simple. An ordinary pair of scales, used for weighing small packages, is suspended from a standard. The subject places her first finger upon the hook, the hand and arm resting upon the table. At a given signal she pulls as hard as she can, and then holds the hook as steadily as possible at that point for half a minute. The rate of decrease from the maximum pull shows the rate of fatigue.

The negroes' average shows the maximum pull to be 7.6 pounds, and the minimum 5.2 pounds, the difference being the rate of fatigue, which is small. The students' rate of fatigue is less than this, and the white criminals' slightly greater. There is one peculiarity of the criminals, and noticeably among the whites—that they exhausted their energy with a sharp pull, instead of pulling the scales regularly and easily. When the scales are sent up with a sudden jerk they cannot be held at that point as steadily. Untrained, uneducated persons perform much of their labor and enter into their recreations by these bursts of energy, instead of by constant, steady work.

A so-called quality test was given the negroes, similar to that in the Northern investigations; but it was a failure. This failure was the most significant result possible. The following words were chosen: principle, honor, truth, justice, right, ambition, courage, love, pride, purity, nobility, sympathy, friendship, virtue, sincerity, and patience. From this list they were asked to select five which they wished to possess for themselves or their friends. It was found that some of the words held no meaning for them, and they could not comprehend the meaning under the most patient explanation. Love, friendship, truth, sympathy, and sincerity they had some conception of; for purity, only the religious concept could be seen, not the personal one; principle and honor were recognized in only a few instances; justice had no meaning, except in relation to their crime and punishment, and they could only dimly apply it in their relations to one another. There were exceptions, but the understanding was so deficient that the results can only be used to show this. Among the white criminals one fact is significant—the extent to which the softer qualities, as love, friendship, purity, etc., are ruled out. Friendship, sympathy, and sincerity are at the bottom of the list; and in lives so ruled by competition, harshness, and deception this result is inevitable.

There were two tests made with the kymograph. This is an instrument having a base that contains a clock-work. To an upright arm is adjusted a brass drum, which is revolved by

the clock-work. Upon this drum is fastened a strip of smoked paper. As the drum revolves slowly the subject is required to hold a quill or fine brush, as steadily as possible, at arms' length. As the drum revolves a line is drawn which shows the steadiness of the subject. In most of the cases this line showed no neurotic conditions, but there were a few showing this condition. Wherever the subject was frightened she was given other trials, so that as nearly as possible this element was eliminated. From this and other observations, the tendency seems clear that criminal negro women are not neurotics to the extent which the white criminal women are.

The second test was that of the respiration. A small hollow drum, filled with rubber ends to which are fastened threads, is tied about the chest. To this is attached a rubber tube, which is fastened to a tambour upon a standard. The pointer of the tambour rests against the smoked paper, and is so arranged that when the subject breathes this pointer is moved up and down. As the drum does not remain stationary, the line has a wave-like form. So long as the spaces and height of the lines remain the same the breathing is normal. Now, the object is to determine the amount of emotional reaction to a given stimulus. A sheet of paper will hold from eight to ten of these curved lines. The subject is placed with her back to the instrument, and during the first time around is told to think of nothing. This is impossible, and is only designed to keep out disturbing elements, for the changes in thought change the breathing curve. During the second time around, a block is suddenly dropped back of the subject. This acts as a surprise, and the result is shown in the sharp rise in the curve and in its unsteadiness until the subject recovers her composure. The second stimulus is that for pain. This is given by sharply pricking the subject. The change here is usually a sharp depression, as where the breath is caught and held. In order to test the effect of odors, a bottle of perfume was held to the nostrils. The curve showed a deep and continued depression. The odor was pleasant, and they continued inhaling and were reluctant to exhale. With ammonia, the

result was the contrary. It was unpleasant, and the curve became almost a straight line, as the breath was held until the obnoxious odor was removed. A curve was also taken while the subject was reading to herself. This gives a good normal curve with which to compare variations, for the thought is centered upon a subject designed only to hold the attention but not to arouse intense thought.

Some changes in curves were obtained by suggestion and others by accident. In the former, for instance, while the line was being made, the suggestion was given that the subject think of those she loved or hated, and of her desire to get out of prison. In many cases she followed the suggestion, and marked changes resulted. A mirror held before her with the request that she look at herself brought good reactions, and when asked what she was thinking she gave answers such as: "If I was at home, I would primp;" "Am getting old and ugly." Vanity was the emotion touched here. Fear was secured in this way: Placing an ordinary steel tube against the temple, she was told it was electricity, and if she remained still it would not hurt her much. Fear is shown in two ways: by a straight line where the breath was held in apprehension, or by a jagged line when the subject became nervous. The changes secured by accident were in this way: Sometimes the kymograph would run quietly for some time, and no stimulus was given. If there was a decided change in the curve, the instrument was stopped and the thought asked for. In many instances the subject gave a thought that seemed the true one. In other instances results were secured for which no questions were necessary. In this way curves were obtained while the subjects dropped asleep, or cried while I was talking about their release from prison—or sighed, coughed, or laughed. These were all spontaneous, and could not have been secured by request.

The results secured through the use of the kymograph simply demonstrate that there is the possibility that the emotions can be pictured accurately, and that assertions regarding the comparative emotional life of criminals and normal individuals

can be based upon data other than the impressions of the observer.

The psychological tests suggest ways in which individuals and classes can be studied more accurately, and show that, while the criminal class is probably inferior to the educated class, the negro criminals fall so nearly within the same range that many theories of their limitations must have some doubt cast over them. The results of these tests are high or low, very much in proportion to the degree and kind of training and culture. There are not defects among the negroes which show idiocy or degeneracy so much as they show diverted and undeveloped capabilities. The perspective and range of ideas of the negroes are very narrow, as is also knowledge of the principle of adjustment to social forces; but nowhere do these results show that they have had either the length of time or opportunity required for these. The facility with which they comprehended what was required in the tests shows them to be capable of instruction.

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AN ARTIST WITH TWENTIETH CENTURY IDEALS.

I.

"Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still. To dream of castles in Spain is well; to dream of Utopia is better. . . . Some pure lovers of art . . . discard the formula, 'Art for Progress,' the Beautiful Useful, fearing lest the useful should deform the beautiful. They tremble to see the drudge's hand attached to the muse's arm. According to them the ideal may become perverted by too much contact with reality. They are solicitous for the sublime if it descends as far as to humanity. Ah! they are in error. The useful, far from circumscribing the sublime, enlarges it. . . . Is Aurora less splendid, clad less in purple and emerald; suffers she any diminution of majesty and of radiant grace—because, foreseeing an insect's thirst, she carefully secretes in the flower the dewdrop needed by the bee?"—"WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE," by *Victor Hugo*.

THE needs of the people are greater and more complex to-day than at any previous period in history. A full stomach no longer suffices for the toiler. Thanks to the printing-press and the freedom inaugurated by the Reformation and carried forward by the great revolutions of the last one hundred and twenty-five years, the millions now demand food for the imagination and for the intellect. The higher side of life must be ministered to—not of a life, not of the life of a class or of a privileged few, but of all the people.

In earlier periods the vast majority of all nations were pitifully ignorant. Their narrow little lives were lived out much as are those of the lower animals. The great masters in art, music, and literature were usually the pensioners of the Crown, of rich nobles, or of an opulent Church; but for the millions the rare pleasure that comes from an awakened imagination and a schooled brain was unknown. Now all is changed. Education has become widely diffused throughout Western civilization. Contact with music, art, the drama, and literature has quickened the dull imagination of millions of toilers, who now hunger for more than bread; and with this broadening of the intellectual vision, this awakening of the soul, and this

appreciation of the finer things of life, comes the moral illumination of the real leaders of civilization—the *men and women of ideals*—the advance-guard who through all ages have blazed the pathway of progress. And these leaders are appealing to the conscience of the world to recognize the next great basic truth of human advancement, which society must necessarily accept before further lasting progress can be made—the brotherhood of man, with all that the term implies. They insist that the demands which the larger life of the people calls for be promptly met. It is not enough that all men have work to do that shall enable them to eat and sleep in comfort. The hunger and the thirst of mind and soul must be appeased. And thus we find the twentieth century leaders in every department of endeavor working for the enrichment of the life of all. Victor Hugo said: “No one can foresee the quantity of light that will be evolved by placing the people in communication with men of genius. The combination of the heart of the people with the heart of the poet will be the voltaic pile of civilization.” And what is true of the influence of the poet is equally true of the influence of art on the mind and life of man. It is important that the eyes of the soul of every toiler be opened to the beauty-side of Nature, and that the art spirit be so cultivated that beauty will be lured into every home—an angel of joy whose influence refines, exalts, and dignifies the humblest cot. Here, then, is a fruitful field for the prophet of progress and the apostle of humanity, and here we find pioneer souls have already entered. In England John Ruskin and William Morris wrought a splendid work; and in this country a labor quite as commanding and important, though less widely heralded, has been achieved through the effective and persistent labor of Prof. John Ward Stimson. He is a real representative of the Brotherhood of the New Day.

II.

Professor Stimson was born into a New England home half a century ago. Those who believe in hereditary influences will find in his life confirmatory proof of their contentions. His

father was of Scotch and Puritan descent—a sturdy man, possessing that strong moral fiber that marked the great ethical protest which culminated in the Reformation, and which at a later day made New England a powerful factor in the world's struggle for liberty and a higher standard of life than had prevailed. His paternal grandfather had devoted his life to missionary work in the mountain regions of New York. His mother was a granddaughter and grandniece of the eminent Huguenot brothers, Elisha and Elias Boudinot, who were famous jurists and prominent Revolutionary patriots, sharing the confidence of Washington and the Continental Congress, the former signing the treaty of peace with Great Britain as president of the Congress when the war closed.

It is an interesting fact that a large proportion of the most virile and versatile among our leading men and women carry in their veins the mingled blood of nations or races of markedly dissimilar character. Robert Browning, for example, inherited from his ancestors English, Scotch, German, and Creole blood, and Professor Stimson, as will be seen, was of Puritan, Scotch, and Huguenot descent. Whether blood tells or not, certain it is that the noble traditions of moral heroism that light up the pages of a family history exert a very marked influence for good on the plastic mind of the child, if his early environment is normal or favorable to the development of moral enthusiasm.

III.

When his preparatory education was ended Professor Stimson entered Yale College, carrying with him that enthusiasm for humanity and that high ethical fervor which is frequently found among the freshmen in our universities; and, happily for the world, his scholastic training failed to dampen his ardor or develop a spirit of cynical unconcern for others, which is too frequently a blighting influence of the modern college and its environment.

He graduated from Yale in 1872, and shortly after leaving college sailed for Europe to perfect his art education; for he had determined to devote his life to the advancement of art cul-

ture in the New World. He first entered the National French Academy of Art, at Paris, from which, after graduating, he journeyed forth to study art and the art situation in the great centers of continental Europe and Great Britain. During this period, being of a philosophic turn of mind, he gave much time and thought to the historic evolution of art and to its vital underlying principles and methods. After an absence of six years he returned to America with mind aflame with the idea of furthering in our Republic a vigorous original art, which should be democratic in influence, reaching and awakening an appreciation and love of the beautiful in the hearts of our millions. He knew that true art wielded a magic influence over the imagination of man; that it refined, exalted, and enriched life and brought those who truly came *en rapport* with it into intimate communion with the Master Artist and Workman of the universe. He realized what all master artists, from the Golden Age of Hellas unto the present, have well understood—that nothing fosters joy in labor like the possession of the art spirit and the opportunity adequately to express it in work, or at least to have its expression blossoming around the worker. In modern times, and especially in the New World, art has been for the most part enjoyed by a rich and favored few. Its marvelous influence in developing the spiritual side of man, and giving to life that indefinable satisfaction and joy known to us only after we have been trained to see and feel the beauty in Nature and in the creative work of man, was a sealed book to the majority of artisans, and indeed to most of our people. Art, Professor Stimson contended, should be democratic instead of exclusive. Every child of God should be so educated as to enjoy the beauty that floods the world, and he should be so imbued with the art spirit that he would carry it into his life's work.

Besides and beyond this right of every citizen in a republic to enjoy the refining influence of an imagination trained to appreciate beauty, Professor Stimson saw with the clear vision of a philosophic statesman that a broad and comprehensive industrial art education would be of inestimable commercial

value to our country. This fact France, Germany, and other Old World nations have long appreciated and they have endowed and multiplied their schools for industrial art. They have fostered artist-artisanship by giving rich prizes for superior designs and original conceptions of beauty. They have furnished in all their larger cities noble art collections and specimens of beautiful handiwork, while seeing to it that the attention of the children has been systematically called to the marvelous beauty of the artist-artisanship of God.

Even little Japan, the Greece of modern times, has not been slow to appreciate the commercial as well as the religious and ethical value of the democratizing of art; and perhaps no nation to-day is doing more to encourage its people to study the beauty of Nature,—“the azure from above, whence falls the ray which swells the wheat, yellows the maize, rounds the apple, and gilds the orange,”—that art which purples the grape and tints the morning sky, which glistens in the dew-drop and wakes to beauty in rose and lily. The Japanese encourage their people to turn from absorption in sordid, prosaic, and materialistic commercialism and behold Deity come to earth in the beauty of Nature. There are certain days in spring when the population of cities, towns, and villages repairs to the country to behold the cherry-trees clothed in glory and the wisteria vine—a vision of beauty, a haunting dream of pure delight that lives in the vivid imagination of the sight-seer long after he has returned to his home. And from these studies of Nature and the contemplation of the Master Artist-Artisan at his work, the Japanese turn to their labors with mind aglow with beauty, and into their toil they weave the loveliness that lingers in the brain, which the Western world gladly buys, to the immense enrichment of the land of the Mikado.

And while Europe and Japan are thus engaged in utilizing art industrially, to their enormous gain, America is neglecting the vital work. We have been like the man who once found a gold piece in the mire, and who ever afterward went through life with eyes riveted on the ground, in the hope of finding more gold. As Professor Stimson said on one occasion, “We have

destroyed our national character by gluttony and greed of raw material left to raw ideals and animal appetites, till the very plague has undermined social and political life and the very Church itself."

IV.

To awaken our people to the importance of democratic art became the overmastering concern of Professor Stimson on his return to the Republic, after his six years spent in the study of art in the great centers of Europe. He first accepted an invitation to lecture at Princeton College, and from this position he was called to direct the art educational work of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts. Subsequently for several years he was actively engaged in organizing on broad lines and successfully building up practical courses that soon became immensely popular. He laid special stress on the application of art to industry, and under his splendid direction and oversight many hundreds of young men were trained to successful careers. It is not strange that the enthusiasm of the teacher became contagious, or that his work aroused a degree of interest not before known in art instruction in America. His labors differed radically from those of the ordinary instructors in that his broad and complete grasp of the underlying principles upon which true methods depend enabled him to appeal to the reason and philosophic side of life, while stimulating and awakening the spiritual energies in the student, thus making him feel that witchery which the poet and artist nature only knows when profoundly stirred by beauty that appeals to all the higher faculties of being. Professor Stimson also insisted on letting the natural bent, taste, and aptitude of each pupil determine the special branch of work; for he understood enough of human nature to know that only in this way could the best results be obtained, and he had also observed that this true spirit had ever prevailed in the great art epochs of history. Under his directorship the growth of the art classes was phenomenal. From a few students and two or three departments the school increased until it numbered hun-

dreds of scholars, with more than a dozen instructors, in principles, form, color, light, composition, technique, construction, carving, cabinet work, architecture, sculpture, metal work, jewelry, etching, illustration, decoration for walls, ceilings, ceramics, stained glass, stencils, silks, and textiles generally, with the advanced work of "portraiture," "landscape," and "life model" work.

The one serious drawback to the full success of the great work was found in the lack of hearty official coöperation from certain rich but dilettante members of the Museum board. Their attitude led to a vigorous protest on the part of Professor Stimson, following which he withdrew from his position in the Museum, having become thoroughly convinced that he could build up a far greater and more beneficent work untrammelled by those who believed that art should be exclusive instead of democratic and who favored imitating or borrowing from the Old World rather than developing a vigorous, independent, and original movement in America.

Some time previous to his withdrawal he had coined the hyphenated term "artist-artisanship" as best illustrating the idea for which he was striving, and he now founded the Artist-Artisan Institute in New York. The movement thus set afoot in the Western world was for original national art development and toward genuine self-culture, self-expression, and self-defense in industry. It will be seen that in this work Professor Stimson was giving practical expression to theories and ideals similar to those that William Morris was working out in England, though he was at the time unacquainted with the British poet, artist, and social dreamer's work in this direction. In speaking to me of the founding of the Artist-Artisan Institute Professor Stimson said:

"I appealed to all 'patriotic practical firms' to stand by an institute founded expressly to *unite Art and Industry* upon a generous *democratic* basis, for specifically *American national character, experience, genius, taste, and material applications*, as distinct from petty and narrow poses in foreign plumes or dependence on importing speculation. I wanted especially to open the public eye to their *own rich natural and national en-*

documents and sources of inspiration; to train up the young to recognize and apply immortal elements of beauty everywhere, and cardinal principles of good taste, selection, adaptation, etc., that applied indefinitely on *all* 'materia,' showing them the road to sincere personality, native character and style, organic lines of Nature knowledge and method, New World culture and inspiration, so as to break the yoke of blind mimicry, affectation and fad, foreign mannerism, and dilettante pose.

"I met, of course, the sharp opposition of all elements in any wise opposed to such national independence in vital education: the mechanical 'copy-book' trusts, whose special plunder was the innocent and ignorant public schools; the importers who cried foreign wares; the idle and affected dilettanti element who 'played with art' only as a pleasant social pose or back parlor preserve, and 'objected to its popularization'; and especially the speculative and ephemeral, who view art as a dextrous 'technical trick' or 'craze' by which to catch pennies or a fleeting self-advertisement.

"But time told. The Museum awoke too late to the wrong they had done. In spite of desperate efforts, their fine school of hundreds went all to pieces in three years, and they gave it up—the students having fled to the new movement. So for thirteen years the work went broadly and successfully on upon ever more wide and independent lines, drawing forth from and returning to all the States hundreds of young people prepared to disseminate and reapply the educational and artistic principles taught them.

"Credit must be given to many noble men and women who rallied zealously to my aid during those long years, like George Jones of the *New York Times*, who stood long and manfully by me till his death, as did his assistant editors, Messrs. Parrish and DeKay. General Joshua Chamberlain (ex-governor of Maine and former president of Bowdoin College) joined the active committee, with the Rev. Heber Newton, Horace Fairchild of the silk guild, and others. Leading educators, like Dr. Hailmann, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs and head of the Kindergarten Association, and leading artists, like William Hamilton Gibson, Olin Warner, Candace Wheeler, Walter Shirlaw, Curran, Ruckstuhl, etc., did yeoman service; and most of the artistic and far-seeing firms, like Tiffany, Gorham, Cottier, Cheney Brothers, etc., assisted financially."

As anticipated by its founder, the school soon became a

great success. The broad, free, and enthusiastic spirit of Professor Stimson permeated the Institute. The scholars became infected, as it were, and threw into the work that ardor and passionate love which are essential to the grandest results. It would be impossible adequately to estimate the influence it exerted on the nation, through the young people going forth aflame with love of art to scatter abroad the lessons they had imbibed in all parts of the land, founding schools, entering educational institutions, and furthering the practical work in hundreds of fields.

After thirteen years of constant application, the health of the earnest and tireless teacher gave way. He was taken with severe hemorrhages and had to seek perfect quiet in the Adirondack mountains. Nature and rest have almost restored his health, and last autumn, in response to an invitation from Trenton, New Jersey, he accepted the directorship of the Art and Science Institute of that city; and here the same work along the same lines as that formerly accomplished in New York, but which his illness closed there, is being successfully renewed. In addition to this Professor Stimson has recently greatly enlarged and elaborated a work of immense value, an outline of which was prepared some years ago, dealing with "The Principles and Methods in Vital Art Education." This work is now in the hands of the publishers, and from what I know of it I am confident that it will aid materially in fostering an interest in an original and vital art work in America.

Professor Stimson is in the truest sense a man of twentieth century ideals. He possesses the passionate hatred of oppression and injustice and the love of liberty which marked in so eminent a degree his ancestors on both sides of his family, and he also appreciates the newer and broader implications that have come with the advance of civilization. At times the wrongs of conventional society, of Church and State, call from his pen some burning protest, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, but always breathing forth the spirit of a man who has dared and suffered much for the rights and happiness of others. A short time ago, when the Russian church excom-

municated Count Tolstoi, and the State (the subservient tool of the Church) refused to allow the Count's picture to be publicly exhibited, Professor Stimson penned the following thoroughly characteristic lines (dedicated to Tolstoi):

TO CAIAPHAS.

I care not a coin for your crown,
 Ye priests of the science of self,
 With phylacteries falling low down,
 But your prayers and your poses *for self!*
 Ye climb to your steeples so high,
 Yet mock at the heroes—who die!

I care not a coin for your blame,
 Ye drones that lay burdens so vast
 Upon life—with its rapture and flame;—
 Yet out of your temples it cast!
 I gladly haste forth from your wall
 To find mercy and beauty for *all*.

Ye trees that are "barren of figs,"
 While ye rustle and flutter your leaves,
 I fly from your concourse of prigs
 To gather Life's sacredest sheaves.
 "Ye neither pass in at the Gate,
 Nor suffer the sad" that there wait!

Go, gather your harvest of dust,
 And whitewash your charnel of bones!
 Go, heap up your wealth, if ye must,
 And pile up your crumbling stones.
 Build houses "till there be no room"—
 They shall fall at the first crack of Doom!

I care not a coin for your pride,—
 It is false, it is barren and drear;
 It is waste that is washed by the tide;
 It is chaff—when the harvest is sere!
 Let me live—let me love—till the last!
 I will still live and love when all's past!

To Professor Stimson the unity of life and the brotherhood of man are splendid facts, which bear with them august duties for the individual and the State. He realizes that coöperation is the key-note of twentieth-century progress; that justice, freedom, and loving fellowship must pervade the oncoming

generation if civilization is to suffer no eclipse. His love of art is great, but it is because he feels that art is the handmaid of progress, happiness, and spiritual development. He demands that each child of earth shall have the same rights to ask for himself, and shall be led into the enjoyment of the ampler life which through progressive changes has now for the first time been made possible on earth. He is a child of the New Time—a worthy representative of the chosen torch-bearers of the ages, who have ever been ready to sacrifice personal comfort, ease, and even health and life for the enlargement and enrichment of the common lot and for the furtherance of the happiness and elevation of all the people.

“Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,
The compact nucleus, round which systems grow!
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,
And whirls impregnate with the central glow.”

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

ETHICAL AND UTILITARIAN VALUE OF VITAL ART.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WARD STIMSON.

Q. Professor Stimson, as the man perhaps of all men in America best qualified intelligently to discuss the artist-artisan movement and the influence of art—true art—on the minds of the humble workers, I desire to obtain for our readers your views on this vital question. How did you happen to interest yourself in the art educational field, and why did you devote your university-trained forces to the more *democratic* side of it?

A. I suppose we are providentially born or driven to our life rôles when we do not deliberately obstruct intuitions. My one credit, perhaps, is that I heard a "still, small voice" cry within my conscience, "Whom shall I send on a hard journey of educational uplifting to American labor?" And I dared not hold back my little. I owe much to old Puritan ancestral conviction of the individual right of every soul to be freely taught of "every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God"; and to French Huguenot ancestry I owe a consciousness that Beauty is one of His greatest words; Art one of His richest voices; Nature the very concrete expression of His skill, taste, and esthetic principles: while to make beauty forceful and vital it must be as *democratically embodied in every daily life* as are principles of physics or ethics, in the full spirit of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The Christ said, "If you do not believe me for my words, believe me for my *works*' sake. My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." And Saint James adds, "Show me faith without works, and I will show you faith *by my works*." We need no nobler aristocracy of true labor than this. The "vulgarity" is in the wantonly idle, rapacious, and tyrannical. If actions speak louder than words, the Deity may be

speaking louder through his cosmic bible of works than through any local Bible of words (Hebraic or other).

The mysterious spirit of Light, Life, Truth, and Beauty, back of things, seems pressing into our planet everywhere, according to the various receptivity of localities or susceptibility of souls; and the poor, honest, and oppressed producers of earth are often more open to the mighty voices of the Creator than the selfishly complacent and smug. It is certain the Hebrews themselves were more receptive and amenable after exile, sorrow, and pilgrimage than when they waxed fat with material wealth and intellectual conceit. In their early democratic age they heard the Lord's call for "all in whom I have put my spirit to work cunning workmanship in every material" to come forward to help beautify His tabernacle; but in their later official decadence they crucified the carpenter Messiah, whose purity and nobility the common people recognized gladly, and who urged everybody to "consider the lily, how it grows"—as Paul cried, "Whatsoever things are lovely, consider these." Even David denounced "those who consider not the *works* of the Lord nor the operation of his hands."

Q. Then you do not think the Puritan iconoclasm and antagonism toward beauty were correct, or that Christ was opposed to it when he declared of the beautiful stones of the temple that "not one would be left on another"? How do you connect Beauty and ethics?

A. The iconoclasm of the Puritans was but a temporary reaction against the Romanist abuse of art, and against the vain show of monarchists who hid their tyrannous selfishness under specious pretenses of "art patronage," much as robber barons to-day make pompous donations of libraries and art galleries to cloak political corruption and rascality in their acquisitions. Such art stimulus is apt to be spurious and sporadic, and can never take the place of sincere, genuine growth in the public at large. I think the old Puritans had (at heart, under a grim exterior) much tender appreciation of beauty in Nature, and certainly of honesty in workmanship (which are at the bottom of all good "artist-artisanship").

To me physics, ethics, and esthetics are but different facets of the same great prism of Truth. The same white light of eternal principle shines through the several sides, but is refracted by temperament and colored by different applications to material. Take, for instance, a living principle, like unity and equilibrium in planetary motion. Sir Isaac Newton sees it in physics and calls it "gravity"; an ethicist sees it in the moral world and calls it "temperance," "continence," etc.; while an artist, seeing the flanking towers and doorways of a cathedral, calls it "constructional balance." It is so with a host of other great principles, such as harmony, order, regularity, proportion, propriety and fitness, and selection and adaptation. Whether as a Messiah, or as the noblest type of manhood that our race has produced, Christ would not have discarded any living principles that are portions of elemental truth. He merely called attention to the fact that all cosmic principles would be seen to be international rather than local, and "written on the heart" for universal application rather than confined to Samaria or Jerusalem or to one place or temple. Historic religion has not destroyed the essential beauty of any truth or race—Greek, Hebrew, or Latin. What was vitally helpful then, in art or thought, is more alive to-day than ever, both to reveal their civilization and to reanimate ours. I find those who catch principles virilely in one field are more likely to detect them in another, and to develop character more proportionately. At Pentecost the Spirit declared, to varied personalities collected, "the wonderful works of God," *each "in his own language."* So, by any window that Truth enters into a house, it "giveth light to *all* that are in the house."

We Americans should keep this fact closer to national conscience and application. Our educational systems fail to recognize essential *principles* and their *unities*. Art and Beauty suffer from educational narrowness and prejudice. Labor is stifled and atrophied from lack of vital art inspiration, and becomes dead, mechanical drudgery. "Commercialism" (another term for selfish materialism) will not save us but destroy us, and quantity will not replace quality. Our colleges

fail of the true university spirit toward light, beauty, art, and all their applications. It was because I found so many rushing from my own university (of Yale) to crowd old avenues of law, medicine, theology, etc., that I preferred to pioneer in newer and more needed (though less lucrative or conventional) lines.

Great world-exhibitions were beginning to reveal America as far behind in art and artisanship; while open marts and competition were certain to grapple and destroy our blind dependence on raw materials in "raw" hands. Hence the pressure to do what one could to help, in time, our nation's better conscience, thought, taste and capacity toward industry. We can never be a true Republic until we honor labor by ennobling it educationally. It has suffered too long from our hypocritical shoddy and veneer, and the unjust degradation and weakness this imposes. National self-protection can only come by self-respect and self-development. It must be organic, internal, genuine, not artificial and extraneous. Tyranny and selfishness in the trusts beget a like retaliation in labor unions—though these latter have at least learned self-sacrifice for members and fair play by arbitration. Our present morbid industrial condition gives rise to monstrous political charlatanism, hocus-pocus tricks of politicians, to "protect" our weakness (by tariff and revenue parasites), when only generous and general artist-artisanship can fortify us.

I have had manufacturers of American carpets, etc., say they would not let their own wives furnish home with products from their personal factories because the "colors would not hold," and "the patterns were not as good as foreign"; but they compelled other Americans to buy their bad productions by high tariffs. They themselves jump the fence they put around others. Meanwhile they degrade labor and deny it the education that could protect home products legitimately. Americans should meet fire with fire, intelligence with intelligence, taste with taste, skill with skill—for the industrious producing classes of our country must ever be the true life, soul, and support of liberty. We need a nobler "aristocracy"

than that of speculation, greed, chicane—something born rather of sincere culture, social service, self-respect, self-support, self-defense—the nobility of true production instead of parasitism and plunder. In this renovation, Art has a great and noble function to perform, but it must itself be genuine, vital, national, constructive, inspired, and universal in application, based on living principles not spuriously mimetic of other times and peoples; not borrowing their castaway clothes but applying eternally fresh and living principles. American art has too many fads and faddists—little posers who monkey foreign mannerisms and peddle foreign tricks. They start so-called “art schools,” which do more to discourage genuine native talent and to pervert sincere American taste than they do liberally to enlighten, enlarge, and empower it. Worst of all are the speculative book trusts or “copybook” syndicates, which exploit the public-school system with cheap art sawdust and massacre the innocents with esthetic “wooden nutmegs,” choke off inspiration, and disgust wholesome aspiration that ought to attain real usefulness and bloom. The young come from Heaven full of God’s splendid ideality, imagination, and hunger to create. These faculties are some of the most precious for later productive prosperity. The good designer is worth more than the fabric, and the inventor is worth more than the mechanic; for mind gives matter most of its attractiveness and value.

Q. But, Mr. Stimson, some people seem to imagine that, while art is good for the cultured and those in easy circumstances, it would harm the artisans by making them discontented with their lot and surroundings—something that to their minds is not desirable. What are your views, based on experience, first in regard to the influence of art on the minds of the toilers, and secondly as to the effect for good or ill of the discontent that art might awaken in the minds of the artisans?

A. Such objectors and objections are the familiar fossilized ones that from of old have struggled to bolster ignorance and the tyranny that thrives on it. “Noble discontent is the soul of progress;” and true progress is the only true conservatism.

To tie up the circulation of blood in my finger is not to conserve but to destroy the finger. Nine-tenths of the people who hide self-interest and timidity under the folds of nominal "conservatism" are arrant rogues or cowards who prevent the *true* conservatism of genuine popular life. They profit in the humiliation, ignorance, and suffering of human brothers whom they ought to help to light and liberty; but pride and selfish caste blind them, and "they fear to come to the light because their methods are evil." Yet true progress and vital education in living principles would profit *all* true souls, all *true* interests, and "protect" *permanently* all worthy of protection. But unjust repression or suppression of popular talent, taste, self-culture, and honest aspiration must radically weaken the nation, discourage development, deflect progress and prosperity to wiser localities, and arouse the very "discontent" dreaded. The Australian republics and even Switzerland and Japan are out-running us in broad, generous humanity and true civilization, while we are returning, "like the sow that was washed, to the mire" of medieval Bourbonism and imperialism.

My experience among artistic workers in other lands is that their interest and inspiration for beautiful work become the soul of contentment as well as of prosperity. When heart and mind are fed, as well as the stomach, we have better guaranties of happiness throughout *all* society. The empty-handed incapacity and idleness, among the children of rich homes, often become their despair and desolation—the fruitful mother of folly and *ennui*. Our public schools should not turn our children into mere parrots and machines for measuring tape and counting columns, or those who despise the use of their hands. The kindergarten and manual training departments should be strengthened; but especially the love of Nature, beauty, art, taste, skill, invention, and design should be kindled like a mighty conflagration to enable us to catch up with the rival nations attacking us. For, so, new avenues of usefulness and constructive worth are opened; precious faculties and talents are quickened and employed; vast resources of national wealth, industry, and ingenuity are unveiled by adding the values of

genius to those of crude matter. No greater need presses upon this country than to give to the term "prosperity" a far deeper and safer significance than the mere surfeit of the appetite and bloating of the pocketbook; and no more sacrilegious impiety exists to-day than the dethroning of God by gold and calling it the "Almighty," instead of those splendid capacities of patriotism, devotion, invention, construction, and production by which the Creator enables a noble artist-artisan to give *all* metals superior "value" and to all materials spiritual beauty and usefulness.

Are not the intelligence, refinement, contentment, and public confidence of our productive classes as sacred and pressing an element for general "prosperity" as the vanity, idleness, and affectations of the dilettante class? Surely no profounder national shame and peril await the American Republic than to find her ship of State has been boarded (while patriots slept) by mercenary pirates, hypocritically waving old flags for which our forefathers once died, but which robbers and murderers to-day recklessly dishonor and trample under foot in imperialistic greed and rapine. The honest skilled labor of the nation is its very life-blood! Whoever degrades or attacks it destroys national hope; whoso uplifts and enlightens it most deserves the title of patriot or Christian.

Q. Do you regard art education as vitally essential to the ethical development or soul culture of the individual, and as essential to triumphant democracy? What influence, aside from all commercial thought, does art exert over the normal mind? Does it bring the soul into sympathetic *rapproch* with the divine life and serve to refine, sublimate, and ennoble life?

A. All vital principles (whether physical, ethical, or esthetic) must, of course, do this. The crime of educational history has been the feeding to mankind of the technical husks "that the swine do eat," instead of the sweet kernels of active principles "that give life." Chinese praying-machines never kept moral life alive in that marvelous old land half so much as the one living principle of the Golden Rule which Confucius laid down (upon its obverse side). We have our religious,

political, and educational "machines" too; but the nation needs, far more, a few such simple, vital teachers as Confucius, Socrates, Paul, Luther, Jefferson, Froebel, and Spencer to make living principles *clear, accessible, and applicable*. In Art it is the same as elsewhere—in laboratory, Church, or State. The Christ did not offer to men the stale cisterns of convention but the living springs of workable principle. This offended priestcraft and political harpies, but it saved Liberty, Humanity, Civilization!

It is the only thing, again, that can rescue our staggering Republic from the growing materialism that is its imminent peril. Eternal vigilance and the crusade of a deeper educational conscience can alone save it from a decadent Mammonism. Art must do her part. She revives the ideal, spiritualizes matter, reveals the Divine in Nature and in daily labor, revives the canons of eternal beauty and the estimates of broader proportion and truer perspective, while cheering, refining, and consoling the necessary toil of existence. In its direct combination of mind with matter, ideality with reality, poetry with practise, vision with visualization, a noble "artist-artisanship" is the first step in *practical* Christianity. It is the first requisite of wholesome citizenship—"a sound mind in a sound body."

Q. Is it not true that, from a purely commercial point of view,—laying aside for the moment all thought of the influence of art on the higher nature,—artist-artisan schools would prove the best possible outlay for money devoted to the enrichment of the nation? Are not France, Germany, Japan, and other nations far ahead of our Republic in the appreciation manifested for art, and have not the art schools of certain great European governments and the prizes offered by nations like France (for example of the finest designs in tapestry, pottery, and other decorative effects) resulted in immensely increasing the real wealth through trade brought to the nation that thus exerted wisdom in developing artistic sensibilities in the artisan class?

A. From what I have said before, you can readily see that Art must result in such practical and directly beneficial aid and inspiration to the people that rightly cultivate it. See what a

magnificent testimonial by it remains to the sublimity of Egypt, the high intelligence of Greece, and the Christian faith and aspiration of European peoples struggling up through the Dark Ages. See what an industrial power it has been to Japan and is becoming to-day to France and Germany. The exportations of Japan for the last ten years have risen from sixty millions to one hundred and sixty—a proportion of growth greater than any other country, and largely due to her artistic culture and skill, to which may likewise be attributed much of her marvelous plasticity, self-reliance, and adaptability to modern progress. France, at her great international exhibit of last year, recorded over fifty million entries (with all that implies collaterally)—a number twice as great as our Chicago Centennial. Can any one fail to see the immense elasticity, virility, and receptive power that have blessed these two nations (Japan and France) through their wise appreciation of Nature and their industrial cultivation of skill, taste, aptitude, ingenuity, thrift, and beauty? And how the slower arts of Germany and England are hurrying to learn the mighty lesson contained in industrial history! To the “man-wolf” who only longs to prey upon society and pervert government, these qualities may be irrelevant; but, to the honest Christian and humanist, who longs to see a sad world rescued from wolves and raised into industrial peace, prosperity, and happiness, the lesson of Applied Beauty—or noble “artist-artisanship”—is convincing. Who cannot see that the great Hokusai (who inspired Japanese industry in a thousand ways by brilliant arts, and at ninety years of age humbly begged to “*know more of the divine beauty of Nature that he might be fitted to die*”) and the sweet and modest painter of “The Angelus” (whose heroic life and labors for God’s beauty in humble toil have thrilled this century) are nobler types of civilization and society (though outcast and oppressed by these) than the political sharks who raven to-day thereupon? God is to-day holding up these two social types of heaven or hell in sharp, inescapable contrast, and asking us, “Whom will ye serve—producer or spoliator?”

Q. You use frequently the words “organic and vital artist-

artisanship." Please explain the professional sense in which you use this term.

A. Certainly. I have referred to cardinal principles in art-life, as in all life. Let us look closer. Is not all creation art? Plato exclaims, "These things that we say are done by Nature are really done by Divine Art." They are material atoms deliberately arranged *by order and system*. And this is "Art." That is to say, some latent ideals, progressive principles, systematic methods, are giving beautiful materialization an expression to the Divine Will. Accident cannot explain such consistent order, design, and definitely attained delight as we experience at each bursting spring. A rose reduced to powder is no longer a "rose." The "rose" has disappeared. What was it? whence came? whither gone?

Evidently some informing spirit had willed those material particles into such space relations as conveyed meaning and delight to our spirits; therefore, it was communication, or "language"—Divine self-expression. There were also *order, harmony, unity, balance, proportion, variety-in-unity, appropriateness, and ideality* "expressed." So long as God's art was undisturbed, in the powder, all observers adored and wondered at it. Drive that ideal and those latent principles out of the atoms, and you have murdered the rose! You have driven back its spirit to God who gave it. Only dust and ugliness remain in your hand. This is what ruthless tyrants are doing to divine ideals of beauty in human society and labor—depriving them of beautiful principles and reducing them to wretched material atoms! A community that so acts drives its best workers and producers elsewhere. The religious persecutions in France exiled the best and most skilled citizens from France, and brought industrial light and competition to alert rivals. The persistence of force is known, and so with great ideas or ideals. I doubt the destruction of *any* divine ideal—even of a rose or a song-bird. What persistency and fecundity of ideal in every flower! I believe we will find them all again in the bosom of the Creator when we appear before Him; for, with infinite space and foresight evident, annihilation is illogical.

The very artist of earth who has seen and caught correctly the soul of that rose, into his own soul, can resurrect its spirit visually upon the canvas and give back life to the dust. Why should not the Infinite Artist do the same?

Our first duty is to awaken the young and the workers to ideals of Nature and to ideal principles and methods of beauty in Nature; the elements of grace and charm in motion, measure, growth, form, color, light, texture, arrangement. These are all divine. Sometimes the Creator seeks the beauty of use (as in a cabbage); but sometimes the use of beauty (as in a lily). Who dare say Him nay, or antagonize them to each other? Blessed the soul of aspiration that combines them! This is the divine desire of the "artist-artisan." God Himself—the first member—was founder of our Brotherhood; for do we not see beauty and use *together* in the "apple-trees" of Paradise? We must nurture (not nip) in the child's soul the mighty faculties that accompany this gracious gift of natural beauty: observation, appreciation, perception, good judgment, taste, selection, arrangement, adaptation—most of all ideality, imagination, originality, keen sensitiveness, decorativeness, and invention. This makes them derive more direct happiness and joy from natural sources; it makes them more alive to suggestions of beauty in work, more contented and valuable as producers. Life now takes on a richer and more glorious meaning to the worker, for he now sees more clearly the methods and meaning of creation and becomes a co-worker with the great Creator. What can bring a truer inspiration to right service? The employer who deprives the soul of this inspiration murders it, to make it a hopeless and dreary drudge or machine, and he should be restrained by law as much as a monster or a maniac. The "artist-artisan," or beautiful worker, is the ideal producer (and not a parasite), and so he is the "ideal" man.

Q. You think, then, that William Morris and John Ruskin were among the truest prophets of progress that the nineteenth century produced?

A. I do, certainly. And I go further—that similar men, in *all* ages, were the truest prophets of *all* ages. All Nature, of

course, is a divine workshop and artist-artisan school. Jesus was a practical constructive "carpenter" most of his life—save the last three years, when he publicly but modestly lectured for the oppressed poor and endured heroic martyrdom for a few far-reaching divine principles. Ruskin and Morris labored in much the same spirit and endured very similar obloquy, criticism, and ostracism—with an essential Christianity greater by far than most official politics or priestcraft. But so also had many noble artist-artisans done through *all* time in a holy quest for beauty or its eternal principles, tangibly embodied. They became the life-marrow of labor, in all those ages, and created really enduring wealth; they preserved history, perpetuated the best ideals, and both inspired and educated posterity by practical performances. Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Japan have been full of them. What were mighty Phidias, Praxiteles, Raphael, Da Vinci, Angelo, Cellini, the wonderful Ghiberti, whose beautiful bronze gates were called "fit for Paradise"? Who the Della Robbias, Stradivariuses, Varrochios, etc.? Who were the army of beautiful illuminators, carvers, cathedral builders, that by constancy and devotion heroically preserved learning and upreared the glorious Gothic cathedrals—poems in stone of the divine adoration they felt for the Holy Spirit? Many were martyrs outright, like Palissy and Jean Francois Millet. Yes, verily, often "destitute, afflicted, tormented, in dens and caves of earth," they ("of whom the world was not worthy") through faith in Beauty "wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of [industrial] lions, out of weakness were made strong," and "endured as seeing that which (to oppressors of labor) is ever invisible"! Europe, and even Asia, is learning to honor those great prophets and martyrs of industry—divine teachers and producers of a "heavenly city" yet "to come," where all men shall be brothers in the maintenance of a juster society, and where the humblest-hearted producer may yet be "first" in the estimate of the Eternal Judge. They are planting schools of artist-artisanhip everywhere in their industrial centers.

Q. Will you give us your ideas of what might be ac-

complicated by an intelligently directed artist-artisan movement?

A. With the great material means of America there is no reason why this intellectual and moral light in industry should be withheld; for it is national suicide not to provide it liberally. The young people of both sexes, in all strata of society, are really in need of sound taste and executive skill in a thousand forms of inventive and industrial life. Many branches are starving for it. Much is left too late in life to learn, or too superficial and affected, often illumined by principle or unfortified by practise. Bad systems of teaching make dry, sterile, and mimetic what should be vital, inspiring, and creative.

The "artist-artisan" idea should be an organic part of our school system, but *vitality* and *for development*, not merely for a little immediate money nor for manual mimics. Through many years of direct operation among many nationalities, I have found our American stock just as alert, sensitive, susceptible of beauty, taste, and executive skill as any; and rather more observant of Nature, sensitive to suggestion, refined in general culture, and certainly much more eager and willing to advance. What they have needed most was really first-class instruction, example, and opportunity, and to be delivered from quack syndicates. Lack of practise and of artistic expression makes our youth ignorant of high standards and awkward and timid as to personal possibilities. This would easily pass into genuine courage and creativeness if noble artist-artisan schools, nobly led, could be scattered generously among the people. Everything would depend on sound principles and right leadership; for, as Napoleon puts it: "There's no use for us to set guardians—unless we *guard the guards!*"

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE ETERNAL VANGUARD OF PROGRESS.

"Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

"I feel almost disheartened at the outlook," said an earnest reformer a short time ago; "for the people everywhere seem listless and indifferent, when, indeed, they have not succumbed to the lust for commercial gain or selfish advancement. And saddest of all is the absence of any considerable number of leaders who are consecrating life to the service of altruism and to the education and elevation of the whole people. Ruskin and Morris in England," he continued, "Hugo in France, Liebknecht in Germany, and Henry George and Edward Bellamy in America have left us, while the voices of many who have charmed and inspired us in the past are silent now." This gentleman echoed an age-long plaint of the children of God in moments when the Presence seems withdrawn, when wrong appears to be victorious, and when the coarse, scornful, and derisive cry of triumphant animalism and greed drowns the warnings and entreaties of that pure idealism which alone makes nations or individuals truly great or lastingly beneficent to the race.

Far back in the history of Israel, when King Ahab refused to walk in the old paths of national rectitude, and, yielding to the voice of Jezebel, persisted in following after strange gods while seeking utterly to destroy the prophets of truth and justice, we find even so essentially great a soul as the mighty prophet Elijah yielding to the subtle, deadly voice of despair and crying to the all-seeing One that he only was left among those who had not forsaken the covenant of righteousness. When, lo! from the hidden chambers of the Infinite spake the voice of Truth, declaring that in Israel were seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. This voice was not meant for Elijah or his age alone. It was the august declara-

tion of the Infinite for all ages and times, and never was it more applicable than to-day, when in all civilized lands there are millions of the sons and daughters of men who have beheld the fairest vision ever vouchsafed to the multitude—the vision of triumphant brotherhood; and, having seen the light, they can never again be satisfied with the old life, so they are quietly working for the realization of the ideal which is as sane as it is practical and which holds in its heart the happiness and the growth of all the people. Nor is the world wanting in leaders. True, the moment has not yet arrived for the great unifier of the forces of light to step forth; but that work which must ever precede the unification of progressive forces and their triumphant advance is being performed on every hand.

Few people realize the influence of living leaders in a just cause, for while they are with us they are almost sure to be so shamefully misrepresented and maligned by selfish interests and sleek conventionalism that we all undervalue them or their influence until they are gone. The noblest champions of human upliftment are frequently traduced and denounced as pariahs by conservatism. No calumny, ridicule, or abuse is spared them by the representatives of conventional respectability. To appreciate this fact one has only to turn to the old files of *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, and other popular journals in the North during the early sixties of the last century, and note how shamefully, how falsely, and how criminally they caricatured and maligned that great, serene, and essentially noble soul who was at that moment directing with marvelous wisdom and with a single-heartedness beyond praise the army and the State, then in the throes of the most terrible civil war known to history. Think of these papers, which assumed to be representatives of civilization, characterizing the great, serene Lincoln—one whom all the world loves to honor to-day—as a common buffoon, who had no care or concern for the lives of the soldiers fighting for the maintenance of the Union!

It is not until the summons from the great Beyond has been obeyed that we appreciate the essential greatness of the unselfish apostles of humanity and the prophets of progress; for nothing is truer than Massey's lines:

“ . . . Ever the blind world
Knows not its Angels of Deliverance
Till they stand glorified 'twixt earth and heaven.
It stones the Martyr; then, with praying hands,
Sees the God mount his chariot of fire,

And calls sweet names, and worships what it spurned.
It slays the Man to deify the Christ.

To those who walk beside them, great men seem
Mere common earth; but distance makes them stars.
As dying limbs do lengthen out in death,
So grows the stature of their after-fame."

And so, with a meed of recognition given to the dead leaders, even by a grudging conventionalism, while the living leaders continue to receive scorn and ridicule, many of those battling for the eternal principles that move the race upward frequently lose heart and think that they are fighting alone. Never was this truer than now, when in every quarter of the globe strong, able, illuminated, and conscience-guided men and women are silently and effectively preparing the minds of the multitude, and especially of the rising generation, for the most momentous and far-reaching revolutionary changes that have haunted the brain of a philosopher since the days when Plato walked the streets of violet-wreathed Athens.

Men with twentieth-century ideals are found among the real leaders to-day in every department of life, and, though they are less talked about than the shallow, superficial apologists for injustice and the advocates of conventionalism in its war against the higher ideals, they are nevertheless laying broad and deep the foundations for a far truer civilization than we know. Edwin Markham and Ernest Crosby among poets, John Ward Stimson and J. J. Enneking among artists, William T. Stead among journalists, Professors Frank Parsons, Thomas Elmer Will, Edward Bemis, John R. Commons, and Richard T. Ely among social and economic educators, and Mayors Samuel M. Jones of Toledo, Ohio, and Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland among civic leaders, are but a few names among scores that might be cited as leaders who cherish the higher dreams of the incoming century, who have been overmastered by the light of truth, and who are following the ideal, which Victor Hugo characterizes as "the stable type of ever-moving progress."

* * *

MUNICIPAL HOUSING OF THE POOR.

Municipal housing of the poor seems to be gaining in popular favor in England. Experience has seemed to prove that the

objections advanced were not well grounded, and that the measure is one eminently practical and wise from many points of view, not the least of which is the sanitary improvement, both physical and moral, that attends this innovation. Heretofore, and indeed whenever private greed of landlords was unrestricted, the quarters of the very poor became frightful plague-spots of civilization. People had been crowded together in filthy, ill-ventilated, and unsanitary buildings. Frequently from cellar to attic these buildings swarm with the very poor. The conditions are such that not only is home life impossible, but multitudinous causes operate in such a way as to press life downward and discourage the development of morality or healthy character. The herding of great numbers in buildings unsupplied with proper sanitary facilities leads to filth and fosters disease at all times, while in periods of epidemics these places become spawning-grounds for contagion. In like manner conditions favor intemperance, immorality, and crime. The saloons become the great nurseries, schools, and universities for criminal and moral contagion, and directly and indirectly a menace to society in all its ramifications; while the increase in public expenses, incident to the increase in disease, crime, and pauperism due to these disgraceful conditions is one of the severe burdens which municipality and State have to meet, and which will necessarily increase rather than diminish until practical measures are taken to abate the slums.

Under municipal housing it has been demonstrated that the poor can enjoy healthful, cleanly, and attractive homes at a far lower rate than many have been compelled to pay for the vile apartments that they have had to put up with; while the supervision of the buildings and the constant encouragement given to the people to take pride in their apartments have had a most salutary effect on the tenants and have also served to minify the dangers of disease.

When our municipalities become wise enough to house all the poor under pleasant and sanitary conditions, and to supply the localities in which the municipal buildings are found with commodious places of general resort, recreation, and improvement, the drink curse, as it relates to the slums, with its terrible burden of waste and woe, will be reduced to a minimum; while crime and pauperism will also be greatly abated.

It is of first importance to have the very poor properly housed. Then place near to them municipal buildings in which will be found coffee-houses, gymnasiums, lecture halls, reading-rooms, and places for pure and wholesome amusement, and

the life of the submerged tenth will rapidly take on a different aspect. Hope, ambition, and a love of the best will take the place of sodden listlessness, and the community will gain in various ways incomparably more than any possible outlay it may have been compelled to make to inaugurate the wisely progressive innovation.

But apart from the moral and humanitarian aspects of the case, and even leaving the consideration of the ethical and physical safety of the community out of the question, municipal housing is a practical business proposition unattended by serious financial risk to the community. The city can always readily rent her apartments at figures that yield a reasonable interest, while her buildings will be a part of the real estate wealth of the nation. In a plea for municipal ownership by James Keir Hardie, which recently appeared in the *New York Journal*, the thoughtful English social leader made the following timely observations:

"In municipal dwellings we have better accommodations and lower rents than can be provided under private ownership. The municipality can borrow money at three per cent. Above that the only cost is that of maintenance and management, which never exceeds one-half per cent. Private speculation in dwellings is badly paid if the return is not at least ten per cent. Besides this, the quality of the buildings is lower. Cheap, jerry-built houses find favor with private speculators. The community, in building for itself, wants substantial buildings—real buildings."

The question of the abolition of the slums through the wise and practical action of the community will more and more commend itself to thinking men and women. It is a distinctly progressive movement, in line with the best thought of the incoming age.

* * *

THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

The active, earnest, and business-like character of Mayor Johnson's administration in Cleveland, Ohio, has riveted the attention of the nation upon the one man above all others in a responsible public position who is striving to the utmost not only faithfully to fulfil every ante-election pledge, but also to serve the best interests of the constituency that has honored

him by carrying into his work the same masterly and vigorous business methods and faithfulness that have marked his successful career as a business man. It is indeed refreshing to find a public leader in these days who has accepted a public office as a sacred trust and who is superior to the seductive influence of private interests which have debauched public life throughout the social organism. In Mr. Johnson we have a hard-headed, practical, and successful business man who is also an idealist, and a man who has never allowed himself to be seduced from the old principles of political integrity that in earlier days made the Republic invincible.

In an interview with Mr. Creelman of the staff of the *New York Journal*, Mr. Johnson in discussing municipal problems touched in an able manner on the fountain-head of municipal corruption and the most urgent two needs of American cities to-day.

"The worst evils of municipal government and municipal politics," observed Mr. Johnson, "are due to the struggle for valuable public franchises. That is the main source of corruption. When we have put the street-railway companies and other private owners of municipal monopolies out of politics we have solved one of the most tremendous problems of city government. So long as you continue to grant these valuable franchises to private companies, the companies will remain in politics, and will, as a rule, control politics for their own ends. The two great steps," he insisted, "which are necessary now lead to public ownership of municipal monopolies and the equalization of taxes. Vice in our great cities is largely the result of injustice, of involuntary poverty, and the product of unequal conditions."

These observations, coming from one of the most successful business men of our time and the mayor of the seventh city of our Republic, cannot be dismissed as "the visionary theories of an impracticable idealist who bases opinions on rumors." They embody in a few words the contention which the progressive workers of America have insisted upon for several years.

Heretofore, when the debauching influence of the corporations on municipal government has been dwelt upon by the Progressives, the special pleaders for corporate interests have promptly retorted somewhat as follows: Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that all you say is true. Let us admit that the private monopolies operating public utilities have debauched the municipal governments, and through this corruption have secured privileges which enable them to plunder

the people out of millions of dollars. If the municipal government is so venal, how much more corruption there would be if public utilities were brought into politics!

It will be observed that this plea, which, baldly stated, is in essence that, since the corporations have corrupted the municipal government, therefore they must continue to grow rich by corrupt practises, for fear that the municipal officials might be corrupt in the direct administration of the utilities, as they have proved themselves unfaithful in granting privileges, rights, and enormously valuable franchises to private concerns. Pitifully shallow as is this sophistry, it has been taken up and echoed by interested leaders and a servile press, and in time re-echoed by tens of thousands of people who never think for themselves, while the corporations have grown enormously rich.

Another cry raised has been that it would give the party in power a perpetual lease of life by giving it control of an army of employees, as if under the present rule the monopolies, by grace of the boss and the machine, do not have perpetual rule, no matter which machine or boss the corporations consider it wisest to operate through!

Mr. Creelman touched upon this popular cry of the special pleaders of the corporations, and Mr. Johnson replied:

"And you think the street railway systems are not in politics now? It is extraordinary to see how little penetration the public has. Now I have built, owned, and managed street railways on a pretty big scale. That is a subject I can fairly claim acquaintanceship with. I know the inside of it and the outside of it.

"And I can tell the people of New York, as I tell the people of Cleveland, that the street railways keep their power simply by being in politics.

"They are at the bottom of municipal politics. If they are willing to spend vast sums every year to keep their monopolies, they are bound to stimulate a struggle for office for the sake of the rich spoils they offer. The worst element in politics will fight harder than the best element to get positions which will give them a chance to share in the plunder.

"I don't lay the blame on the poor, corrupt Aldermen or on the street railways. They are simply the victims of custom and habit. I blame the system which offers monopolies as prizes for corrupt politics.

"This system invites corruption and paralyzes progress. Let any citizen of New York or Cleveland look at the matter thoughtfully and he must see that the great cities will never free their elections and their governments from the prime source of corruption until they own their own street railways, and all other monopolies founded on public grants.

"It is a waste of time to talk about corruption in the police force, or

corruption in the Board of Aldermen, while we ignore the all-moving power which dominates and demoralizes municipal politics.

"Of course you will have corruption, of course you will have official incompetency and official cowardice, until you remove from politics altogether the struggle for private ownership of public franchises. That is the overwhelming issue in municipal politics to-day."

Mr. Johnson insists that, until we can get the municipal ownership of public utilities, the corporations shall be forced to pay taxation on the basis of the selling value of the stock. "That is a fair and business-like proposition," he observes. "The street-railway company of Cleveland," he continues, refused a value of \$29,000,000. They pay taxes only on a valuation of \$2,000,000. The other street railways pay taxes on about three per cent. of their value. But small property-owners have to pay taxes on 50, 60, 80, and 90 per cent. of the value of their property."

Yet this is only one bad phase of the evil. The effect of such rank injustice and the power of the monopolies over officials and the opinion-forming agencies cannot fail to exert other than a debauching influence on the integrity of the individual and on the moral ideals of the community; while the millions of dollars annually derived from the public enables the monopolies further to corrupt government and enslave the citizen. British cities have clearly emphasized the immense benefits of public ownership, and some idea of the value to the taxpayer that would accrue from public ownership may be gained by calling to mind the fact that the West End Street Railway Company, of Boston, last year paid over a million dollars in dividends. Add to this the dividends of the great electric light, gas, and other public utilities, which under present conditions are enriching the few at the expense of the many in all our municipalities and it will be evident how great would be the reduction in taxes on the one hand, and the cost of the utilities to the citizens on the other, through public ownership.

This is one of the vital problems of the hour that are happily more and more engaging the attention of taxpayers and voters. It will soon become a paramount issue; nor can we doubt the ultimate result when once the conspiracy of silence is broken, for the contention of those who favor public ownership is so palpably a common-sense, business proposition that the more it is discussed the stronger must grow the sentiment for municipal ownership of public utilities.

POPULAR CONTROL OF PUBLIC UTILITIES CHAMPIONED BY A GREAT DIVINE.

Rev. George C. Lorimer, the famous minister of Tremont Temple Baptist Church, Boston, and one of the greatest pulpit orators of our time, enjoys the rare distinction of being unable to accommodate anything like the number of people who weekly seek a seat or standing room in his enormous temple. His success, I think, is largely due to his deep sympathy with the people. He has long been an outspoken advocate of co-operation, but until lately he has opposed public control of public utilities. Recently, in the course of a magnificent sermon, he took bold grounds far in advance of his previous positions. "Christianity," he declared, "is not dependent on the rich. I want to-night to recommend three great principles. First, popular ownership of commercial trusts; second, industrial coöperation, and third, popular control of public utilities. The trusts are marked by serious evils and perils. When the water is squeezed out of them we will then get down to solid values. Put your money in the banks instead of investing it in sky-scraping speculation. There are 40,000,000 wage-earners in the United States. Fifty cents a month from each would form a fund sufficient to revolutionize the industrial world of America."

He admitted that in his younger days he was strongly opposed to municipal ownership. "But," he continued, "I can no longer close my eyes. The city should own and control its streets. Some day you will own all public franchises. It is in the air, and it is in the blood of the generation."

The espousing of the cause of public ownership by a leader like Dr. Lorimer is of great value to the cause of governmental reform. His advocacy of this measure will lead thousands to accept the new demands that present conditions render so imperative, or at least to regard the question in a sympathetic spirit; and, when once the prejudice of self-interest of the individual gives way, the importance and reasonableness of public ownership are pretty certain to appeal to the mind with irresistible force. Public ownership of natural monopolies, popular control or ownership of commercial trusts, and coöperation, with the introduction of the initiative and referendum, are great and vital reform measures that should seriously engage the thoughtful consideration of every American.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

NEWEST ENGLAND. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Illustrated.
Cloth, 388 pp. Price, \$2.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.,
publishers.

A Book Study.

I.

The solid, practical, and vital literature of social democracy in the New World has no abler representative than Henry Demarest Lloyd. His "Wealth Against Commonwealth" is one of the most masterly and conclusive expositions of the menace of corporate greed to a republic that have ever appeared. It is concrete in character. The arguments and arraignments are so fortified with specific illustrations that the array of appalling facts is even more startling and disquieting than are his logical and convincing conclusions.

In pleasing contrast to this gloomy exposé of one of the gravest perils that darken the horizon of our nation is his work on "Labor Co-partnership"; but, valuable as is the story of the rise and successful advance of co-partnership in Great Britain, it is less interesting and perhaps less important than his latest volume, "Newest England," a book embracing the story of New Zealand's socialistic progress, what its innovations mean to the southern commonwealth and to the world at large, and how radical theories appear in actual operation. Mr. Lloyd is a scholar possessing a charming style, and, though brave and outspoken in his views, is always extremely conservative in his statement of facts. He is a man of independent means, who, unlike the ninety-and-nine rich men of our time, is unwilling to use his wealth for selfish ends. He is a social democrat who believes so firmly in his economic and political creed that he is ready and willing to dedicate life and means to the furtherance of the cause of all.

After the publication of "Wealth Against Commonwealth" Mr. Lloyd spent several months in Great Britain, making a careful study of labor co-partnership, in order that his work might be absolutely trustworthy. Next he passed to the island realms of the South Pacific, spending some time in Australia, and thence sailing to New Zealand, where after long and patient personal investigations he obtained the data and facts for the volume under consideration. At the present time he is in Germany, making a personal study of the rise and present status of socialism in the land of the Kaiser.

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

II.

In "Newest England" Mr. Lloyd has given the student of social problems in northern lands so clear, so comprehensive, and in many instances so detailed a description of the successful social and political innovations found in New Zealand that no student of economic problems should fail to peruse it. Mr. Lloyd, though profoundly impressed with the splendid success of governmental ownership of natural monopolies, and other social innovations in "Newest England," does not appear in the rôle of a special pleader who seeks to make a case by a partial statement of facts, such as has characterized the reports of certain advocates of private ownership of natural monopolies who have written on the same subject. Of his mission our author observes:

"I went to New Zealand to see what had been done for a higher social life, by the methods of politics, in the country in which those methods have been given the best trial. That that country is New Zealand will be admitted by all, by those who approve and those who disapprove. New Zealand democracy is the talk of the world to-day. It has made itself the policeman and partner of industry to an extent unknown elsewhere. It is the 'experiment station' of advanced legislation. Reforms that others have been only talking about, New Zealand has done, and it has anticipated the others in some they had not even begun to talk about.

"Coöperation—with its stores, factories, banks, and, now, farms, where the consumers and producers, the capitalists and the laborers, are the same people—is the 'Farthest North' in the sphere of self-help. New Zealand democracy is the Farthest South in the sphere of politics, which must still be called 'self-help,' for in a democracy, in self-government, State-help is self-help."

III.

New Zealand is in itself a wonderful land, abounding in contrasts. It is, according to Alfred Russell Wallace and other geologists, the oldest land; but it is the latest commonwealth to be settled—a garden spot; but until importations arrived there was little to sustain life. Animals and vegetables, however, when once acclimated and rooted, usually thrive in New Zealand, which is far from being the little island that many people imagine. It extends north and south in long, narrow strips a distance of about fifteen hundred miles. Its area is about that of Italy. "It lies midway between the extremes of the tropics and the pole. It is cooled by mountain and sea." "The climate is a wine without a headache, and like Japan it is the best, though not the most perfect, to be found anywhere." "The scenery is a synopsis of the best of Norway, Switzerland, Italy, England, with occasional patches of Gehenna in the pumice country around the hot lakes." "New Zealand is made up of two large islands and some small ones." "Its policy of prosperity for all instead of excess for a few will for many ages prevent the appearance in New Zealand of any splendor to tempt the cupidity of enemies."

In location New Zealand has much in its favor. It is fifteen hundred miles from Australia; that is, one-half the distance from Europe to

America. It is too far south to be a half-way house for the nations that are making the Pacific a thoroughfare between the great East and the West; and there are other reasons that favor "Newest England" in her attempt successfully to set the world an example of a truer democracy than the world has yet seen. In speaking of some of the many advantages of this commonwealth, Mr. Lloyd observes:

"Australasia produces more wealth and spends more for every man, woman, and child than any other country, and New Zealand is the most prosperous of the seven colonies of Australasia. New Zealand has practically every resource for the support of life and the creation of wealth. It is a white man's country, if there ever was one, and the people fit the country with much more than the European or the American average of energy, physique, intelligence, honesty, and industry. A tree falls in the forest and in its roots is found a gold mine; a citizen digs a post-hole and cuts into a vein of coal forty feet thick. The most precious metal of all, iron, is found in abundant deposits, one of them in the Taranaki sands of inexhaustible quantity, and so pure and rich that it has so far defied reduction. There is flax, and there can be cotton whenever the people choose to grow it. There are nowhere traveling rugs so soft and warm as those made out of New Zealand wool. Electric power beyond calculation is going to waste in a thousand and one waterfalls and rapids. This exceeding bounty and beauty of their own home pulls more strongly every day against the recall of the old home. All these physical circumstances make for 'New Zealand for the New Zealanders,' and New Zealanders for New Zealand. The 'lengthening chain' that ties these people to old England may easily lengthen into invisibility."

We gain some idea of the radical character of the New Zealand government when we remember that here in active operation are the progressive land tax and improvements exempt from taxation, the progressive income tax, government ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones, postal savings banks, and government insurances. Here the aged are pensioned, work is given to the "out-of-works," and a compulsory arbitration law has destroyed strikes and at the same time operated greatly to the benefit of the workmen. These are a few of the practical innovations which have been successfully inaugurated in this far-away southern commonwealth, and which our author describes at length and in a manner so engaging as to make a delightfully readable volume.

In passing, I would say one word in regard to compulsory arbitration. In New Zealand this law has proved wholly beneficent, but it must be remembered that New Zealand is essentially a democracy. There the people are the government, or the government is operated in the interests of the people and not in the interests of the few. Conditions that prevail here, such as government by injunction, the use of the Federal army at the beck and call of capitalists, the oppressions of trusts and monopolies, and the impotence of political parties—or, rather, their subserviency to the behests of the capitalistic class—render conditions materially different from those that obtain in New Zealand; and this explains the opposition that the labor organizations have in

many instances exhibited when compulsory arbitration has been proposed.

Of government insurance, Mr. Lloyd says:

"The company that insures the largest number of people in New Zealand is the people itself. The trustee who executes the greatest number of wills, holds the heaviest amount of property, and has the best clientage is the people. Here is an insurance company whose policies can never become worthless, and in which the provision men make for their wives and children is safe from panic or pestilence without or rascality within. Any one who wants insurance for the benefit of his family, which will be backed up by the 'good faith and resources' of all the people, has only to step to the nearest of the many agencies of the Insurance Department of the government, or, easier yet, to receive a visit from one of its numerous canvassers, kept busy by the State in going about among the citizens, pushing the sale of this mutual company's policies as industriously as the canvassers of the great private companies."

A great hue and cry has been raised by the special pleaders for private ownership of railways, because the New Zealand railways have at times cost more than they have returned. Therefore, we are told, *we* should not entertain the idea of governmental ownership. But precisely the same argument could be made against the post-office department of our government; yet who among the enemies of State ownership of private monopolies would have the post-office department cease to be a government function? In New Zealand the railways are run for the benefit of all the people rather than for dividends on watered stock for a few bondholders and gamblers in securities. In speaking of the government railways, Mr. Lloyd says:

"As I stood in the station of the government railway at Wellington one day, a train pulled up, two or three times the usual length, so full of children that they were bursting out of the doors and windows, among them not a few Maori boys and girls. They stormed the platform, filling the air with the music of their greetings and delight, and catching up those who were waiting for them, scattered through the streets of the city. It was an excursion of seven hundred school children from Masterton, come with their teachers to get a day's pleasure and instruction out of the metropolis.

"A few days afterward a train left the same station as full of city children to be taken into the country.

"These excursions are one of the specialties of the ownership of the highways by the people of New Zealand.

"The ideal of the democracy is to run its roads for service, not for profit. 'After we have earned enough to pay the expenses of operation and the interest on the money borrowed to build the railroads,' the Minister for Railways says, 'we reduce charges as rapidly as profits increase.'

"The Premier in a speech during the last campaign defined the railroad policy to be that any profit over the three per cent. needed to pay interest on its cost must be returned to the people in lower rates and better accommodations. . . .

"A good beginning has been made in a service of workingmen's trains between the cities and the suburbs. Morning and evening trains are run out from the principal towns to the suburban limits at a fare of 50 cents a week. But these are open to all travelers, for there is strong

opposition to the whole policy of class trains and class settlements for workmen as undemocratic and tending toward the production of caste.

"New Zealand railroad science knows nothing of the doctrine that a shipper because the largest is entitled to the lowest rate, to say nothing of the claim that the railroad manager has the right to give such favoring rates as to make the shipper he prefers the largest, even though he start as the smallest. Here, as in its land policy, the country deliberately and from reasoned conviction approves the opposite policy of favoring the small man.

"Such a thing as a rebate or a discrimination in favor of one shipper against another is unknown in New Zealand. No would-be commercial conqueror can get the traffic manager of the New Zealand railroads to make him a rate that will drive his competitors out of business.

"In discussing this matter with one of the railroad officials, I asked him what the unit of shipment was in coal. The rates for coal, he said, were made by the ton.

"'Could a man,' I asked him, 'ship ten thousand tons and get a lower rate than the man who shipped one thousand tons?'

"'No,' he replied, 'not if he shipped ten million tons.' . . .

"In his report for 1899, the Minister for Railways announced reductions of forty per cent. in the rates of farm products and twenty per cent. on butter and cheese. He showed that these concessions are equal to one-seventh of one year's revenue. For the United States such a lowering of the railway charges would have relieved the people to the extent of \$150,000,000 a year.

"One of the differences between private and public ownership appears to be that the latter never raises rates, a fact which the farmers of the Mississippi Valley and the consumers of the coal of Pennsylvania, who have recently seen the rates raised against them, would appreciate."

In this "Newest England" the public debt stands for public works. "The people," observes our author, "of New Zealand and Australia understand perfectly well their unique advantage in being the only countries in the world whose public debts stand for public works instead of public wars, and represent construction instead of destruction. The debts of Australasia have behind them, even allowing for the Maori war debt of New Zealand, a dollar of property for every dollar of debt. Increase of debt with them has been increase of assets. These people understand, too, what it means to have the public highways operated by public policy instead of for private profit; and they know what it means to be free from the railroad millionaires, the highway-men who levy toll under private ownership on every man's property, and possess in the rebate-making power a more than royal prerogative to create favorites of fortune."

The chapter dealing with the method employed by this commonwealth to break up the land monopoly by heavily taxing unimproved land, and also the measures for the destruction of monopolies in general, is exceedingly suggestive and should be carefully perused by all reformers. We have space for only a few extracts:

"Land monopoly was to be the first to be attacked, and the first means of attacking it was that ancient, constitutional, and inalienable weapon—the tax.

"Accordingly, Mr. Ballance put forward the taxation of land and

incomes as the first measure of his program; and both of these taxes were made progressive—growing heavier as the taxee grew richer.

"There was a triple purpose—fiscal and social—to be achieved by the new taxes. First, revenue; second, to make the landowners pay their share of the cost of government and of public works, which had made them rich, and, third, to break up the monopolies.

"The Premier was explicit: 'The graduation of the taxes is to check monopoly.' He did not shrink from raising the issue between the rich and the poor. 'It is for the people to say whether the land out of which all must live shall be widely distributed, or whether it shall be held by a privileged number. Our policy raises the issue in the most practical form.'

"In closing the debate he said: 'I care little for the mere capitalist. I care not if dozens of large landowners leave the country. For the prosperity of the colony does not depend on this class. It depends upon ourselves, upon the rise of our industries, and upon markets being secured in other countries, and not upon any such fictitious things as whether the large capitalists remain or leave the colony. They are merely accidents of the situation. They are often excrescences which afflict our industries.'

"The new legislation,' a labor member said, 'was notice to capital for the first time in its history that it is no longer an autocrat.' This member expressly defended the progressive feature of the proposed taxation, on the ground that it gave effect to the principle 'that those who have great wealth shall bear a far greater proportion of the burden of taxation than they have hitherto borne. Capitalists will have to realize that, if they fail to recognize their responsibilities and obligations to their fellow-men, the State will take care, by a progressive method of taxation, to make them do so.'

"He declared himself willing to have the process called 'confiscation,' 'bursting-up,' anything, so long as the result was achieved—that the land should be divided among the people."

The capitalists declared that they would leave if the proposed laws were passed, and the commonwealth promptly answered the threat by giving them the opportunity to do so by enacting the laws, after which the capitalists, however, thought better of the matter and concluded to stay and abide by the decree of the people. "In New Zealand," Mr. Lloyd tells us, "the people are not afraid of the people."

It is difficult to notice a book like the one we are considering in a limited space, as the work is so rich in important facts, so full of data and practical illustrations of reforms of the first importance that are now pressing for introduction wherever the people would preserve free government from the encroachment of tyranny, oppression, and injustice, under their multitudinous and deceptive guises. Each chapter should be at least summarized—something quite impossible in this notice. The discussions of courts of arbitration, old-age pensions, and government employment for out-of-works, are almost as interesting as those dealing with the governmental ownership of natural monopolies and taxation. There are no waste pages in this volume, and, what is still more surprising in a work devoted so largely to social and economic discussions, there are no dull lines from cover to cover. We could heartily wish that "Newest England" might have a place in the library of every reading American. It is a sane, thoughtful work that will make for democracy.

SOLARIS FARM: A STORY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

By Milan C. Edson. Paper, 482 pp. Published by the author, 1728 New Jersey avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

In the presence of the rapid concentration of capital in the hands of the few, the arrogance of the master-spirits in the trusts and monopolies, and the subserviency of what was supposed to be a republican government to a few scores of Wall street gamblers and trust magnates, many people seem to despair of the future of a nation that for many years promised to lead civilization into the fields of altruistic democracy and to destroy forever the curse of tyranny which in the past, under the sway of emperor, dictator, king, oligarchy, or hereditary aristocracy, has oppressed the masses for the supposed benefit of the few. And yet there are many signs that speak of the rise of a new spirit of protest and progress which, operating with accelerating influence on the rapidly awakening conscience of the people, will make not only the increased arrogance of the few who have fattened off of the many, through special privileges and unjust exactions, intolerable, but which will also prepare the intelligent among the masses for the next great evolutionary step in social life. Not the least of these signs of change is found in the continued appearance of social visions and works devoted to new economic adjustments in which coöperation for the mutual benefit of all is proposed to take the place of the war and waste of competition on the one hand, and of the exploitation and despoiling of the masses by trusts and monopolies on the other. Nothing is more significant than the very rapid multiplication of such books during two decades when the lawlessness and insolence of capital have been the scandal of a supine government and a menace to the livelihood of hundreds of thousands.

I have recently read what is perhaps the latest of the social visions. It is a volume entitled "Solaris Farm: A Story of the Twentieth Century." The author, Milan C. Edson, is an avowed Spiritualist, and has made the transformation of a desert spot into a garden of plenty and happiness the result of specific directions given by the spirits of a wealthy man and his wife to their daughter and her agent. In doing this I think Mr. Edson has made a mistake, because I fear he will at the outset arouse the prejudice of many readers to such an extent that they will fail to peruse a work very rich in thoughtful suggestions, and which might do them much good. In saying this, however, it is far from my wish to intimate that the author's representations are improbable. In all ages historic records, both sacred and profane, abound in instances that give warrant to the belief that under certain circumstances angels, or ministering spirits, do visibly appear and influence the lives of individuals and perhaps assist in shaping the destiny of nations. Thus we find in our own Bible, as is the case in many of the sacred works of other peoples, numerous stories of angels and ministering spirits who commune with and assist those who are conscientiously seeking to achieve the greatest good for all.

Among the many instances of this character in the New Testament

the reader will doubtless remember the case of Peter, who when in prison was liberated by an angel, under whose direction he was led forth and taken to a place of safety. An angel sent Philip to preach to the Ethiopian (Acts viii., 26). An angel visited Cornelius (Acts x., 3, 4). Paul, when a prisoner on board the vessel bound for Rome, was visited by an angel, who disclosed to him the fact that the ship was about to be wrecked and also informed him of his own future. The apostle John admonished the Christian disciples to try the spirits (I. John iv., 1). And a very significant clue to the identity of these angel visitants is found in Revelation xxii., 9, where the writer fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who had shown him the wonders; but the visitant restrained him, saying, "See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this Book."

In like manner the story of the ages is replete with records of the influence that angel or spirit messengers have exerted over the lives of others. Perhaps one of the most notable historic illustrations is found in the visions and voices that led the Maid of Orleans to go forth and save France, thereby changing the fate of a nation and altering the history of Western civilization. The visions of Swedenborg, who was one of the greatest scientists and most exact scholars of his time, are further corroborative of the voice of the ages in almost all civilized nations on this subject; while the vast mass of evidence and data that the nineteenth century has marshaled before the reason of man is such as fully to warrant the introduction of the spirits of loving, altruistic, and philanthropic men and women as promoters of a grand and practical plan for coöperation. But, on the other hand, such is the prejudice of many and the incredulity of others, that the expediency of so doing in a work intended to appeal to a general reading public little acquainted with psychic phenomena is, I think, very questionable. Spiritualists should take great interest in this work, as they are as a rule progressive thinkers who believe in coöperation as they believe in the larger rights of man and the great altruistic demands of the oncoming civilization.

The body of the book is taken up with an elaborate and detailed account of the founding, through money advanced by the direction of the spirit of a father who had accumulated an immense fortune, of a great coöperative farm where many thousands of acres were farmed in an ideal way, while various manufactures were also developed, the whole being so worked as to yield an enormous revenue by which the desert was made to blossom as the rose; while all the inhabitants of the community were given ample time for moral and intellectual recreation and growth, and material conditions were marvelously improved with each successive season. There is nothing improbable or unattainable in the picture outlined by the author. If the vast wealth that is now diverted into a few pockets, through the savings made possible by combinations, were divided in a just manner among the real wealth-creators, even greater results than those outlined in "Solaris Farm" could be easily attainable in days of which but a few hours of the twenty-four would be

required for manual labor. A love story runs through the work, but the greater portion of the volume is devoted to the practical working out of the ideal coöperative farm, in which all work for all, and all wealth created goes to the enrichment and enjoyment of all who comprise the community.

INTESTINAL ILLS. A practical work for physicians, medical students, and non-professional readers. By Alcinous B. Jamison, M.D. Cloth, 244 pp. Price, \$2. Published by the author, 43 West Forty-fifth street, New York.

This work is from the pen of a well-known physician who for twenty years has treated intestinal and rectal diseases with a marked degree of success. His subject is handled in a clear and simple manner, making it a work well suited for non-professional readers as well as for physicians. Dr. Jamison's long experience as a specialist has convinced him that neglect of the bowels is the principal cause of a large proportion of the common ailments. The waste matter remaining too long in the system is taken up by the multitudinous rootlets which line the intestinal tract, resulting in auto or self poisoning of the system. His recommendations and suggestions are quite simple. He believes in drinking a large amount of water at stated intervals, and also in the frequent use of the enema. On arising and retiring he would have the patient slowly sip half a pint of hot or cold water—preferably hot. One hour before meals a glass of hot or cold water should be taken; and, quite contrary to the teachings of many physicians, he advocates the drinking of copious draughts of water, of a temperature of about 60 degrees, at meal-times. He, however, cautions his patients against washing down the food, which, in common with other authorities, he holds should be slowly chewed and thoroughly masticated, so as to be well mixed with saliva before it is swallowed. Finally, he advises that water be freely taken whenever the system craves it, and if a person does not drink much he should accustom himself to do so. Seventy per cent. of the human body is made up of water, and Dr. Jamison is persuaded that many persons become prematurely old through failing to take a proper amount of liquid. Besides, the drinking of large amounts of water assists Nature properly to perform the functions necessary to normal health. Full and clear directions are given for cleansing the bowels and for proper diet for patients. Indeed, the work consists of a comprehensive and thoughtful discussion of the intestinal organism, the diseases to which the patient is liable through its disorder, and the treatment that a score of years of practise has convinced him to be most positive and effective in its results. If dyspeptics and those suffering through auto-poisoning arising from a disordered condition of the intestinal tract should discontinue drugs and faithfully follow the directions given in this book they would doubtless soon experience great and permanent benefit.

JOHN WINSLOW. By Henry D. Northrop. Cloth, 383 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

Since the appearance and phenomenal sale of "David Harum," the book market has been deluged with stories of a similar character, many of them feeble imitations, with one or two that perhaps deserve to rank above that interesting character study—yet none of them more entitled to be ranked as literature, or that will, I think, enjoy more than ephemeral popularity. Of these works "Eben Holden" has been the most widely and expensively boomed, but of the "David Harum" class of American stories probably not one has appeared that is purer in atmosphere or more delightful as a simple chronicle of village life than "John Winslow." In it the author fails to equal Mr. Westcott in his grasp and use of language. It is not nearly so vivid or dramatic as "David Harum," but it is a more wholesome story—a book sweet and pure throughout. It belongs to the realistic school, in contradistinction to the idealistic, in that it reproduces modern town life with photographic fidelity; but, unlike too many realistic writers, Mr. Northrop has chosen to dwell on the normal and healthy scenes of life rather than on the abnormal, prurient, and injurious phases of existence. Hence, there is no danger of weakened imaginations being stimulated in the wrong direction by its perusal. As in "David Harum" and in other stories which it called forth, the interest centers around one notable character,—a lovable, simple-hearted man,—a kind of Joshua Whitcomb or Uncle Nat Berry, with whom theater-goers are so familiar. There are many very charming passages in the book and some important lessons are impressed, while the entire novel will afford recreation for those who enjoy character studies of the common life in fiction.

THE CROSS ROADS OF DESTINY. By John P. Ritter. Cloth, illustrated, 273 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

This book is one of a class of novels in vogue at the present time. It cannot be called literature any more than the works of Harry Castleman, Oliver Optic, and other prolific writers who have at various times written chiefly for boys.

The scene of the story is laid in Venice, in the fifteenth century, and the novel is highly melodramatic, with some strong situations. A petty Italian prince sends for a soldier of fortune and intrusts to him a perilous mission. He is to go to Venice and abduct a beautiful maiden to whom the prince is betrothed, but whose hand has been given by her father to a wealthy old man whom she detests. The young soldier assumes the guise of a wealthy English merchant traveling for pleasure. He is recognized, however, by some members of the Council of Ten as a soldier of fortune, and spies are placed in his apartments as servants. The usual number of exciting situations and hairbreadth escapes are crowded into the story, which ends happily.

A MASTER OF FORTUNE. Further adventures of Captain Kettle. By Cutliffe Hyne. Cloth, illustrated, 317 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

This is a peculiar story of seafaring life in which the hero, Captain Kettle, appears in various parts of the globe and is found in many perilous situations. The character of the captain is well drawn. He is a rather unique figure in literature, and to those who enjoy tales of seafaring life the book will doubtless prove entertaining. In many ways it is a stronger and more wholesome story than "The Cross Roads of Destiny," although the atmosphere is not nearly so healthy as that of "John Winslow."

THREE MEN AND A WOMAN. By R. H. P. Miles. Cloth, 290 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

This is a thoroughly unpleasant story, with no excuse for its existence. It is morbid, unhealthy, and depressing. The author has taken revolting details of a grewsome murder that occurred in New York some years ago as a basis for much of the matter presented. It is difficult for me to imagine how any normal mind could derive either pleasure or entertainment, to say nothing of benefit, from such a story.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Wisdom of the Ages." By George A. Fuller, M.D. Cloth, 211 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: Banner of Light Pub. Co.

"Death: The Meaning and Result." By John K. Wilson. Cloth, 559 pp. Price, \$1.25. Lily Dale, N. Y.: Sunflower Pub. Co.

"The Art of Folly." Poems by Sheridan Ford. Cloth, 190 pp. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

"Business Without Money." By William H. Van Ornum. Cloth, 224 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago, Ill.: The Dearborn Press.

"Evolution of the Individual." By Frank Newland Doud, M.D. Cloth, 96 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago: Reynolds Pub. Co.

"Derelicts of Destiny." By Batterman Lindsay. Cloth, 76 pp. New York: The Neely Company.

"Fruit from the Tree of Life." By Hannah More Kohaus. Paper, 80 pp. Price, 30 cents. Chicago: Universal Truth Pub. Co.

"Bullfinch's Age of Chivalry; or, King Arthur and His Knights." Revised by Rev. J. Loughran Scott, D.D. Cloth, profusely illustrated, 405 pp. Price, \$1.25. Philadelphia: David McKay.

"The Builder and the Plan." By Ursula N. Gestefeld. Cloth, 282 pp. Price, \$2. Pelham, N. Y.: The Gestefeld Pub. Co.

"Norman Holt: A Story of the Army of the Cumberland." By General Charles King. Cloth, illustrated, 346 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE series of papers on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century," with the first of which our Twenty-sixth Volume opens, in the current issue, is perhaps the most important from an educational viewpoint to which THE ARENA has ever given space. The initial article is a marvel of "boiled down" information. The "sweep" of the century and its "meaning" are epitomized by Prof. Parsons in a nutshell that cannot be duplicated elsewhere in our literature. Yet it is only introductory to a half-dozen contributions from the same able pen that are to follow in successive numbers—that for next month being devoted to "The Great Conflict." The same issue will contain a character sketch of this distinguished author and educator by Editor Flower, whose series of articles on "Leaders with Twentieth Century Ideals" is attracting wide attention.

A brief but strikingly suggestive and timely paper in this issue is "A College for the People." The writer, Prof. Thomas E. Will, received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard University. He is a very able thinker and careful writer, and while president of the Kansas Agricultural College lifted that institution from obscurity to a condition of national importance. Its monthly bulletins were in demand in all parts of the United States and even in some foreign countries, including Egypt. He is at present identified with Ruskin College, and has in preparation a trenchant paper for THE ARENA on "The Trust in Education."

A unique contribution to this number that will be enjoyed by all our patriotic readers is "The Pottawatomies in the War of 1812." It was written by the Indian chief, Po-Ka-Gon, now deceased, who was an extremely able man, having been educated at colleges at South Bend, Ind., and Oberlin, Ohio. He spoke French and English as fluently as his native tongue, and also read Latin and Greek. His sketch is highly dramatic, and, coming from a full-blooded chieftain of the Algonquin family of nations,—a chief of the tribe to which

Tecumseh belonged and that took a very prominent part in the war of 1812,—it has a special interest.

Dr. Keyes's article on "Geology in the Twentieth Century" has been in type for several months, but the delay in its publication has robbed it of none of its vital importance to the scientific development of our time. The work of the trained geologist, as a contributor to human advancement, is not generally recognized by the lay mind. Yet the omission of the chronology from all editions of the Bible printed during the last year or two is entirely due to the revelations of geology, which have modified many accepted conclusions in other than theological lines of thought.

Mr. Colwick, in his pungent remarks in this issue on the relation of poverty to social decay, places a vigorous finger upon the real source of most of our crime and degeneracy. He describes a condition that must sooner or later be grappled with by statesmen and economists, if our civilization is not to retrograde into anarchy. In our next issue, a symposium on "The Curse of Inebriety" will be opened by Dr. R. Osgood Mason. It will throw much light on one of the symptoms of the disease so skilfully diagnosed by Mr. Colwick.

We are glad to find room in this number for Miss Kellor's sixth contribution on "The Criminal Negro;" but Editor Flower's long article on "Physical Science in the Nineteenth Century," announced for publication this month, is unavoidably held over till August.

* * *

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.—It was stated in the May ARENA that The Alliance Publishing Company would remove its business on the first of that month to a new building at 63 West Forty-fifth street, and our official address was accordingly changed in advance. But difficulties that have since arisen between the contractor and owner of the property render it inexpedient to wait longer for their adjustment. Commodious offices have therefore been leased in the Windsor Arcade, 569 Fifth avenue, between 46th and 47th streets, where our publications will be for sale after July 1st, and friends of THE ARENA and of *Mind* will find the editorial rooms.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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TRANSPORTATION FRANCHISES ALWAYS THE PROPERTY OF SOVEREIGNTY.

THE right to accumulate wealth, the power to retain and transmit property, and the moral force required to direct its use, are questions more intently studied in the beginning of this century than all other issues combined. So closely connected with morality is the question of private and public ownership of property that it elicits the daily attention of the ministry, the Church, and the religious element of all communities. So intimately associated is it with political power and political preferment that the party platforms, when closely analyzed, are based almost exclusively upon this issue.

Our schools and colleges, our commencements and endowment of chairs at universities, all point to the *ethics* of "money making." Trades-unions and labor organizations watch jealously the rightful and wrongful accumulation of property. In this materialistic America of the twentieth century, president and preacher, statesman and lawyer, judge and professor, trust magnate and trust victims, and labor leaders, are all students as well as expositors of the one absorbing theme of the rights and wrongs of "money making" and "money holding." As long as millions of men are making a dollar or less per day, and one man is making his millions in the same twenty-four hours, as we witnessed during the Ides of November last, following the Presidential election, this agitation will continue

and its intensity will be increased in a ratio commensurate with this ever-widening divergence.

John Stuart Mill has stated that "the distribution of wealth is a matter of human institution solely." Let us analyze this proposition. The distribution of "wealth," as here used, includes the opportunity to accumulate or to participate in the distribution. Instead of using the term "human institution," let us use the better understood synonym—"the State," or "government." And the corollary, translated into modern language, is as follows: "The accumulation and distribution of wealth, or money making, is a matter controlled, suffered, or permitted by the government." If there be serious abuse, and wealth is too rapidly concentrated in the hands of a Morgan, a Vanderbilt, or a Rockefeller, until less than one per cent. of the people of the United States own fifty-eight per cent. of all its wealth, it must be checked by the government. The rightful distribution of wealth becomes then a matter of national conscience. Whatever corrupts or debauches that conscience debauches that government.

Taking this wide view of the proposition, it is interesting to see what efforts governments and sovereignties have made to prevent abuse of the power of accumulation. It was uppermost in the minds of the delegates that drew up and ratified the articles of confederation, as promulgated from Philadelphia on the 9th day of July, 1778. There was some reason why the confederacy of the eighteenth century should never grant letters of marque and reprisal unless nine of the thirteen States assented thereto. Letters of marque were often legalized piracy upon the high seas. It was a commission granted by the government, in time of war or of peace, to the commanders of merchant ships to seize upon their rival's cargo for reparation of damages, often imaginary. It was the "survival of the fittest" in commerce without court or jury's intervention. One law writer made it synonymous with privateering. It was not by accident that such terms were used by our constitutional founders.

Privateering, by the law of nations, is the offense of taking

a ship on the high seas from the possession or control of those who are rightfully entitled to it, and carrying away the ship, the cargo and tackle, under circumstances that would have been robbery if the act had been done upon land. Taking property on the part of one transportation company from a competitor has long been held a crime and a misdemeanor when committed upon the high seas. Nations that have emerged from barbarism have long recognized this as a grave penal offense. And what is the gist of the offense in piracy, or letters of marque and reprisal? Is it not taking property of your rival by some kind of force that overpowers the weaker one? Is it not taking his ship, his tackle, his cargo, at your own terms—either with or without your rival's life?

This is a progressive age. We amputate limbs and take out eyes by keen knives after the application of an anesthetic. We no longer take life by crucifixion, or even by the hangman's rope, but by a more civilized and refined method—by the use of the dynamo and the electric chair. In either case, however, the victim's body is sent to the morgue as much a corpse as when taken from the cross or cut down from the rope. So in piracy the resultant effect, the consummation, the real gist of the action or wrong was the taking of the property of a rival or a competitor and enriching the pirate, the highwayman, the robber, and impoverishing the despoiled, the victim of the rival; and after all the crime was against society, against the community, against property, and against the person despoiled. To prevent this wrong, which the individual could not guard against, was that which induced the forefathers to incorporate in the articles of confederation restrictions against piracy; and ten years later the delegates assembled to frame our Federal Constitution reaffirmed the same and endowed Congress with the power to define and punish piracies and felonies committed upon the high seas.

In order to establish justice and insure domestic tranquillity and to promote the common welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, our fathers incorporated in the Constitution the right to regulate commerce

among the several States and establish courts to enforce such laws. This powerful agency is the franchise granted to a corporation to carry on commerce or to use the public highways, and requires *governmental* supervision as clearly and as distinctly as it did for the sovereignty to preserve the right to coin money and issue bank notes or emit bills of credit and regulate the value thereof. It was as important as the fixing of weights and measures. It was as vital as the authority to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises. It was as potent as the right to provide for the common defense of the United States. This regulation of commerce by Congress ranks in prominence and importance with the right to declare war or to provide a navy.

It was important enough to insert in this same Constitution another safeguard, *viz.*, that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. Yet by transportation charges and freight rate manipulations, by means of the combinations of railway companies, an actual tax or duty is levied upon the immediate States by excessive charges of freight—thus violating this principle in building up New York City or Chicago at Ohio and Indiana expense. It provided also that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another. No vessel shall pay duty to or from one State or port to another. It prevents States from levying imposts or duties on imports or exports except for inspecting purposes; yet freight-line companies and pipe-line companies do this very thing, and under another form of law violate this principle.

I cite these fundamental principles in our Federal Constitution to impress upon the reader's mind the importance of these provisions of the Constitution in reference to commerce between the States and the reserved rights to the States of control in these vital affairs. Equal if not superior to the right of ownership of landed property are those franchises, held and granted, regulating transportation or the right to use the public highways. Toll-gates and private ownership of public highways have always been obnoxious to the liberty-loving American

race. Our forefathers, with ox-team and chains, would drag down the toll-gate and break the law to have the freedom of the highways. Place an embargo of toll-gates around a man's home or his farm, and you can sap the life out of his investment. Build a wall around your city and put a tax-gatherer at the gates of ingress and egress, with unlimited authority, and this interloper could transfer your business blocks and houses from your possession to his. Allow me to place a gate across your sidewalk or main thoroughfare, and to levy a tribute upon every passer-by, and I can soon pay a dividend upon 1,000 times the cost of the gate. Or leave me with the power untrammelled by the city, State, or nation, and permit me to regulate the commerce of any highway; give me that franchise, power, and right with the willingness of the courts to punish every one who refuses to pay the tribute to my gate-keepers, and I will not ask for any other letters of marque or reprisal; I will not ask to knock you down to take all you have at one time; I will simply levy "what the traffic will bear" and permit you to pass and repass. The more the merrier, so long as you allow me to control the charges for passing.

To carry this simple illustration further, suppose my fellow-citizens saw that my tribute was impoverishing them and making a millionaire out of me, and they attempted to open up another street for passage and a rival put up a toll-gate at reduced rates, and I began to lose my trade. Then toll-master No. 1 could adopt one of several methods: first, apply to the courts for delay by injunction upon all imaginary grounds that would be possible to prevent toll-master No. 2 for months, perhaps years, from getting started; if he finally got a court to dissolve the injunction, pack the convention that nominated the court's successor; buy all the salable papers to cultivate public sentiment in favor of the injunction; start another suit, and another;—this usually would win against weak opponents, for the money I make on my monopoly in transportation charges pays for all litigation and delays. If this does not finally succeed, blow up his toll-gate; if that fails, buy him out at half price. If that fails, bribe the employees to wreck it; in the meantime

reduce the amount of your charges below expenses, and then break up No. 2. Or get Morgan to underwrite the new combination of stock, and bond the "little consolidated" at five times what it cost and make the public pay dividends thereon. This is not a fancy figure, but a simple illustration of what is going on around us every day on the grander scale of State and national transportation companies.

“The right of eminent domain—{the right of sovereignty to take private property for public purposes}—is vested in the State, not in the individual.” Hence, when we talk of “capturing the public highways for the people,” I would call attention to the fact that they were in possession of and did belong to the people, to the State, to the government, until we gave them away. We talk of public ownership as something dangerous, demagogical, socialistic, etc.; yet our forefathers built this Republic upon the theory that the State alone held the real estate with an allodial tenure, whilst the subject or citizen holds it as a serf or in fee.

You cannot will your farm, your house, or your lot to your wife or son, to your church or college, without the consent of the State government. The franchise or privilege of inheriting or transmitting property to your descendants, or at all, at death, is at the will of the government. The State can charge 10 per cent., 50 per cent., or 100 per cent. of it for the right or franchise of transmission. So that in this day of individualism we forget that we are fundamentally socialistic. Recognizing this principle, our fathers abolished the right of primogeniture and prevented the concentration of wealth in the hands of the eldest son, for the reason that they did not wish to permit the building of an aristocracy of wealth or property; they wished each generation to start upon as near an equal footing as possible.

But from all these fundamental, these constitutional views of our forefathers, we have swiftly departed. No longer has the State observed this public ownership in its highways; no longer has it jealously guarded its sovereign powers and franchises, but with a reckless hand, nationally and locally, it has granted,

bargained, sold, and delivered its public highways, streets, lanes, and alleys to the steam railways, street railways, pipe lines, water mains, electric wires, and heating conduits—to private toll-gatherers. The government has vested in these revenue collectors the right to fix their own rates, with the power to grant letters of marque and reprisal upon all weaker rivals. She has permitted in the last few months the concentration of the management of sixty-odd railroads on the basis of a "community of interest."

David A. Wells has told us that, during the period of congressional legislation, fixing tax or excise rates upon liquor from July 1, 1860, to January 1, 1865, speculators made \$100,000,000. Those who knew in advance what the tax would be had only to speculate in whisky certificates to turn their knowledge into gold; and he gravely informs us that Congressmen, legislating in the name of patriotism for purposes of the war, shared in the speculation. The nation was confronted with the curious spectacle, says Spahr, of carriage manufacturing benefited by an increase of the tax upon carriages; match manufacturers were made rich by a heavy tax upon matches, and whisky distillers were realizing fortunes at each successive increase in the tax on spirits. (Burke censured the English capitalist more than a century ago for so shaping the taxing acts as not only to shield the capitalist but actually to enrich him.) The federal revenues rose from \$56,000,000 in 1860 to \$520,000,000 in 1866; yet the capitalists of war times doubled their wealth, but the under-dog, the lower and middle classes, for twenty years thereafter paid the profits from their coffee-pot, their sugar-bowl, and their rent-roll.

To exercise the right to carry on a war, to levy an excise tax, to borrow money, to will property, to transfer real estate, is but the use of a power or function of government in another form. The right to collect or levy a passenger fare, or collect a freight bill, or an express voucher, or a street-car ticket, is the exercise of a governmental function by the corporation receiving that power from the State. If these grantees called street-car companies or steam railway companies know in advance

of a reclassification of freight rates, or of a consolidation, or of an increase in the rates on oil, freight, or express, they can turn their knowledge into the wealth of the Klondike, and the helpless consumer is lifted, figuratively speaking, up by his heels until the silver coin rolls out of his pocket into their charitably disposed strong box.

The last official table of railroads I had before me shows a total mileage in the United States of 186,396.32 (8,736 miles in Ohio), an average in the United States of 25.61 miles of railroad for every 10,000 inhabitants, or for every 2,000 families. The total amount of stock issued upon this mileage is \$5,388,268,321, or an average of \$30,054 per mile; the total amount of bonds and funded debt was \$5,430,285,710, or a total of stocks and funded debt of \$10,818,554,031, an average of \$60,343 per mile. Consider in connection with these figures the \$105,000,000 of the telegraph companies' plants, the \$100,000,000 of capital in the group of express companies, and the \$100,000,000 in the pipe-lines for oil and water, and you can grasp what royal powers, what regal grants we have parted with to individuals and to corporations. The *Chicago Tribune*, according to the Associated Press, says, under date of June 25, 1901: "Prominent Western merchants are preparing to call to account before the Inter-State Commerce Commission the heads of the various railroad combinations and alliances of the trunk lines of the country, for following the movements of the recent (Morgan) concentrations; freight rates have been advanced 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. through quiet and organized manipulation of the various classifications of commodities; merchandise formerly under class 4 has been placed under class 2, with a consequent increase in shipment charges of 30 per cent.; and so on, throughout the voluminous tabulated classification on all commodities."

The gross earnings of all the railroads of the United States for 1898 are officially reported at \$1,247,325,621. If the Morgan-Rockefeller syndicate could secretly raise the gross receipts by raising transportation charges by secret combination and reclassification of freight from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent., it

would levy an additional tax under guise of freight rates of from \$360,000,000 to \$600,000,000 annually. But compute it at 25 per cent. and you have an increase in the burdens of the people that patronize these public highways of \$320,000,000 in one year—taken off of the farmer who ships his wheat and cattle and hogs and wool to market (the raw material), and off of the consumers of flour, meat, machinery, and clothing (as the finished product). It is an extra tax of three to six billions off of the common people every ten years; the grand duplicate of the State of Ohio showing the value of all the personal and real property of our great State—including 8,717 miles of these same railroads and 10,000 miles of telegraph lines, our express companies and other public and quasi-public corporations of the year 1900—to amount to \$1,834,053,228, in round numbers \$2,000,000,000 worth of property. Here we have a unit by which to measure the power of a Morgan syndicate. By this secret combination of monopolistic rates—of freight rates alone—a little band of pirates, of toll-collectors, can take, not a ship and its cargo and tackle on the high seas, nor wreck a merchant sailor upon a Mediterranean reef, nor tow a freighter into a port of Algiers and despoil her cargo, but these legalized bandits, in broad daylight, with their feet under the mahogany in some parlor of the Waldorf-Astoria, amid the fumes of their clear Havanas, and to the music of sizzling champagne, can sign a compact that every ten years will exact in property value from the shippers and consumers from one and one-half to three States of the size of Ohio.

Has not the present national Administration already abdicated the throne? Has it not given away its real powers of government to its Hannas and Morgans and Rockefellers, and retained but a few franchises, to wit, the right to draw its salaries and underwrite the vouchers presented by the trusts that it lives to nourish?

Add to this the rise in the price of steel, iron, copper, coal, oil, and salt by this same combination, and you will find the cause of social and economic unrest. You will find here the power of a concentration of wealth that has astonished the world in the

last six months, and that has permitted the existence of a little knot of toll-gatherers until one-half of 1 per cent. of the people of the United States grab more than 47 per cent. of the property and 1 per cent. of the people pocket 58 per cent. of all the wealth of this Republic. "The way in which these new burdens are borne by the masses of the people is an expression of the highest patriotism, but the way in which they are imposed by these powerful interests is the most ignoble form of treason."

Not many years ago the entire country was aflame with the abuse of power and privilege that the Congressmen of the United States exercised in voting themselves a small increase of salary, called the "back salary grab." So distasteful was this that almost every participant was defeated for reelection; yet if the 400 Senators and Representatives added 50 per cent. to their salaries and doubled that of the President, this would be a steal of only \$1,100,000 a year. But for this combination and for this exaction from the people—less than $\frac{1}{600}$ part of what the Morgan-Rockefeller syndicate has done this year—we destroyed such office-holders, while we call the latter "smart financiering," and college toadies and professors and some clergymen are following these traitors to the common man down the aisles of their churches and making "goo-goo eyes" at every move—if only in the name (?) of the Nazarene they can secure a benefice.

Henry Ward Beecher drew the picture best in his famous Manchester address in describing the growth of slavery in America and its hypnotic influence upon the morals of the people receiving the benefits. He spoke thus: "With the invention of the cotton-gin, slaves that had been worth from \$200 to \$400 began to be worth \$600. That knocked away one-third of adherence to the moral law. Then they became worth \$700, and half the law went; then \$800 or \$900, and there was no such thing as moral law. And finally they became worth \$1,000 or \$1,200, and slavery became one of the beatitudes."

In Columbus, Ohio, less than four months ago, the City

Council and the Board of Public Works had reposed in them the power to renew the franchise in our streets for a period of twenty-five years to the Columbus Railway Company. The rates of fare have been five cents for cash with transfers, and six tickets for twenty-five cents without transfers. About four weeks before the letting, public meetings were held, and the chairman, the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, was invited to address a mass-meeting. His most popular statement was the offer to buy the property of the present company and give the city a three-cent fare for twenty-five years, or a reduction of 37 per cent. upon their proposed renewal—a saving of \$886 a day, or about \$310,000 a year, or upward of \$7,000,000 in twenty-five years; and in addition he proposed to turn over a surplus to the city treasury after the running expenses and fixed charges were paid out of the three-cent fare. Strange to say, this city council called Tom L. Johnson a politician, a demagogue, etc., and proceeded to punish him by charging the people \$7,000,000 more for street-car service during the next twenty-five years than Johnson offered, because, they said, he wanted to be a United States Senator. What a crime!

Recently the Hon. John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, offered \$2,500,000 for the street railway franchise, and in addition an offer of \$500,000 cash to the gang that procured it to let go of the stolen property and give to the city a chance to accept his proposition. He proposed to have \$1,500,000 spent on the Delaware ship canal and \$1,000,000 for new schools, and to establish a three-cent fare morning and evening. He made a proposition, if the same were put up at public auction, to pay \$2,500,000 more than any other public bidder, and to allow the city to buy it back at any time within ten years by repaying the money actually expended. The concession of the three-cent fare would give every laboring man in the city that patronized the cars a new suit of clothes from his savings.

But it is unnecessary to cite any more instances to show the tyranny, the piracy, the abuse, and felonious acts of these private and corporate grantees of public franchises. Paraphrasing the illustration used by Beecher, I might say that, when a

government clerk, a pension attorney, an Indian agent, or a postmaster so far betrays his trust as to embezzle \$35 of the people's money, the whole machinery of the law is set in motion to run down the red-handed offender. The salary-grabber of a few thousand dollars of back pay is damned into oblivion. The man who manufactures a spurious coin, and thus gets something for nothing, is deprived of his liberty, his picture ornaments the rogues' gallery at Washington, and all visitors are shown his portrait by a paid government guide. But let the chairman of a National Executive Committee demand of the Congressman elected by his effort the permission to consolidate the shipping interests of the lakes, or let his banking syndicate underwrite the consolidation of the great trunk lines; let him dictate the appointment of the friendly judiciary at a meeting called at the new capital of the Republic named the Waldorf-Astoria: he can then and there order a reclassification of all the freight rates of railroads, or oil and express rates, in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, and clear a cool \$300,000,000 in freight, express, and telegraph and pipe-line companies in the next twelve months after the adjournment of such secret cabal. I repeat, let these open abuses be conducted by the millionaire beneficiary for his own aggrandizement, and like Beecher's slavery problem the profits will so dazzle and the booty so blind our patriots (?) that the sycophants and the toadies will smirk and grin like the professional Comprachio students and cry, "Behold our next President!" and the elders will fall down and cry, "Amen, Amen."

For twenty years we have railed against "watered stocks" and fictitious bonds of railroads and gas companies and oil companies, but it matters little what you name it. After all, the crime, the wrong, the injury consists in permitting these quasi-public agencies arbitrarily and without limit or control on the part of the State or national government to reclassify freight or add to the traffic until \$360,000,000 may be taken from the humble householder and the faithful and patriotic peasant, without knowing whither to turn for protection. And if the victim should perchance cry out against the goading, he

is soothed with a campaign button or a new flag for his schoolhouse, as one soothes a baby with a colored block or a tin whistle.

Behold these heroes of the Spanish war that stood by the flag as she proudly floated over Wall street and enjoyed government contracts with their steamship lines and their mail contracts and freight rates, underwritten by brother Abner, while we took that much less for our wool, our wheat, our beef, our corn, and paid the difference of \$600,000,000 for our machinery, our nails, our flour, our bread, our lumber and paint, and all necessities of life, in order that the Federal Treasury in the name of patriotism should get its 10 per cent. for legitimate purposes to 90 per cent. into the pockets of royal favorites!

If the Morgan-Vanderbilt-Rockefeller combinations have demonstrated that consolidation of transportation companies can eliminate an army of high-priced intermediaries and ornamental salaried potentates, and permit a smaller number so to act in concert and so to raise freight rates, pipe-line rates, express rates, and telephone and telegraph charges over and above the operating expenses and a fair dividend upon the investment, then let us demand the additional step to be taken in the progress of governmental ownership as speedily as pirates can be captured and as rapidly as highwaymen can be overtaken, and eliminate the rest of them and claim again our own. This class of property originally belonged to the government; the public highways always were "our property;" let us tear down the toll-gates, clear the pavement of the intruders and manage our own property and build our own colleges, erect our own libraries and fill our own penitentiaries whenever the people's rights are usurped and their franchises are stolen, as we have seen this year at Columbus, Ohio, at Philadelphia, Pa., and in the Senate Chamber in the District of Columbia.

The real danger to our beloved Republic is not and cannot come from an Aguinaldo hiding in the swamps and bulrushes of Pananay in the district of Isabella. Our future victories will not come from capturing a half barbarian with a silver bait by a venal Administration. Our future glory will not consist in

spending \$100,000,000 in buying high-priced armor plate from contributors to campaign funds for the sake of \$1,000,000 worth of enforced trade, or a small percentage to be given back to us in libraries amid the applause and huzzas of the victims, to keep them quiet. Our future prosperity will not consist in transferring our governmental powers, rights, and franchises to private corporations until 58 per cent. of the wealth of the Republic is concentrated in the hands of 1 per cent. of the people, and the Presidents and Congresses retaining but a moiety of the power originally vested in sovereignty. Our future patriotism and philanthropy will not consist in robbing the widow of her mite by filching one-half of her salt from her table, levying a trust tribute of 70 per cent. upon her oil-can, and exacting toll in twofold measure for every mile she rides upon a street-car, and with these enforced tolls and by means of these monopolistic exactions pile up \$300,000,000 per year illegally, and, to blind the outraged masses, send a check to a ladies' seminary or stand upon the college graduating platform with a small per cent. of the booty so obtained and buy the indorsement of a venal faculty with LL.D.'s.

But I look for the day, and that speedily, when the dangerous prosperity of the few at the expense of the masses, and such prosperity that requires plenty of advertising, will be no longer tolerated, and when we shall swing back to the tenets of our forefathers—when with the blood of persecution upon their hands and with the crown of manhood and not of royalty upon their brows they signed the Constitution of this government of ours, in which we declared all men to be commercially free and equal as well as physically free; in which by the articles of confederation of 1777 we entered into a firm league of friendship as States to protect us and secure us in our commercial as well as civil liberties. And afterward we mutually bound ourselves as individuals in the Constitutional compact of 1787 to establish justice and promote the *general welfare* and not the *special welfare* of a few *grantees* of governmental franchises. We pledged ourselves to transmit these principles and these grants to our posterity, not to the posterity of a privileged

class fattened upon royal grants and made plethoric upon regal favors.

Let us arouse the benumbed public conscience; let us awaken the sleeping lion of common justice, and with the boldness of a John Hancock sign again our charter of liberties, our declaration of independence of these governmental favorites. Let the government levy its own duties, imposts, and excises in the way of freight rates, passenger fares, and gas and water bills, by the public ownership of these utilities, and this generation will have opened the twentieth century with the sunlight of approval upon our faces and march onward with a national conscience void of offense. ↙

FRANK S. MONNETT.

Columbus, Ohio.

THE CURSE OF INEBRIETY.

I. ALCOHOLISM IN THREE ACTS.

THE history of alcoholism presents a tragedy, and the story is told in three distinct acts. The first act represents the beginnings of the use of alcoholic beverages; the second shows the full effect of alcoholic excess upon the individual who indulges in it; the third presents the spectacle of the results of alcoholic excesses as witnessed in the children of inebriates.

It is only the second act that is fully represented upon the stage in the drama of life with all its tragic incidents set forth—and the full meaning even of that act is only now beginning to be comprehended. Our ancestors mistook it for a comedy, and they laughed; but to the observing student of to-day the tragic element is only too evident in all its ghastly reality. The other acts are played behind half-drawn curtains and the snatches here and there coming into view are deceptive, and to the general public or casual spectator they even give the impression that they are not connected with the main story at all. Of late, however, the third and saddest act of all has come more fully into view, and its actual relation to the now well understood degeneration—the physical, mental, and moral decadence and death of the individual inebriate—is clearly seen.

Glance for a moment at this last act of the play. To 120 inebriate mothers, from time to time inmates of an English prison, 600 children were born, and the early history of these children was learned. Of these, 335, or more than 55 per cent., were either dead born or died within two years; and many of the survivors presented sad pictures of physical and mental degeneration.

At the beginning of the century just past a woman aged 60 years died. She had lived a life of drunkenness, vagabondism, and crime. Seventy-five years later her progeny numbered 834 persons, and of these the history of 700 has been traced and

recorded. Of this number 106 were illegitimate, 142 were beggars, 64 lived upon charity, 161 women were living immoral lives, 76 were common criminals, and 7 were assassins or murderers. During that period of seventy-five years this one family had cost the State, for maintenance, imprisonments, asylum expenses, criminal trials, and interest, more than a million dollars.

A presiding judge in the courts of one of our large cities, among other things relating to the use of alcoholic drinks, said: "Of all the boys in the reform school and the various reformatories about the city, 95 per cent. are the children of parents who died through drink or became criminals through the same cause. Of the insane and demented cases disposed of here in the court every Thursday a moderate estimate is that 90 per cent. are from the effects of alcohol. . . . The sandbaggers, murderers, and thugs generally to-day who are prosecuted in the police courts and criminal courts are sons of parents who fell victims to drink. I know whereof I speak."

Every prison or asylum physician, along with many in private practise, has his story of experiences with premature births and still-born children—frightful infant mortality, puny physiques, convulsions, idiocy, epilepsy, early drunkenness, crime, and premature death as a direct result of alcoholism on the part of parents and especially of mothers. Physicians and judges see most of these cases, and they are beginning to draw wide the curtain upon this third act, so that its relation to the whole tragedy may be plainly seen and realized.

It is the first act that is still so imperfectly shown, and the close relationship of which to later developments is so little realized. Or, dropping for the moment the parable of the play, it is the relation of occasional or small doses of alcoholic beverages to the fully developed inebriate and the inebriate's progeny that is so little understood or even considered by the general public. And yet it is the general public that is chiefly concerned: if there is danger it is to the public—its sons and its daughters—that the danger comes; and every individual, especially every young person, when he or she takes alcohol, no

matter in what form—beer, wine, or spirits—should know exactly what effect it is producing in the system.

It is only within the last few years that this subject has been intelligently studied; and it is only by carefully noting the effect of alcohol upon the different tissues and organs of the body that a true knowledge of what it actually does in the system is obtained. Some of the gross lesions and changes caused by excessive drinking—such for instance as the congestion of the coats of the stomach and intestines, its destructive influence upon the kidneys, liver, and heart, and some of the physical injuries inflicted upon the brain—were understood fifty years ago; but these were lesions supposed to be brought about *only* by excessive drinking, and their relation to small doses of alcohol or even so-called moderate drinking was not clearly shown. Now, however, the means of careful study of minute organs and the changes that occur in them are abundant, so that competent observers everywhere have entered this most interesting field, and the object has been to learn the effect of alcohol in small doses upon the cells—those minute organisms of which all the tissues of the body are built up—and especially upon the cells of the brain. Eminent investigators—English, French, German, and American—have of late been busy in this department of histology and pathology, and the results have appeared during the last year in a series of interesting and useful articles in *The Quarterly Journal of Inebriety* (Hartford, Conn.).

As already noted, the *immediate* effect of alcohol in small quantities has only recently been clearly shown, and it is the scientific study of the minute structure of the cells—their nourishment, growth, and physiological changes, as well as their appearance in health and in disease—that has rendered accurate knowledge upon this subject now possible.

First, it must be understood that the cells of which the brain and nervous system are composed are exceedingly small objects—most of them too minute to be seen at all by the unaided eye, but only by the aid of a microscope. By the aid of the wonderful instruments that we now possess and the

delicate manipulations that by use have been attained, the cell is seen in minute detail, and it is found to be a very complex object. First, properly prepared and viewed with a lens of moderately high magnifying power, we see an oval or irregularly shaped object or body, with numerous branches extending out from it in various directions and then dividing up again like the branches and twigs of a tree. Since the whole object is microscopic, these little filaments or processes, as they are called, must be very slender indeed and very delicate; but, solid as a nerve or bit of brain matter seems to be, the cells of which it is composed in reality touch one another only by means of these delicate filaments; and it is by means of them that all our sensations come—feeling, seeing, hearing, and the rest; also, all our knowledge of external objects and all our subjects of thought are dependent upon these little cells and their communication with one another by means of these delicate filaments. It is easy to see that these filaments or processes must be kept in perfect health or they will not do this very wonderful work perfectly, nor even well. But the body of the cell is even more delicate and wonderful; it is necessary to have the specimen very carefully prepared and to have lenses of high magnifying power in order to see the structure and different parts of the cell, but when so viewed it is quite distinctly seen.

We are now concerned with the body of the cell only, without the processes that branch out from it. Looking carefully we see, first, a dark spot in the center of the cell, which is called the nucleolus; around this is a small circular light space, which is the nucleus of the cell; then outside of the nucleus is a space occupying the larger part of the body of the cell, filled with a clear substance that we may call *plasma*. Scattered through this clear fluid are some distinct masses of material, granular in appearance and occupying a large part of the space; these contain the stored-up nourishment of the cell—nourishment which it takes up from the minute blood-vessels that are distributed to it for that purpose. It is here that the nerve force is elaborated and stored up for use throughout the

system: for the muscles, the skin, the vital organs—every part of the body.

Here again it is easy to see that, this whole object being microscopic, these different parts must be very small indeed and very delicate, and that they must be kept in the most perfect health in order to perform their important functions. Being so delicate, very slight causes disturb them and interfere with this function of nutrition of the cell and of changing this nutrient material into nerve force; and the moment these functions are interfered with the whole system is deranged—every cell, tissue, and organ, however important and however remote, is disturbed, and if the disturbing cause be sufficiently powerful the cell itself is disorganized, its function ceases, and life is destroyed.

Suppose a poison, say that of a rattlesnake, is introduced into the system; immediately the poison is carried in the blood to these cells in the brain; it poisons the little granular bodies scattered through the plasma of the cells, where the nourishment is stored up and nerve force is developed; it at once begins to paralyze them; their function is interfered with, nerve force is no longer developed, and the whole mechanism of the system moves sluggishly and irregularly; sensation becomes dull, sight and hearing imperfect, and movement feeble. The system arouses itself as best it can to expel the poison, but often its work is too feeble or too slow—the function of the poisoned cells ceases, all vital processes stop, and the unfortunate victim dies. So of any other poison, the effect only varying with the nature of the poison introduced.

What effect does alcohol have upon these delicate nerve cells? First of all, what are its effects upon any small mass of animal tissue? We all know that it hardens all such tissues, causing them to become tough and shrunken. It stops all vital processes; even the bacteria that were at work there are destroyed and the process of decomposition is arrested. One thing is certain—alcohol destroys vitality in every form of cell life, whether animal or vegetable, and when taken in sufficient quantities it is just as deadly in its effects upon the brain cells

and acts much in the same way, only less rapidly, as the poison of the rattlesnake. But, says the objector, in the dilute form in which it is taken into the system as a beverage it certainly cannot produce these harmful effects. But surely we *see* its harmful effects even when taken in that form. The man who takes it becomes intoxicated; he has lost the power of proper locomotion—he staggers; his brain is affected; he has lost the power of connected thought; he has lost sensation; you cannot arouse him; you may cut off a finger and it would not disturb him. Evidently alcohol in the dilute form in which it is taken as a beverage has had an effect and a very hurtful one, and if the alcohol is continued the man dies. Not infrequently children die from the immediate effects of alcohol in the form of brandy or whisky accidentally taken.

But, says the objector still, that is excess in the use of alcohol; in moderation, in small doses, none of these effects are produced. It is true that if a small dose of alcohol is taken and then the drug withheld altogether the cell recovers itself and little damage is done; perhaps even this may be repeated at long intervals without serious injury; but, by frequent repetitions, structural and permanent injury is inflicted.

It so happens that by means of the microscope the brain cells of animals under the influence of alcohol can be and have been carefully observed. Dogs and rabbits have had alcohol in moderate quantities introduced into the system with their food; the animals were then killed at different periods of time after the administration of the drug, varying from one to fifty hours, and the cells of the brain examined. In less than an hour distinct retrograde and harmful changes were found in the delicate structure of the body of the cell, especially in the little nutrient bodies of which we have spoken. Changes of a still more marked character were found in those that were examined after a longer time had elapsed, and if the use of the alcohol was continued progressive changes were observed, resulting in the disorganization of these nutrient bodies—they became indistinct and lost their form, and their function was correspondingly impaired.

The same series of changes has been observed in the brain cells of men that have died in various stages of alcoholism, from that of slight intoxication to that of chronic alcoholism, insanity, and dementia. "The larger the quantity of alcohol taken and the more severe the poisoning the greater the changes found in the nerve cells," until finally the more solid structure of the cell breaks down and the microscope discloses a disorganized mass with prolongations or processes swollen, covered with irregular and deforming nodules, and their vitality destroyed.

But the contention here is, and the proof presented shows, that alcohol in dilute form and in small quantities, as so often taken as a beverage, produces physical changes of a deteriorating character in the brain cells, and that their function is markedly impaired. The proof of this impairment of function by small doses of alcohol short of intoxication has also been shown by close laboratory experiments and instruments of precision. The reaction time, or the time it takes for the brain to respond to stimulus, is lengthened, thought is slower, physical force is diminished, and all intellectual activity is impaired. All this has been observed at different stages of the effect of a single small dose of alcohol. A strange thing is that the person experimented upon always imagines he is more powerful and more exact in his physical activity, and that he is doing and is capable of doing better mental work than when similarly employed without alcohol, while the figures representing the work show the exact opposite.

Now, this deteriorating effect of alcohol in small doses and in a very short space of time, and its correspondingly greater evil effects when continued as what is known as moderate drinking, are what I would designate as the first act in the tragedy of alcoholism. It is this part of the tragedy that for so many centuries has been enacted as it were behind the scenes, and it is only now that science and more exact means of observation have partly drawn aside the curtain and disclosed this first act with its present and its potential evil and its close relation to the whole ghastly story.

Fifty years ago, under the influence and teaching of Liebig, alcohol was classed as a food; in moderate doses it was also reckoned a stimulant, a sustainer of temperature, and a promoter of both physical and mental activity. Since then experiments of the most exact and scientific character have shown that alcohol is not in any sense a food; that as a drug it is not a stimulant in any true sense, but a narcotic. It does not tend to sustain animal temperature, but to diminish it; the acuteness of sensation and of the special senses is diminished, and also the power and exactness of all activities, both physical and mental. The sense of care, sorrow, timidity, or fear may indeed be relieved, and so self-assertion, fluency, and hilarity may for a time appear and may even be carried beyond the bounds of prudence; people talk in their cups—they are social—but the talk is not always the most elevating; and this artificial exaltation is secured at the cost of a deeper impression and self-distrust, which surely follow.

Tobacco and opium are well-known, acknowledged poisons; their essential principles, nicotine and morphine, are rapidly destructive to animal life: yet on account of their sedative qualities they have a most fascinating influence upon those who indulge in their use. Alcohol in all its forms belongs to the same class; it is a narcotic poison, and is far more dangerous; for tea, coffee, tobacco, and opium, while productive of distinctly evil functional effects, do not produce serious organic changes, while alcohol, being equally seductive and as a habit even more obstinate and tyrannical, is at the same time producing organic changes and working destruction to important vital organs, and so eventually ruining the intellect and the moral nature as well as the physical body.

Such are a few of the facts that well conducted experiments and observation tend to establish. They are opposed in some respects to the conclusions of earlier observers, and to the prejudices of the users of alcoholic beverages; but the closer the study the more firmly are these facts established. And they are beginning to have practical results; alcohol and all narcotic drugs are used with much greater caution than formerly

by all intelligent physicians, and the question of the utility of alcohol in disease is freely discussed. The influence of these facts is beginning to be felt in relation to economic affairs, and they are bound to be still more deeply felt. Insurance companies, banking and other financial institutions—also those people who are concerned in the operation of railroads and all mechanical work where efficiency and safety both demand the alert mind and quick and exact muscular activity—are sure to be influenced by a knowledge of these facts, since they indicate that the user of alcoholic drink is by so much inferior to his best normal self.

Let it be known, then, that the whole story of alcoholism is a tragedy. Its lessons are for all, but chiefly for the young.

The First Act, when fully exhibited and understood, teaches that the use of all alcoholic beverages, even in its commencement, means poisoned brain cells and loss of accuracy in both physical and mental adjustment. Its proper title is *Deterioration*.

The Second Act is played openly and boldly in the sight of all men. It shows disintegrated brain cells, disease of important physical organs, loss of self-control, self-respect, health, and sanity. Its title is well known; it is *Degradation*.

The Third Act shows a pitiful falling off in physical, mental, and moral stamina in the progeny of inebriates. Its name is *Degeneration*.

He that is wise will at least consider these things; the fool will mock—and go to his own place.

R. OSGOOD MASON.

New York.

II. MAGNITUDE OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

THE study I propose in this article will be mainly illustrative, rather than detailed and exhaustive. New York is one of our leading States in points of intelligence, morals, and religion. I select the Empire State in illustration of the subject. A survey of the magnitude of the liquor traffic in

New York, and its strong intrenchment in this commonwealth, will enable us to judge of the traffic in our country at large.

Perhaps there is no one thing that lays greater claim to the legislative talent of our country than the liquor business. The friends and foes of the business alike seek new legislation. If the laws are too lax, in some aspect, the friends of temperance discover the fact and attempt to make laws more stringent. If the friends of the liquor business become persuaded that the laws are too strict they exert themselves to secure a more favorable body of laws. In some States the laws governing the liquor traffic are a veritable patchwork of repeated enactments. Perhaps Illinois surpasses most other States in this respect.

Uniformity of legislation on the liquor traffic is certainly a thing of the distant future in this country. The only conceivable way in which uniform legislation on the liquor business is to be brought about is, either to abolish the sale, manufacture, and use of liquor, or to decline all legislative cognizance of the traffic. Neither of these modes of procedure is likely to receive general support in our time. But it is an interesting fact that legislators are constantly busy with this subject. We cannot rest on any certain spot of legislative achievement; but, when a law is made controlling the traffic, forthwith the people are restless for some other law. This was precisely the case with legislation on slavery in this country. As soon as slavery became an object of legislation, the matter of slave-holding had no further rest—till its abolition.

New York State has done her share of legislating on the liquor traffic. An elaborate piece of lawmaking was entered upon the statutes of the State on May 1st, 1896, when the "Raines law" went into force. Just what the object of that law was it is hard to discover. Possibly it had no ultimate object, but rather several objects. There were provisions in that law which gave deep offense to the liquor dealer; there were likewise provisions that gave pleasure to the enemies of the traffic. Now that the novelty of the law has passed away, the enemies of the liquor business are not happy under the ar-

rangement. The clear gain for temperance is not manifest. Two things, however, seem to save the Raines law from a more general depreciation. One is the large income derived by the State from the liquor tax; the other is, the matter of granting licenses and looking after collections and the irregularities of the business is in the hands of excise commissioners—*"taken out of politics."* The heavy increase of the liquor tax has lessened the number of drinking places in the larger cities. But as a piece of legislation it fails to fulfil the wishes of the people.

It may be said, in general, that no one thing of which legislation takes cognizance in this country proves more frustrative to law or more elusive to its grasp than the traffic in liquor. Will you prohibit its sale? Only the keenest vigilance can keep your prohibitory law from defeat. Will you restrict the business by legislation? Such restriction is subject to constant violation. It is harder to deal with an offender against laws governing the liquor traffic than almost any other kind of an offender. His escape from the clutches of the law is proverbial. Friends of temperance, knowing this, are discouraged often from attempting to bring such an offender to account.

The government and State conspire to protect the business at its vital points, and it is hard to convict a man of a misdemeanor that grows naturally out of legal protection. Few men engaging in the liquor business prove friendly to laws made for "their especial benefit." Besides, a man who buys liquor contrary to existing law usually weakens in court. Failure to enforce existing laws against unlawful conduct in the liquor business is one of the most discouraging experiences of temperance people.

The Raines law in New York is probably as well enforced as one could expect; but it is a failure if temperance was its object. The conditions in the State of New York make this very evident. All club-houses are licensed places of drink, where liquors can be had at any time by the members. All hotels are exceptions to Sunday closing; and this has caused

most of the saloons to become "hotels." "Guests" can be served with drinks at the "hotels" on Sunday; but the "regular saloons" must be closed. Drunkenness receives no rebuke, nor the volume of business done any decided diminution. The State gets over \$4,000,000 annually out of the more than \$12,000,000 of liquor tax. This affords a measure of defense for those who view the liquor business from the financial side only. The Raines law is not a success or corrective of the essential evils of the liquor traffic. It hardly touches these evils.

The State of New York has a population of 7,268,012. New York City contains just about one-half of the population of the State—3,437,202; the metropolis has almost 8,000 licensed places—one drinking place for every 403 persons in the city. The license tax is \$800, and evidently the number of drinking places is diminished by this tax; for before the Raines law went into force there were 8,906 drinking places.

But let us consider Buffalo, a city of over 350,000 people. Buffalo has, in round numbers, 1,900 drinking places, and places where liquor is sold in quantities. The license tax here is \$500 for saloons and hotels and \$300 for a storekeeper's license. What is the result? There is one drinking or licensed place for every 195 persons in Buffalo. This does not include the clubs, in all of which liquor is sold.

Taking the State as a whole there are 27,372 licensed places, or one such place for every 295 persons. Now, if we deduct from this number those who do not drink at all—one-third, say—we have every 197 persons in the State supporting a saloon! I make no account of women and children; if I did, the number might be reduced to 150. If we take as an estimate \$10 paid to the saloon for every dollar paid out for license taxes, which must be a low estimate, we shall have the people of New York State paying more than \$128,000,000 annually for liquor—between \$18 and \$20 *per capita*.

This study illustrates the appetite of our people for stimulants of a hurtful nature—an appetite that is simply alarming in its strength. All conditions of our people suffer from the

appetite for strong drink—rich and poor, educated and ignorant. The appetite is not declining; statistics show the opposite, if they show anything. The liquor business is not only intrenched behind the appetite for strong drink, but it is the greatest single factor in American politics.

The liquor business is more strongly intrenched in the lives of the American people than any cherished institution receiving their voluntary support. The public schools of New York State (the entire system of public schools) received by apportionment the year before last \$3,858,000. The entire expenditure for all religious purposes in the State would not equal this. The saloon, if we may judge from the money expended,—and money is an exponent of value among us,—the saloon in New York State is more strongly intrenched than either the public school or the Church.

If we have found illustrative material in the study of one-eleventh of our country's population, significant conclusions may be drawn with reference to most of the States containing the other ten-elevenths.

ROBERT MORRIS RABB.

Buffalo, N. Y.

GREAT MOVEMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

II. THE GREAT CONFLICT.

WEALTH and organization have joined with knowledge, tolerance, justice, liberty, and popular government to remove the ancient limitations and afford new opportunities and new powers to humanity. The great development of national unity, industrial coöperation, and social organization in the nineteenth century is one of the most important facts of the period. The spirit of union, which was so weak in the closing years of the eighteenth century that union was scarcely possible in America, became so strong by the middle of the century that it stood the shock of the most tremendous civil war in history. The German States, whose severance made Western Europe a crazy quilt in 1800, have become a solid empire. Switzerland, though her cantons were loosely federated in the eighteenth century, had no real national existence until 1802. Italy too has become a nation. The principle of union has been working in South America, Africa, and Australia too. The twentieth century may see great continental and intercontinental unions—the United States of South America, the federated governments of North America, the United Colonies of Southern Africa, the united nations of Western Europe, the federation of all English-speaking peoples, the international federation of all civilized societies—to keep the peace and prevent Russia from overrunning Western Europe and grasping all Europe, Asia, and Africa in one colossal empire.

The industrial world has felt the unifying forces almost as fully as the political world. Industry has been organized under powerful firms, great corporations, and vast combinations, ever gravitating into larger and larger groups, till now we have a single trust whose president receives a salary of a million dollars a year and whose capital is more than a billion. The capitalization of the trusts foots up about ten

billions total, and with the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones makes more than a quarter of the country's wealth. The mighty railroad combines, the Standard Oil, and the billion-dollar steel trust illustrate the power of the forces making for the concentration of capital in private control; and the astonishing growth of public ownership of public utilities, especially in European and Australasian lands, demonstrates an equally vigorous tendency, considering the civilized world as a whole, toward the concentration of capital under public control. The American Federation of Labor, with nearly a million members, the vast Socialist organization of workers in Germany, and the splendid coöperative unions of Great Britain, involving one-seventh of the entire population, prove that labor as well as capital is feeling the force of industrial gravitation. Not only are politics and business affected by the spirit of harmony: religion and society also are being transformed by it. There are symptoms of coming union in the churches, and social organization has already been carried so far that the mere description of the societies in Boston alone requires a considerable volume. The trend toward unity, organization, concentration, harmony, and coöperation is one of the most powerful movements of the age.

Vast areas in America, Australia, and Africa have been claimed by civilization in the nineteenth century. The total area occupied by peoples of high civilization has more than quadrupled in these hundred years. By emigration, commerce, education, and sometimes by force of arms, the higher races are capturing the world for modern life. Civilization is sweeping round the globe, on the railroad train, the telegraph wire, the ocean steamer, and, now and then, much as we deplore the means, it travels on a powder cart and opens the way with cannon balls.

Knowledge, liberty, organization, and the spread of civilization have produced a great increase of wealth. Steam and electricity and mechanical development, with better training, higher character, freer conditions, and superior coördination, have multiplied the productive power of labor many fold, so that,

in spite of much larger consumption than at any previous period, the accumulations of the nineteenth century have been most remarkable. In France and England the wealth accumulated during this period is more than five times as great as the total accumulations of all preceding ages in those countries. In America the wealth of the Union in 1800 was about one billion dollars, while now it is well toward ninety billions; or, taking fractions into account, an increase of 85-fold, which is over six times the growth of population in the same period, the *per capita* wealth having risen from \$200 in the year 1800 to \$1,200 or thereabouts in 1900.

While, however, the creation and accumulation of wealth have progressed in this unexampled way, the diffusion of wealth has met with no corresponding improvement. On the contrary, there has been a progressive concentration of wealth into relatively fewer hands, till now one-half the people own practically nothing; one-eighth of the people own seven-eighths of the wealth, or forty-nine times their share; one per cent. of the people own 54 per cent. of the wealth—one family in every hundred being able to buy out the other 99 families and have something left besides; and finally about one-two-hundredths of one per cent. of the people, or 4,000 millionaires and multi-millionaires, have 20 per cent. of the total wealth, or over 4,000 times their fair share on the principles of partnership and brotherhood.

The vast increase of wealth and great congestion of it, along with the vast increase of knowledge and large diffusion of it and the rapid growth of political liberty, constitute the paradox of the nineteenth century and the source of the deepest troubles it bequeathes to the twentieth. The congestion of wealth in the presence of diffused intelligence is the underlying cause of the great unrest of our time. There are only two paths to social equilibrium: the diffusion of enlightenment must vanish or the concentration of wealth must cease. Democracy of intelligence and aristocracy of wealth are incompatible. Industrial privilege must destroy free government and popular enlightenment, or free government and popular enlightenment

will destroy industrial privilege. The concentration of wealth is possible only because intelligence, while widely disseminated, is not *fully* diffused. If the masses of the people had understood the powers and the benefits of union and industrial organization as well as the makers of trusts and combines understand them, the organization of industry would have proceeded on lines of public ownership and coöperative enterprise, instead of taking the form of aggressive combinations in the interest of a few. Instead of a union of part against the rest, we should have had coöperative groups and public plants working toward a union of all for the benefit of all. There is intelligence enough to recognize the evils and injustices of private monopoly, and there will be thought enough among the people soon to recognize and apply the remedy, unless the growth of popular enlightenment is checked by the rising despotism. Trusts and monopolies, and the concentration of wealth and power they cause, endanger free institutions, imperil manhood and independence, and threaten industrial peace and prosperity. Private monopolies corrupt the governments, make the workers serfs instead of partners, glut our markets, and produce depression and panic by denying the workers sufficient wages to buy their proper share of the products they create. Every billion dollars of unjust profit that monopolists secure is that much less for the farmers and workingmen and the small merchants and producers. Machinery multiplies the power of labor, while the wages of labor, though rising somewhat, do not increase in proportion; wherefore surplus products pile up in our markets. The monopolists seek new markets in foreign lands and even use the war power if necessary to attain their purpose, but all their efforts can only delay and not avert the glut and depression sure to result from the imperfect distribution of wealth and the resulting under-consumption of the working classes.

All these evils and many others resulting from wealth congestion and lack of complete organization in the interest of all may be intensified for a time by the growing power of the influence now dominant in industry, but there are strong rea-

sons for hope that wealth congestion may be ultimately overcome by the forces making for diffusion. The fundamental principle on which industrial organization is proceeding, if fully carried out, must lead to wealth diffusion. It is the *partial* organization of our time, the incomplete application of the principle of coöperation, that is making all the mischief. Every time a trust is born or a labor union formed, every time two trusts unite or two labor unions affiliate, we are one step nearer complete coördination. Either through the union of the trusts, and the federation of labor, and the coalescence of the two, or through the growth of public ownership and voluntary coöperation, or a mixture of these processes, the organization of industry will be carried to completion and become a vast coöperation for the benefit of all, instead of a coöperation of part for the mastery of the rest, *unless* the aristocracy of wealth can choke democracy and stop the growth of popular enlightenment.

Excepting this trend to wealth congestion, and the ideal developed by and developing it, every leading influence of the century makes for liberty and civilization; every power developed by science, invention, literature, education, wealth, and political, industrial, or social organization, is a means of making life fuller and freer than it was before. If the new power be monopolized by a few, it may become an instrument of oppression to the masses of the people and a means of freedom only to the few; but if the growth of power be linked with, or take place under, democratic conditions, it will enlarge and enrich the life of the people. The amazing evolution of knowledge, wealth, and organization in the last hundred years, together with the equally astonishing development of political liberty and democratic government, has brought about a magnificent enlargement and enrichment of life. This was the supreme movement of the nineteenth century. To put the matter in a single sentence: the despotism of dogma, the imprisonment of ignorance, the bondage of injustice, the tyrannies of thrones and aristocracies, the desperate restraints of chattel slavery and serfdom, the vast restrictions of isolation and

opposition, of severance and conflict, the barriers of space and time, the serious limitations of individual and social poverty, and the fetters of ancient forms and outgrown laws, have given way in large degree to tolerance, knowledge, justice, democracy, liberty, union, wealth, and progress; and this development of knowledge, union, wealth, and power, *along with* the development of the diffusive forces of sympathy, justice, liberty, democracy, and coöperation, means the liberation and enrichment of the life of the people.

As we have seen, however, this splendid movement toward a nobler life is not the only current of the century just closed. There is a counter current that must be reckoned with, and its power has increased so swiftly in later years that many a careful observer fears it may become the dominant movement of the twentieth century. This counter current is the trend toward industrial despotism. Union and organization are excellent in themselves, but if controlled in the interests of a few they become despotic, whether the field of organization be religion, politics, or industry. The world has groaned for centuries under religious despotism, and for thousands of years political despotism was the common lot of humanity. The leaders and managers of political unions—tribes, States, and nations—abused their powers for selfish purposes. Instead of recognizing the rights of the people, they treated the government as their private property, to be used for their private benefit and as a means of compelling the people to serve them and pay taxes to them. The whole sweep of thought and events in the political life of the nineteenth century was a magnificent protest against this private monopoly of government. The century is full to the brim with the grand movement toward democracy. Yet the same century, overflowing with the gospel of public ownership of the government, is marked by a startling development of private monopoly in industry. The managers of great industrial organizations, factories, stores, corporations, trusts, and combines are doing just what the managers of political groups did long ago, using the powers of organization for their selfish purposes

against the public interest, treating the trusts and combines as means of taxing the people and controlling them for the benefit of the managers. The wealth that belongs to the farm and the home is being drawn into the treasuries of the great monopolies. Farmers and workers sell in a competitive market and buy in a monopolized market; *i.e.*, they buy high and sell low. With each new advance of monopoly and capitalistic combination, the people get a relatively smaller share of the national product and the monopolists get a larger and larger share.

The country is paying tribute to the trusts, just as France and England used to pay tribute to their kings and nobles. Only there was no noble, king, or potentate who drew such tribute from the people as the kings of steel and emperors of oil in America to-day. The German Emperor's official income is less than \$11,000 a day, and the civil list of the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary is only about \$10,000 a day; while a number of our monopolists have incomes ranging from \$15,000 to \$40,000 a day, and one has an income variously estimated at \$70,000 to \$200,000 a day. The contrast between the sovereign and the subject in the Old World is not more startling than the contrast between the laboring man earning \$1 a day and the magnate who can buy the labor of a hundred thousand men with his surplus income. The managers of a billion-dollar trust or a giant railway system control the livelihood of thousands of people, and can make or mar the fortunes of individuals, cities, States, and nations. We are living under the deepening shadow of a despotism that threatens to become as mighty and as heartless as any to be found in all the past. The despotic element of human nature—the longing for mastery over others that characterizes militant savagery and persists in societies pervaded by the militant spirit after actual war is over—has trekked its way to virgin fields and built new thrones and aristocracies. Driven from politics it has gone into industry, to establish its imperialism there, and, from that vantage, tunnel back to undermine political liberty, and through an underground political des-

potism destroy democracy itself. As the spirit of conquest in military form destroyed the republic in ancient Rome, so the spirit of conquest in commercial form may destroy the republics of Europe and America. Even so conservative a thinker as President Hadley of Yale says we shall have an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years unless we can rouse the people to control the trusts. Yet the trusts are merely a partial application of the beneficent principles of harmony and coöperation perverted to private use. Even brotherhood, if limited and made the basis of new aggression, may become a source of evil. The contest of our time is between organization for the benefit of a few and organization for the benefit of all.

The conflict of the two great movements of liberation and conquest is the heart of the history that is forming to-day. The question of the age is Equality or Aristocracy, Fraternity or Mastery, Partnership or Subjection, Democracy or Despotism. On the one hand the mighty power of wealth is seeking to maintain and extend its empire and intensify its domination; on the other hand the giant forces that have carried the nations into democratic government are pushing them on to the democratization of industry. In some countries, Germany especially, this great movement, which is really a phase of the movement toward the liberation of life, has taken the form of a great political party pledged to the socialization of all the means of production and distribution. In other countries, as New Zealand, Switzerland, England, and the United States, the principal strength of the movement is expended in the gradual extension of the public ownership of monopolies and vital public utilities and the development of coöperative industry—processes that lead directly to the equalization of industrial conditions. In America, too, the interests opposed to plutocracy have manifested much vitality but have not organized as yet in any effective form, and the tide of commercial conquest sweeps on unchecked. It is a race between the people and the monopolists. Shall the world belong to all or to a few? Shall civilization, wealth, power, and opportunity be grasped

by private monopoly or be the common heritage of the people? Will the liberation of life go forward to completion or will the mastery of monopolized wealth engulf the liberties of the people? Will the ideal of brotherhood, partnership, and mutual service triumph, or the ideal of mastery and commercial conquest?

To sum up on a somewhat different line of analysis, let us briefly note the mighty movements of *development*, *diffusion*, *organisation*, and *expansion* that mark the civilization of the nineteenth century and make it the blossom-time for science, wealth, liberty, union, and democracy, except where the doom of despotism is delayed by the *concentration of wealth*, which has resulted incidentally from the organization of industry without sufficient infusion of public interest or coöperative principle in the process of crystallization. Development, intellectual, moral, and physical—astonishing growth of knowledge, virtue, wealth, and power—is the century's leading characteristic. It is *par excellence* the century of evolution as well as the century of evolutionary philosophy. New powers and values in man and for man fill the years to overflowing, and make the thirty centuries known to history previous to our time, with their combined results, quite insignificant compared to the vast achievements of this one century—in which the world has grown as if a youth, who had for thirty years and more remained a child, should take a vigorous start and in a single year grow up to manhood's power and knowledge. A thousand centuries or more humanity has wandered in the darkness and the twilight, but in our century the van emerged from the arctic night and has seen the sun of civilization climb the sky till its brilliance dazzles the strongest eyes. The expansion of civilization by colonization, commerce, and conquest has carried the light around the world and redeemed four continents from darkness and sent the dawn into the other two.

The organization of nations and federations, corporations, trusts and combines, labor unions, scientific and social societies, and numberless other associations, attests the vigorous action

of political and industrial gravitation, social cohesion, intellectual and ethical magnetism, and other attractive energies that, with the gathering forces just named in speaking of the expansion of civilization, are working for unification, the coördination of human activity, the harmonization of human interests, and the consolidation of humanity.

The tendency to diffusion is quite as emphatic as the trend to union, organization, expansion, and development, but it is less universal. The diffusion of knowledge in the nineteenth century is not less remarkable than its increase. Schools and colleges, books, magazines, and newspapers have brought to every door the thought and feeling of the world, the arguments of statesmen, the reasoning of philosophers, the riches of science. In the political field diffusion is the dominant fact—the amazing growth of liberty and democracy is *the* political element of the century just closed, the chief of all its wonderful accomplishments, excepting the vast development of knowledge, wealth, and power, and exceeding in value even these more famous facts perhaps, since it underlies them as an interacting cause and determines their scope and effectiveness as a condition of their reaching the masses of the people. Liberty is at once a principal cause of the development of knowledge, wealth, and power, and an essential condition of their distribution; so that their benefits may not be confined to a few individuals but accrue to the people and lift the whole State to a higher plane of civilization. Diffusion rules the century in the realms of government and education, and pours its power into industry also, but in that field it does not reign supreme; a counter movement rises with the vigor of a tropic storm, sweeping diffusion out of industry and piling the ruins of individual enterprise in giant heaps around the walls of monopoly.

This counter current toward congestion results from the dominant method of industrial organization. Organization is as beneficent and inevitable in industry as in any other department of life, but the method and spirit of organization are always of prime importance. If organization is in the interest

of all, democracies and coöperations are the outcome. But if organization is in private interest, despotisms and plutocracies result. If the masses of farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and laborers had wakened to the benefits of organization and sent their delegates to form a plan of industrial union for the good of all, as our fathers in 1787 sent delegates to form a plan of political union for the good of all—or if our various industries had crystallized under enlightened influences in public-spirited and coöperative groups, federating into larger and larger groups under the coöperative principle—the organization of industry might have progressed in perfect harmony with the great movement toward diffusion. But the masses did not wake in time, and local crystallizations were not generally governed by public spirit and coöperative principle, but by the spirit of private profit and union of a few for the capture of wealth from the rest; wherefore industrial organization so far has led to the centralization of wealth and founded a new aristocracy that bids fair to become almost as despotic as the political aristocracies of former times.

Throughout the centuries of the past, in all the relations of mankind, two principles have been contending for control—the principle of mastery and the principle of coöperation. In this last century the principle of coöperation has made great progress in every department of life. In government it has gone far toward sweeping its rival from the world. In industry also it has done much, but there it has been met by a new outburst of the spirit of mastery that grasps the power of union in a trust or combine to destroy the diffusion of benefit a union of all would afford, and uses the coöperation of a few to defeat the ends that would be attained by a coöperation of all. Government was organized for ages on the private plan, but the public principle has claimed it for its own. Will the private plan succeed in industry, against the diffusion of knowledge and power, or will private monopoly in industry follow its sister monopoly in government into oblivion? Will the forces that have gone so far to drive the principle of mastery out of politics yield to the new attack of despotism,

with railroads for battle-axes and monopolies for clubs? Can civilization be outflanked by a few capitalists? If a people with few schools and printing-presses, and without the ballot, won their freedom against a universal despotism bolstered by ages of homage, will not an enlightened people with the ballot win their freedom against a limited despotism heartily despised from its inception and opposed already by a most specific, vigorous, outspoken, ceaselessly aggressive, and rapidly growing movement for the socialization and democratization of industry? If this freedom can and should be won, then how and when? And by what means may it be protected against new masteries?

If, instead of a gradual relief at moderate pressure, as in New Zealand, Switzerland, and England, the tension rises to the battle point in America, as predicted by Macaulay and others, may not the outcome be State Socialism, with a bureaucratic despotism as bad or worse than that of private capital, making a new reaction needful to bring true liberty with voluntary coöperation in manufactures, commerce, agriculture, and public monopolies managed by governments under effective and continuous control of the people?

The future is threatened on the one hand by the tyrannies of elected despots and on the other hand by the tyrannies of the self-constituted despots of the market. What are the prospects of liberty and how may they best be realized? Will knowledge and wealth continue to develop while liberty and justice wane, or will they all rise or all go down together? Will diffusion of benefit accompany its increase; will the liberation of life go hand in hand with its enrichment in the years to come, lifting and ennobling the whole people and establishing at last an actual brotherhood in government and business aiming at mutual help and not at commercial conquest or the control of others for the selfish benefit of the controller; or will the new life be grasped and monopolized by a few while the masses toil in want to let their masters live in idle and debasing luxury? What part may this generation have in deciding the momentous issue? What can the individual do

to influence the decision and to influence it to his utmost power? To find what light the past may throw upon these questions we must study the political, industrial, intellectual, and moral movements of the age with reference to the character, strength, and persistence of their causes, and specially note all blossoming signs of a new ideal of nobler type than that which dominates our life to-day, and earnestly seek the conditions of developing the new ideal and the means of lifting it to sovereign control in place of the present ideal of commercial conquest and triumph in industrial battle. The mightiest of all forces, molding education, government, social conditions, and economic systems, is the dominant ideal, which in turn is modified by all the elements of life. No more momentous years have ever come to man than the opening years of this new century, through the portals of which he has just entered. No grander mission can be found than to give one's life to the building of a loftier ideal and the effort to turn the organization of industry away from despotism toward liberty, democracy, and diffusion of benefit, so that the wealth and knowledge of the twentieth century shall make *all* the people rich and free—the grand movement toward the liberation and enrichment of life, sweeping aside the aristocracy of wealth as it has the aristocracy of birth, and filling the years with a new equality that shall make all other equalities real and safe.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston University School of Law.

AN ECONOMIST WITH TWENTIETH CENTURY IDEALS:

PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, C.E., PH.D., EDUCATOR, AUTHOR,
AND ECONOMIST.

I.

"To construct the people—what an aim! Principles combined with science, all possible quantity of the absolute introduced by degrees into the fact, Utopia treated successively by every mode of realization,—by political economy, by philosophy, by physics, by chemistry, by dynamics, by logic, by art; union gradually replacing antagonism, and unity replacing union; for religion God, for priest the father, for prayer virtue, for field the whole earth, for language the Word, for law the right, for motive-power duty, for hygiene labor, for economy universal peace, for canvas the very life, for the goal progress, for authority freedom, for people the man. . . .

"And at the summit the ideal.

"The ideal!—the stable type of ever-moving progress."—"WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE," *by Victor Hugo.*

ALL successful evolutionary or revolutionary steps in political, social, or economic advance must be preceded by patient educational work of the "line upon line and precept upon precept" character; for the masses in all nations are conservative, and it is not enough to convince the reason. The conscience must be awakened to such a degree that the call of right and duty becomes an imperative mandate. For this reason there is always a long waiting time before a radically progressive step can be successfully taken—a time when the silent leaders of civilization work for years, decades, and sometimes for generations to arouse the reason and conviction of the slow-thinking multitude, and during which period their words seem for the most part to fall into barren soil. The public appears sodden, indifferent, and disorganized; and, were the apostles of progress governed by any motive less exalted than loyalty to the call of duty, they would become disheartened. Yet all this silent work has been producing its result. Here is a group who have already become convinced. At another point a leader has been won, and in ten thousand

cities, villages, hamlets, and communities missionaries are quietly repeating the words of wisdom which the leaders have given. In this way a nation is educated and aroused until a certain point is reached when everything seems to swell the rising tide of political and economic enthusiasm. Then every manifestation of arrogance, insolence, injustice, and oppression from the upholders of the older order makes converts to the new cause, though a few years before similar actions excited no response. The essential preliminary educational agitation has been quietly but effectively carried on until the conscience, reason, and judgment of a large proportion of the people have been influenced in such a way that a successful revolutionary step has been rendered inevitable; and without this quiet and persistent educational propaganda victory for the progressive cause would be impossible.

To-day signs are not wanting that indicate the near approach of a social, economic, and political conflict that will prove the most momentous civilization has known. The old competitive order has given place to two elements—private combination, striving to establish an industrial despotism in a republican government, and progressive democracy, seeking to establish governmental ownership of public utilities and a nation-wide coöperative system whereby all men, women, and children shall enjoy the rich and ample blessings of civilization. Professor Frank Parsons in a recent paper thus expresses the demand of the new political economy as insisted upon by those who believe with Victor Hugo that the hour has struck for hoisting the standard, "All for all":

"The science of political economy is undergoing a change almost as remarkable as that which took place in astronomy in the Copernican era. In the old astronomy the earth was the center around which all other things, including the sun and stars, were made to circle. In the old economy material wealth was the center around which all other things, including even life itself, was made to revolve. The new astronomy knows that the earth is not the center but only a planet moving about the sun, and the new economy knows that material wealth and the desire for it are not the central facts, but

only subordinate parts of a great system, of which manhood and womanhood, character, mind, soul, affections, ideals, and development are the controlling elements, the real foci of power."

Now, during the last generation, and especially during the last two decades, there has been going on an amount of silent but persistent educational work throughout the United States which has rarely if ever been equaled in the hours preceding any great revolutionary or evolutionary step known to Western civilization. What is true of America is to a great extent true of England, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, France, and some other European nations; but we are at present chiefly concerned with the work in the New World, because all things indicate that the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of the master spirits operating the industrial trusts, and the influence they are exerting on government in all its ramifications, will bring the American people face to face with the alternative of industrial despotism or coöperation for the maintenance of free institutions sooner than elsewhere.

The economic awakening was inaugurated and largely stimulated by several remarkable social visions, principal among which were "Looking Backward," by Edward Bellamy; "News from Nowhere," by William Morris; "A Traveler from Altruria," by William Dean Howells; "The City Beautiful," by Joaquin Miller; and latest, and in many respects greatest of all, "Equality," by Edward Bellamy. The enormous sales that many of these books enjoyed, and the eagerness with which the public perused these and scores of other social visions, were indeed significant. But social visions, valuable as they undoubtedly are in stimulating thought, in showing the way out, and in making men dissatisfied with unjust, inequitable, and evil conditions, are not enough. Anglo-Saxon peoples demand far more than theories and social dreams, however rational and pleasing they may be; and, fortunately for the new awakening, the men most needed were ready for the great demand.

Among the master thinkers in the New World who have compelled hundreds of thousands of thoughtful people to study social problems, the late Henry George was preëminent. One may or may not agree with all the theories of this high-minded, clear, and lucid reasoner and incorruptible patriot, but no well-informed student of economic problems can fail to recognize the great work accomplished by Mr. George in compelling the people to think seriously on vital and fundamental social and economic problems. Among other great representative leaders and workers must be mentioned Henry D. Lloyd, whose masterly works, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," "Copartnership in England," "A Land Without Strikes," and "Newest England" have done very much to stimulate thought along progressive lines, as also have the writings and educational work of Professors John R. Commons, Edward Bemis, Richard T. Ely, Eltweed Pomeroy, and a score of other careful thinkers who have been working for true democracy. But among the coterie of silent leaders who have led in the serious constructive and scholarly work that must precede a successful onward movement, no man has wrought more effectively or convincingly than Professor Frank Parsons, who, as educator, economist, and author, has carried forward the cause of coöperation and the public ownership of public utilities in such a manner as to challenge thoughtful attention from friend and foe alike. He is one of the most scholarly, careful, and sane thinkers in the progressive ranks to-day. He is dominated by altruistic ideals—a true son of twentieth-century civilization.

II.

Professor Frank Parsons was born in 1854, at Mount Holly, New Jersey. His ancestors on his father's side were sturdy, liberty-loving Englishmen. His mother was American-Scotch-Irish, and came from a well-known family of clergymen, teachers, and professional men.

One grandfather, with several "greats" before his name, who was keeper of the king's stores in Philadelphia when the

War of the Revolution broke out, turned over the supplies to the Continental forces. The English authorities set a large price on his head, and as a result he and his family were kept in rapid motion to avoid evil consequences. This ancestor was an intimate friend and neighbor of Benjamin Franklin. He entered enthusiastically into the great philosopher's experiments with lightning, and, much to the disgust and vexation of his wife, persisted in tempting Providence by accompanying Franklin in his raids on the errant electricity. The good wife was a typical conservative, and reasoned that, if the thunderbolt did not silence the over-curious men, the rain would bring on disease attended by serious consequences. Happily, in this respect she was mistaken.

When almost sixteen years of age Frank Parsons entered the sophomore class of Cornell University, and in 1873, when eighteen years old, he was graduated from that famous institution with the highest record in the mathematical and engineering courses. On leaving college he secured a position on the civil engineering corps of a railroad company, but the panic of that year caused the failure of the company, and he and his companions found themselves out of employment. Fortunately Frank Parsons had not been injured by the false ideas of manual labor which are the ruin of so many college boys. To him all honest employment was honorable. He was neither ashamed nor afraid of hard work, and as the only immediate opportunity to earn a livelihood that presented itself was a position in a rolling mill, lifting and shearing iron and loading bundles on transfer wagons, he gladly accepted the place, and for the greater part of a year he worked ten hours a day, receiving \$39 a month. During this time he had to walk two miles morning and night, to and from his work.

At length a place was offered him in the public schools of a New England manufacturing town, where his superior ability was soon recognized and he received an important position in the high school, where he taught higher mathematics, history, elocution, and French. He had always been

deeply interested in public questions, especially those which intimately related to a well-rounded education, the proper development of the young, and those social, economic, and political problems which aim at wider freedom and juster conditions for all the people. Not confining his labors to his required duties, he entered with whole-souled enthusiasm into the work of a literary and debating society and in other ways sought to stimulate and call out the moral and intellectual energies of the young with whom he worked. Among those who were interested listeners to the discussions of the debating society was the leading lawyer in the place. He was deeply impressed with the masterly manner in which the young teacher presented his arguments. He felt that any one who was at once so careful in the presentation of facts, so rigidly logical in handling a question, so clear and convincing, while being at all times eminently fair, should be at the bar rather than teaching in the public schools; and he became so urgent in his persuasion and so enthusiastic in his presentation of the opportunities offered by the legal profession that he awakened in the young teacher a desire that led to a determination to study law. It was, of course, impossible for him to continue the arduous duties he had engaged in and make rapid progress in legal studies. He, however, succeeded in obtaining the position of superintendent of drawing and painting for all the public schools in Southbridge, Mass.—a work that gave him the needed time for his new studies. He then entered the office of a well known attorney, the Hon. A. J. Bartholomew of Southbridge, where he began reading law. His progress was very rapid, as the studies were such as appealed to his tastes. After a time he removed to Worcester, where he finished his studies with the Hon. F. P. Goulding of that city. He completed the course of study in one year, and passed an examination which the examiners said showed the best grasp of the subject, in all its bearings, that had been displayed by any candidate who had appeared before them in the twelve years of their term as an examining board.

Just after his successful examination for the bar a severe

misfortune overtook the young student that for a time threatened to blight his future career. He had greatly overtaxed his eyes in the long hours of hard study and close application to the printed text, and his entire system was somewhat exhausted by overwork when he was employed to survey a tract of land. The work was done on a raw, cold day toward the close of winter. He was compelled to stand in the biting and penetrating wind until he contracted a terrible cold, which settled in his eyes. So serious was the affliction that he was compelled to go to New Mexico and live in the open air for three years before he could return to his profession.

After his return to New England he opened a law office in Boston, and shortly thereafter he was given a contract by Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. to rewrite "Morse on Banks and Banking." This work proved so satisfactory that the publishers secured him to edit "Perry on Trusts," "May on Insurance," and many other important legal works; while the signal ability displayed attracted the attention of educators as well as of the profession, one result being an invitation from the Boston University to join the faculty of the law department of that important educational institution. This he accepted, and for ten years he has held this position to the entire satisfaction of the faculty. He is considered one of the best lecturers in the law school, possessing the rare ability of presenting his subject with great clearness and in an entertaining manner. He is the only lecturer in the school who never uses a note, his memory being a source of constant wonder to the students, who cannot understand how it is possible for a lecturer to give from twenty-five to thirty citations of cases, by volume and page, during the course of a single lecture, without a single note or memorandum of any kind.

III.

It is, however, in the department of social and economic research embraced in the new political economy that Professor Parsons has gained an international reputation as a well-

equipped and trustworthy authority. Without a clear conception of the great work that lay before him in the cause of social progress Professor Parsons was led while yet at college to pursue an independent course of study that admirably fitted him for treating living problems in a broad and logical way, while it also served to train his mind to the careful, painstaking, and scientific method of treatment which is so marked a feature of his work. In college, mathematics was a second nature to him and was absorbed so rapidly that he had much time for reading, which was devoted to natural science, philosophy, economics, and history. Among the books thoroughly mastered at this time was Mill's "Political Economy." This work furnished a problem that became the focus of the student's thought. The laws and results of the existing industrial system were not satisfactory, because they did not conform to or harmonize with ethical principles. For years no real light or solid conclusion was reached on this problem, which more and more absorbed his thought. Finally light came through the principle of coöperative industry and the public ownership of monopolies, which promised to lead to an industrial system free of the chaotic production, conflict of man with man, and debasement of character incident to ordinary competitive business. Later he saw that public ownership of industry could not be thoroughly successful while the government was a private monopoly; so that direct legislation, civil service reform, proportional representation, etc., came to be a necessary part of his progressive thought.

As these ideas grew more definite, Prof. Parsons became more and more devoted to them, and for the last twenty years their development has absorbed the best energies of his life, enabling him to produce authoritative works that have placed him among the foremost progressive leaders of his day. His success has been largely due to the fact that he is one of the clearest and most logical reasoners of our time, while all his writings are marked by a rigid adherence to the modern critical or scientific method. He is one of the most careful and tireless scholars to be found among economic authorities.

He possesses as do few progressive leaders the power of looking on all sides of every question. He is always candid and fair, exhibiting the judicial spirit rather than that of the partizan; and in one important respect he is far ahead of many economists whom conservatism delights to honor. He is a man of strong moral convictions. With him the fundamentals of ethics are supremely important. He is as one driven onward by an awakened conscience, but ever guided by sober reason. Many reformers and progressives are before all else destructive in their criticism. They spend most of their time in tearing down and too frequently get into the habit of fault-finding to such a degree that they seem to have no clear and well-defined idea of what the present demands in lieu of outgrown and unjust conditions. But Professor Parsons is preëminently constructive, and his arguments are always directed against injustice in institutions and systems rather than against individuals. In him the cause of social advance has a leader who is at all times the valet to conscience, the servant of justice, freedom, and fraternity, and yet a critic so eminently candid that passion or prejudice never blinds his vision or colors his judgment. I have seldom known a man who could present the other side so clearly, concisely, and forcibly as Professor Parsons.

A few years ago he appeared before the Legislature of Massachusetts in the interest of better conditions for the people of Boston. The chairman of the committee before whom the hearing was given acted as if he were an attorney for the corporations against the interests of the people, and it was evident that he had scant interest in or sympathy for the popular weal. When Professor Parsons spoke he began by clearly stating the case in all its bearings. The position maintained and the contentions urged by the class interests antagonized were so admirably stated that for a time it appeared that the brilliant young educator held a brief for the corporations. I think every argument and plea that their representative had intended to advance was set forth clearly, cogently, and with utmost fairness by Professor Parsons, after which

each contention was taken up and answered. Then the case of the people was summed up in a masterly and convincing manner, much to the discomfiture of certain legislators as well as to that of the opposition. I felt at the time, as I have been convinced on many subsequent occasions, that if the daily papers of Boston had the interest of the community upon which their success depends as much at heart as they pretend to have, they would have published this and similar arguments in full; and I am confident that the simple publication of that argument in the various great dailies, in the same way that the same papers have published for years the addresses and the arguments made by the head of the great street-railway monopoly of Boston, would have compelled the Legislature to grant the reform. Unhappily, however, the daily press of Boston is too frequently blind, deaf, and dumb when it comes to advocating the interests of the community that run counter to those of the rich corporations.

Though having received the degrees of C.E. and Ph.D., Professor Parsons, like Herbert Spencer and indeed a large number of the best thinkers of our time, cares too little for titles to attach them to the name, though he admits that they have a value in that they seem to impress a certain class of people more than do deep thought and forcible reasoning.

The high quality of his work has been recognized in many ways. Professor Zueblin of Chicago, Professor Bemis, Professor Will, and many other high authorities have testified in the strongest terms to his extraordinary accuracy and painstaking care in all his work, though in common with Carroll D. Wright, and indeed almost every authority on social and economic questions who has written or spoken much, Professor Parsons has on two or three occasions been made the victim of modern loose reportorial newspaper work in the reporting or republication of his words. Two of these instances will be cited as illustrations.

In one of his arguments in favor of governmental control of the telegraph the Professor showed how, with popular ownership and the introduction of certain practical inventions

for reducing the cost of telegraphing, messages could be sent for a very small cost compared with present charges. Several newspapers copied the statement in part; *i.e.*, they omitted to give the qualifying condition necessary for the low rate given (the use of inventions whose practicability and value had been demonstrated), and the publication of the garbled version made Professor Parsons appear as the author of a reckless statement entirely foreign to the character of all his work. On another occasion he was reported to have said in a public address that the Western Union Telegraph Company had bought and hung up one hundred valuable inventions. His enemies quickly seized upon this statement to discredit his work. What he did say, however, was merely to give a statement made by Mr. Wanamaker to the effect that the company had bought and hung up sixteen inventions. No economic authority, even among conservative writers, wholly escapes this kind of misrepresentation, but a progressive thinker is far more liable to be misrepresented than a conservative, because there are hundreds of persons seeking to discredit his work. This fact has been thoroughly realized by Professor Parsons, and he has accordingly been doubly careful and painstaking in all his writing and teaching. These mistakes, due in part to ignorance and careless work of reporters, were far more injurious in their influence than the amazingly reckless and ridiculous story circulated by the corporation press in Kansas and throughout the West at the time when Professor Parsons was called to the faculty of the Kansas Agricultural College, in which the statement was published and given wide currency that the Chicago *anarchist* Parsons had been selected by President Will to fill a chair in the State educational institution. The fact that the Parsons referred to had been executed several years before, and the further fact not only that Frank Parsons was no relation to the anarchist but that all his social and economic views are diametrically opposed to those of the anarchists, was apparently too insignificant to be considered by conservative and capitalistic journalism.

In consequence of his social writings Professor Parsons has

been elected a member of the American Academy of Social Science and of the American Social Science Association, the leading societies on those lines in the United States. He is president of the National League for Promoting Public Ownership of Monopolies, and in addition to the chairs held in the Boston University School of Law and in Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo., he is also Dean of the Extension Lecture Department of the College of Social Science and professor of history and political science in the same institution. He is also lecturer for the National Direct Legislation League and chairman of the lecture department of the Social Reform Union.

Professor Parsons's great service in the cause of economic progress has been rendered in three distinct lines of work: as a college professor in the chairs of the philosophy of history and of political science, as a popular lecturer and educator, and as an authoritative author.

IV.

A few years ago there was a general political revolt against the domination of the railroads and other great corporations in the State of Kansas. Something of the old-time spirit of liberty that marked the pioneer life of that blood-baptized commonwealth seemed to assert itself over the deadly lethargy that had marked the silent encroachment of corporate greed and corruption, by which the dominant party, the press, and a large number of the other opinion-forming agencies had succumbed to the gravest peril that to-day confronts this Republic. As a result there was a complete political revolution in the State, and it was some time before the corporations and their allies were again enabled, even with enormous capital at command, to recapture the commonwealth. During the interval a strenuous attempt was made by the Progressives to elevate the standard of education, stimulate independent thought, and awaken the public conscience. The State Agricultural College, which, in common with many other small educational institutions in various commonwealths, had been quietly moving along narrow, conventional, and old-time lines,

was reorganized in such a manner as to make it at once a thoroughly practical and immensely valuable institution to the agrarian population, while the curriculum was broadened so that the students should enjoy intellectual and ethical training and a high grade of scholarship be rendered possible. Especially was the science of government and economics dwelt upon as of vital importance to the wealth-creators of the State. Professor Thomas Elmer Will, A.M. (Harvard), who had efficiently filled the chair of political economy for two years, was made president of the institution, and Professor Parsons was selected for the chair of history and political science, while Professor Edward Bemis, Helen Campbell, and other scholars of national reputation were called to the faculty. In a short time the wisdom and value of the new innovations were shown in the great increase in attendance and in the enthusiasm manifested by the scholars. The enlarging of the curriculum in no way interfered with the practical agricultural training. Indeed, the number of hours given to agriculture, horticulture, and dairying was greater than before the innovations, while the increased practical value of the literature published was signally recognized, one great Eastern seed house requesting the privilege of publishing an enormous edition of one of the practical college bulletins for circulation among their patrons. Requests for bulletins were received from various foreign countries, even as far as Egypt.

The college was rapidly taking a commanding position among the leading vital educational institutions of the land, when the corporations were again enabled to make their influence felt at the polls, and the party under which they had fattened off of the public returned to power; whereupon the reactionary influence was immediately seen in the complete revision of the management of the Agricultural College. The strongest and ablest members of the faculty were dismissed. Their presence was objectionable to corporate greed and to the party that depended on protected classes and the parasites of wealth for tenure of power. Professor Parsons, who had accepted a position on the faculty, arranging to teach in the

autumn and spring terms, so that the winter sessions were left free for his duties in the Boston University, was of course one of the marked men. It could not be expected that the cordial relations that had always existed between the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad and the party in power would be marred by the retention in office of America's most powerful advocate of the governmental ownership of railways. It is a noticeable fact, however, that even the political opponents of Professor Parsons frankly admitted his ability and eminent success as a teacher, while opposing his social and economic views; and the students of the college where he had come to be loved as a friend no less than respected as a teacher addressed a beautiful memorial to the man whose luminous treatment of history and political science had made these studies intensely interesting, and whose broad, sweet, and sympathetic spirit endeared him to all who came under his influence. At the time of Professor Parsons's retirement also, Professor Will, in the course of a statement concerning his work, said:

"During the years 1897-'99 Professor Frank Parsons has occupied the chair of Professor of History and Political Science in the Kansas Agricultural College. . . . He brought to his work in this institution a thoroughly furnished mind, and wide experience in numerous lines and grades of teaching, in lecturing, investigating, and in dealing with men. His earlier studies having included mathematics, civil engineering, law, philosophy, and science, in several of which at least he obtained high proficiency, the professor enjoys a versatility which can but add greatly to his individual power as a teacher and public speaker. To the above should be added a character of rare genuineness and sincerity and a sunniness of temper which are a continual inspiration to his students.

"As a teacher Professor Parsons is conceded on all sides to have achieved a success in this institution almost phenomenal. A more universally popular man, both among students and teachers, I have never known."

And E. F. Fairchild, president of the opposition board of regents, thus wrote:

"I take pleasure in stating that I, personally, have a very high opinion of the character and ability of Professor Frank

Parsons, and I have reason to believe that he possesses unusual power as an instructor. His retirement from the faculty of the Kansas State Agricultural College was occasioned by considerations affecting in no way his character as a man or his ability as a teacher."

I cite these testimonials to Professor Parsons's ability as a teacher because they illustrate the universal feeling among those best acquainted with his work. All in a position to speak authoritatively, even those most bitterly opposed to his economic views, accorded him the highest place in efficiency as a teacher and single-heartedness as a man.

V.

Subsequently Professor Parsons was called to the chairs of history and political science in Ruskin College, Trenton, Missouri. This institution has recently acquired the services of Professor Will and several other master thinkers, and has adopted a broad, constructive, progressive, and well-rounded curriculum, which includes industrial training and ethical culture in addition to the regular college courses. Professor Parsons, while still holding his chair in the Boston University, spends the parts of the school year when not required in Boston at Trenton, as he formerly did at the Kansas Agricultural College.

During other months he works indefatigably, doing much public lecturing, and in this work he has few if any superiors in America, as his address is engaging and his method of presenting his thought clear, entertaining, and effective. He is by no means devoid of a sense of humor, but is not given to dragging in humorous stories, as more prosaic lecturers feel called upon to do. One thing is very noticeable in his platform work: After a masterly presentation of a subject, he will give a clear, epigrammatic summary that cannot fail to stick in the mind of the hearer. The following paragraph will serve to illustrate this fact:

"If one man possesses a franchise that yields an enormous revenue, and another man has no such advantage, the way to diffuse the monopolized wealth is to make the two men joint

owners of the franchise. If a few men own a street railway system that yields vast power and income, while a city full of people own no roads, but must pay tribute to the monopolists, the way to a just diffusion of power and profit is to make the whole city full of people copartners in the street railways. If an emperor (or 'boss') owns the government and the people are political paupers, the way to equalize power is to transfer the ownership of the government to the whole body of citizens on the basis of an equal partnership or democracy. If a railway monarch holds sway over a thousand miles of road, a hundred cities and towns, and thousands of workmen, draws millions of profit from the traffic of a dozen States, and, with a few fellow-potentates, rules the commerce of a continent, the way to diffuse wealth and equalize power is to transfer the ownership of the railways to the nation."

His services are being sought in all parts of the land where public interest in vital economic issues is aroused. Recently he accepted an engagement to lecture next autumn for the University Association in the ten chief cities of the Pacific Coast.

VI.

Great and invaluable as are his services to the cause of human advancement, as a teacher and a public lecturer, it is through his writing that he has reached the widest constituency and has compelled thoughtful people everywhere to consider subjects which in many instances they had never seriously thought upon before. It was in 1894 that Professor Parsons contributed to *THE ARENA* one of the most notable economic papers that have appeared in years, entitled "The Philosophy of Mutualism." It attracted wide attention. The late Bishop Phillips Brooks of Massachusetts, the most brilliant and popular of the modern clergymen of Boston, in a letter to Professor Parsons said:

"I am in heartiest sympathy with your 'Philosophy of Mutualism.' Our conversations about it have been a delight to me. The 'Law of Development' and the 'Historic Parallel' are worthy, I think, of the emphasis you give them. All your underlying principles I fully accept. They are simply 'brother-

love and justice put into practise,' as you say; and how can a minister withhold his support from that?"

In 1895 and 1896 there appeared in *THE ARENA* the powerful series of papers on "The Electric Lighting and Telegraph Monopoly," which have been I think justly characterized as the most powerful indictment of monopoly that has yet appeared.

Since 1894 Professor Parsons has been one of the most valued contributors to *THE ARENA*. He has also written extensively for other leading magazines, while his economic books are rightly regarded as indispensable to students of present-day social and political questions. Of these works the most important are "The City for the People," "The Telegraph Monopoly," "Direct Legislation," "Rational Money," and "The Bondage of the Cities," all of which are published by Dr. C. F. Taylor, of Philadelphia.

Space renders it impossible for us to notice, even briefly, more than one of these distinctly vital and authoritative works. In "The City for the People" we have a large cloth-bound volume of about six hundred pages, in which all the great problems that intimately relate to the right government of modern municipalities are more exhaustively and lucidly discussed than in any other existing treatise. The volume has called forth the highest encomiums from the governors of different States and from scores of educators, professors, and mayors of leading American municipalities. The consensus of opinion in regard to this work is well reflected in the following extracts from an extended review of the work made by Professor Charles Zueblin, of Chicago University, in the *International Journal of Ethics* for January, 1901:

"A valuable book, encyclopedic in character. . . . Professor Parsons has brought together an immense mass of valuable material from both original and secondary sources. His tables of statistics and comparative statements are invaluable and represent an astounding amount of work for which the municipal student must be truly grateful. . . . One can only wish that the immense number of students of municipal reform may evidence their appreciation of this strictly educa-

tional endeavor to circulate as widely as possible this volume. . . . The ethical phase of the work is manifested in its zealous defense of the popular interests as evidenced in the title and its consistent advocacy of the enlargement of the municipal life."

The Municipal Ownership League of St. Louis placed "The City for the People" first in its list of the six best books on public ownership.

VII.

It has been my fortune to know Professor Parsons for about ten years, and during this time I have had ample opportunity to study him under various conditions and circumstances—in a word, to become acquainted with the real man; and, knowing him as I do, it is a pleasure to be able to state unhesitatingly that among my wide acquaintance I know of no more self-forgetful and truly unselfish person, no kindlier, sweeter, more generous, candid or sincere man, than he. In the service or help of a friend, or at the call of duty, he is ever quick to respond, and no task is too arduous, even though it takes him from his needed rest or deprives him of the opportunity to accept highly remunerative work, if by his service he may assist in enriching the life of some fellow-man or further the great cause of human brotherhood to which he has consecrated the best energies of his life. He is one of the rapidly increasing body of leaders who are helping to inaugurate the Golden Age by living the Golden Rule.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

WOMEN AND THE WAGE SYSTEM.

THERE is no problem of religion, or politics, or philosophy that has been so widely and earnestly discussed as the question of women's work, and in no other discussion has there been so general a disregard of facts that might be in every one's possession. We are shown pictures of desolated hearthstones and riotous bachelor clubs, and exhorted to return to the old days of the "domestic" woman. We have presented to our consideration the suffering of household slaves and are exhorted to emancipate them from cruel taskmasters, and we have been led by one party or another over all the ground between these two extremes—and always exhorted. Each side holds its doctrines as tenaciously as its religion, and feels that if it could but convince its opponents of the righteousness of its position there would be an immediate change in the relations of men and women. In all this passionate outcry they have not paused to consider the nature of the question, or it would be seen to be not a matter of ethics but of economics. Would it not be well to abandon the effort to prove what ought to be long enough to discover what *is*?

If the great army of wage-earning women were asked individually why they do not stay at home and employ themselves in domestic tasks, as their grandmothers did, almost invariably the answer would be, "I must support myself," or in many cases, "I must help support the family." Whatever opinion such a woman may hold as to the relative merits of home work and wage work for women in general, for her personally there is no such question. It is a matter of finding the best wages and conditions of labor. The exceptions are too few to need attention in an economic discussion. Certainly there are more men than women of independent incomes engaged in lucrative employment, and the necessity of making a living is easily recognized as the force that compels men to labor.

Is there, then, a common cause forcing so many women into

wage-earning? If it is necessary that they support themselves, why were their grandmothers under no such necessity? It is pertinent at this point to inquire who supported our grandmothers. It has been taken for granted that our grandfathers and great-grandfathers did, and if it be further inquired why men do not now support the women of their families it is oftenest answered that, since women have entered into competition with men, wages have not been high enough for a man to support his family—as if women, out of restlessness and an ambition to be “seen,” had made a concerted and purposeful attack on the position of men! Any one who thinks that a woman that does the cooking and cleaning and a large part of the sewing for an average household has not contributed her share to the support of the family singularly fails to appreciate the real factors of the problem of physical life.

It is necessary to any understanding of the economic condition of women to make clear what constitutes “support.” It is generally assumed that, for the wage-earning class, support is the weekly or monthly stipend paid by the employer. The fallacy of this notion is easily seen when you consider a state of society in which there is no money, and commodities are bartered directly. Robinson Crusoe had no wages, yet he obviously supported himself. Support, then, is the supplying of the necessities of life, either by direct production or by exchange of equivalent values. If one adds to the total stock of the world’s goods as much as he consumes thereof, he supports himself, whether his market be his own household or the whole world.

Tacitus, in his “Germania,” describes the duties of women in the old German forests, and from his account we must conclude that the weaker sex was greatly over-burdened. The men respected no activity except that of the sword and spear. The care of the house, field, and herd fell upon the women. Besides attending to the business of the house and the care of the children, they at that time carried on the whole process of production; in other words, the women supported the family. This industrial order differed in no way from that found

among all primitive peoples. As they became more settled in their habitation, and periods of peace became longer, the arts of living were developed and not all of the work could be done by the weaker half. The men began to till the soil and afterward to develop and specialize certain industries, leaving to the women those requiring less physical strength. This system of producing within the household all that it consumed lasted for many years. Finally the comprehensive domestic economy of the feudal estates gave way to special trades, which for self-protection were later organized into guilds. By degrees, more and more articles were prepared outside of the house and the special labor was performed by men so far as they could and would, but always to a greater or less extent by women, either as principals or assistants. This was the industrial order that prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages. It is interesting to find in the guild regulations and ordinances of medieval city councils an expression of the same spirit that fights women to-day wherever they come into competition with men. During those years men were building cloisters, Gotteshäuser, and houses of refuge for dependent women, and at the same time were stoutly denying them the right to work at a trade. At the beginning of the Middle Ages women were excluded from no employment to which their powers were adequate, but very early in the history of the guilds a tendency arose to check their competition. The rights of masters' widows were limited to a year and a day, and subjected to other conditions; the assistance of maids and female members of the family was restricted, and finally independent activity in the guilds was denied to women. Journeymen refused to work with them, and masters complained of competition. In the sixteenth century there was still some resistance on the part of the public authorities to such narrow-minded endeavors, but the guilds were able to bring such pressure to bear upon them that they withdrew their opposition, and from the seventeenth century it was impossible for women to maintain themselves in any of the guild industries.

Now comes the factory system, with its complete removal of its production from the household and its payment of *wages* to both men and women workers. The arts of living are further improved, and fewer and fewer women can find employment at home. A generation ago the stockings for the entire family were knitted by the mother and daughters. Now such work has vanished as completely from the average household as has candle-making. Why? Because women are no longer interested in knitting? Not at all. It is cheaper to produce stockings in the factory. Our grandmothers did not knit because they were interested in knitting; they wanted the product, and were interested in their work because they had to do it. Social changes always take place variably, and the different stages of this one may be seen in different places at this time. The movement is probably most advanced in our American cities, where it is still accelerated by sharp competition and conditions favorable to practical coöperation.

Even a superficial review of the history of industry is sufficient to show that men as a class never did support women as a class. Indeed, it is safe to say that there never were so many idle women as now.

While the process of the division of labor has extended step by step from the beginning of the Middle Ages, it has been greatly accelerated in the last quarter of a century. Within this generation there has been an industrial revolution differing very little from the emancipation of the serfs. The change has been almost as abrupt and quite as radical. A numerous class has suddenly acquired industrial freedom. They who formerly worked in the place in which they were born, at tasks not of their choosing, recompensed in food and clothing at the pleasure of the head of the family, and not at liberty to leave one position for another, are all at once given freedom of individual choice with its attendant responsibilities. We have not yet adjusted ourselves to the changed conditions. There is much to be learned, but any effective teaching must be based on the fact that a woman's primary relation to the world is economic. The human race in common with all animal

life has two fundamental instincts, which guard alike the life of the individual and of the race. In general the first must control. It is the second that complicates the problem of existence for women. Since there is no longer productive employment for girls in their father's family, they must find it elsewhere—until their own marriage gives them an opportunity for domestic employment.

The real "woman question," then, is one of *education*. How shall women be prepared for potential home-making and child-rearing without detracting from their ability to meet the first necessity of making a living? This is a more serious difficulty to the laboring classes than to those who can afford their children a longer period of preparation. When home production offered employment to most women, girls were taught the processes of such production by their mothers, and by the same lessons were trained in what would probably be their life work. Whether laboring in her father's or her husband's household, a woman's duties were substantially the same. Under the present system there is little in the life of the employee that would be valuable experience for a housekeeper and mother. Under the factory system girls of sixteen are set to running machines. Neither their mental nor physical health is of the smallest consideration. The excellence of the product is secondary to the quantity that can be produced. The ideal before her is one of cheapness. She can have no other interest in her day's work than to get through with it as easily as possible. Her working hours are so long that for weariness and lack of time she must be relieved of nearly all domestic duties and interests. Being economically independent of her parents she is prone to resent their restraint upon her actions, and she chooses her own associates and amusements. The lessons of life that she will not learn by precept are forced upon her by experience. Success is to the adaptable. So great a change in condition cannot fail to bring a change in ideals and character, the nature and result of which we can but dimly foresee.

It becomes evident, then, that the exhortations of reactionists

who endeavor to restrain women from wage-work can have no direct effect. Indirectly it has more or less influence in three ways. It teaches the effectiveness of gentleness and tact against main strength and noisy demands; it adds prejudice to the artificial obstacles put in the way of a woman by those who think they could avoid her competition—as if that were possible so long as she must be fed and clothed from the same stock; and it seems to justify a certain remission of the courtesies that men showed to women before the ideals of chivalry were embodied in the laws of a later civilization—enforcing the rights of the weak.

Any theory of reform, to be effective, must recognize that it is impossible to return women to home work, since the slow processes of home manufacture are not adequate to feed and clothe the world in the twentieth century, and since it demands to be fed and clothed more abundantly than half the race can accomplish even with the saving devices of modern machinery.

(Mrs.) WILBERT LOWTH BONNEY.

Chicago, Ill.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I.

THE Renaissance and the Reformation secured for western Europe such a degree of freedom in thought that science was able cautiously to emerge from the prison to which ignorance, superstition, and bigotry had doomed her; and in certain western countries men whose brains were teeming with great thoughts and original theories were permitted to utter these, without the certainty of death for their gift to the progress of the age. But it was not until after the great revolutionary upheavals that marked the closing years of the eighteenth century that the sun of free thought lighted with its full radiance the pathway of western civilization. With freedom, as is always the case, came growth, and the many-sided intellectual achievements of the last hundred years find no parallel in the most luminous periods of the vanished past. Especially is this noticeable in the realm of scientific research, where discoveries have been far greater and progress incomparably more rapid than during all previous centuries of our era. It was under the fostering influence of freedom that the daring and emancipated thought of the nineteenth century boldly questioned earth and sky; nor was the Sphinx unapproachable. Everywhere the searching eye beheld the interrogation point already raised. It was as if the old schoolmistress, Nature, rejoicing that the hour had at length arrived in which she might turn some pages of her wondrous volume, allured even while she eluded her votaries. The rocks and the fossils propounded questions whose answers were destined to shake the foundations of age-long and world-wide beliefs. The subtle elements of Nature were but awaiting the waving of the wand by science and invention, that they might trans-

form the face of civilization and become light-bearers and winged steeds for man's uses and desires, while serving his wants in a thousand other ways; and the stars beamed and nightly whispered to the watchers of wonders yet undreamed of by man. The nineteenth century beheld the spirit of science with the open-eyed wonder of a child interrogating all phenomena. Not for wealth, power, glory, or ease did her devoted servants toil. A passion for knowledge urged their quest. Truth was their sole master, and each group of workers sought some new facts that would add to the world's enlightenment.

Perhaps nowhere were the revelations so radical in character or far-reaching in their influence on the mind of man as in the fields of geology, paleontology, and biology; although in astronomy, physics, and chemistry discoveries almost as wonderful, and in some respects quite as revolutionary, have contributed so much to the wonder-story of science that one is somewhat at a loss to know in what department of research the most bewildering and important discoveries have been made.*

II.

At the dawning of the century the civilized world accepted without serious questioning the theory of the Noachian Deluge, described in the Old Testament, as sufficient to explain the various strange and perplexing geological revelations that from time to time confronted students of Nature. It is true that Buffon, Hutton, Goethe, and a few other daring and independent thinkers had raised the interrogation point, but their observations had not shaken the deep-rooted and almost unquestioned belief in the his-

* I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Henry Smith William's most interesting and valuable work, "The Story of Nineteenth Century Science," for many facts presented in this paper. To those whose time is too limited to permit of extended reading of authorities this volume will prove invaluable. Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace's "The Wonderful Century," and the sketches of the lives of the great scientists and the discussions of scientific theories in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, will also prove most valuable.

torical accuracy of the Mosaic account of the deluge, or the conviction that the flood was universal in extent. The singular fact that fossils were deeply imbedded in various strata of rocks, to the depth of miles below the surface in many places, or that the bones of various prehistoric monsters had been discovered in caves in England, and in quarries and elsewhere far below the surface in various places throughout Europe and America, or the further strange fact that in 1802 a great mammoth or hairy elephant had been discovered imbedded in the ice in Siberia, so marvelously preserved that the dogs of the fishermen where it was un-iced ate the flesh, failed to shake the faith of orthodox scientists. Indeed, to meet most of these phenomena they advanced the theory that during the flood the surface of the earth became as paste, and in it the fossils and many higher forms of life sank. The caves in which the bones were found were held to have been made by gases thrown off by the decaying flesh of the huge animals, which made large bubble-like cavities in the plastic clay before it hardened into stone.

Such was the character of the popular explanations advanced at the dawn of the present critical age to bolster up theology, and such was the power of conservative and theological influences that they gained ready credence.

As the eighteenth century drew near its close, however, signs were not wanting that told of the approach of a new order. The searching spirit of science was brooding over the intellectual world, and men began to doubt and question as never before. The old explanations did not explain, or at best they fell far short of meeting many phenomena that demanded solution. Jean Baptiste Lamarck, Georges Cuvier, William Buckland, William Smith, Charles Lyell, Jean de Charpentier, and Louis Agassiz are a few names in the coterie of illustrious servants of truth whose investigations, discoveries, and deductions rendered the old conceptions and explanations utterly untenable, while showing

that instead of creation being the work of a few days or hours it was in fact the work of ages upon ages.

Many of these savants and their co-workers were loth to give up the old beliefs, and all, with the exception of Lamarck, advanced tentatively and with utmost caution. Each worker, however, brought before the awakened reason of the age his contribution; and it mattered not whether the facts were gleaned from rocks, from the fossils of invertebrates, or from the massive remains of mastodons, or whether they were the bones or the rude implements of prehistoric man—all spoke of the inadequacy of the old explanations. All testified to the almost inconceivable sweep of time since life appeared on our planet.

Lamarck, with the vision of a great seer, beheld the new world which the science of the century was to reveal, but the other great contemporary investigators were far from being ready to accept his daring theories. Cuvier, Buckland, and their co-workers, however, after extended examinations of the bones of prehistoric monsters, established the fact that numbers of mammoth quadrupeds inhabited the world in bygone ages which had apparently long since become extinct, and that other fossils of vertebrates closely resembled some kinds of animals found to-day in the tropics, but which in former ages lived in England, the continent of Europe, and in far-away Siberia; while American scientists discovered numerous deposits of bones and fossils which proved that in our country, from the Hudson River region and the valley of the St. Lawrence to the far-away Rockies, in remote ages there were great unwieldy monsters such as are wholly unknown to the world to-day.

William Smith and his disciples pointed out the interesting and important fact that the fossil strata extended sometimes miles down into the earth, and that from stratum to stratum successive changes in the fossil life were exhibited. Dr. Smith further noted that as we advanced from the lower to the higher strata the changes, though marked, were not complete; that is, some of the fossils in the first stratum

might be present in the second and third, but diminishing in numbers, and when once they disappeared they never reappeared.

Charles Lyell made observations that confused the upholders of the popular theory that from time to time great catastrophes, like the Noachian Deluge, destroyed all life, as he demonstrated that, by the testimony of Nature in her rock-writ pages, life persisted from age to age. True, on many occasions and in various parts of the earth's surface multitudinous lives had been sacrificed owing to the oscillation of the sea-bed raising some parts above the water level and sinking others beneath. Nevertheless, the fact that some species persisted from one so-called age to another disproved the sweeping claim put forth by the upholders of the theory of universal catastrophism.

Between 1847 and 1860 rude flint implements and fossils, remains of prehistoric man, were discovered imbedded with the remains of the mammoth and other monsters; and this occasioned another intellectual conflict in the scientific world, for it must be remembered that every foot of ground has been bitterly contested by the upholders of old-time views.

In geology, perhaps the most important fact established is that of the glacial epoch, or epochs. Charpentier and Agassiz, taking a hint from a chamois hunter, Perraudin, carried on extensive investigations, which enabled them to demonstrate, to those competent intelligently to judge of the subject, the reasonableness of the glacial theory, which solved some problems that had long proved most perplexing to geologists.

And so, step by step, with the light of reason for their guide and a passionate love of truth urging them on, the students of fauna and of rocks were able to clear up, one by one, many of the deepest mysteries of the age.

III.

The biological revelations of the century kept pace with the discoveries in geology and paleontology. It was to be

expected that the strange and wonderful facts disclosed by rocks and fossils, which had revolutionized the thought of the scientific world, would leave observers of natural phenomena to turn from the life of past ages to that of the present, in the hope of finding a solution for the alluring but elusive mysteries in life that everywhere confronted the physical scientist. In the very dawn of the wonderful century one great philosopher had perceived the truth which a little more than fifty years later was to appear full-statured before the amazed vision of western civilization. But Lamarck's bold and—considering the fact that he was treading a virgin path—luminous exposition only served to call down a storm of indignant protest, or ridicule or abuse, upon the head of the great man. Even the high priests of physical science, the master brains among the geologists and paleontologists, whose fundamental work had changed the thought of the age, were almost to a man ranged under the leadership of the great Cuvier, in bitter hostility to the theories of Lamarck, who, it is true, was not altogether alone in his position. Indeed, before the presentation of the theory of the transmutation of species, the distinguished naturalist, Buffon; the master poetical spirit of his age, Goethe; and the rhyming philosopher, Erasmus Darwin, had caught glimpses of the new truth and had more or less tentatively advanced the ideas which Lamarck presented in so clear and tangible a form as to arrest the attention of scientists and arouse the bitter opposition of theology and conservatism.

For a time the old ideas overmastered the new. The doctrine of the transmutation of species was laughed out of court, scientists even leading in ridicule. Had the heresy been presented a few centuries earlier, the philosopher would have been burned at the stake by the Inquisition; the Church would have anathematized the new thought, and the pall of ignorance and superstition would have continued to envelop society. Thanks to the Protestant Reformation and to the revolutions of the closing years of the eighteenth

century, that day had passed, so that, though for the time being the evolutionary theory had been silenced, its establishment only awaited the accumulation of sufficient irrefutable data to compel the world to treat its claims with that respect which science is supposed ever to accord a new thought seriously and temperately presented; and already the seed-thoughts had been sown that were destined to work a revolution.

Charles Darwin in early youth had little thought of ever becoming a natural philosopher. Indeed, he barely escaped entering the clergy of the Church of England. Physical science, however, had marked him for her own, and into his brain came a love of Nature and her phenomena, with a compelling desire to know more of her mysteries and if possible to solve some of the problems that haunted his imagination and that would not be exiled from his thought-world.

In 1837 he returned from his trip around the world, with brain stored with a wealth of facts relating to natural phenomena which had only served to increase his desire to solve the mystery presented by multitudinous living species in the world. He at once began a systematic record of natural phenomena and their implications, and in the course of a few years had become profoundly convinced of the truth of the evolutionary theory. He recognized the fact, however, that there were grave objections that must be met and answered, and that the data and evidence for his conclusions must be of an overwhelming character or he too would be laughed down without having received a fair hearing.

In 1844 he prepared a digest of his theory and presented it to his close friend, Sir Joseph Hooker, who was by no means convinced of the truth of Darwin's position, but who readily recognized the immense value of his friend's exhaustive research. Darwin's health was very precarious, and he made arrangements at this time for the publication of his views in the event of his death. Then he continued

his investigations for fourteen more years, discussing his theories and conclusions with intimate friends, hearing their objections and meeting them one by one. Among his sympathetic correspondents was Professor Asa Gray, the great American botanist. To him he wrote at length on the subject of evolution, outlining the theory in a masterly manner.

The time at length seemed ripe for the presentation of his work, but before its publication had been arranged for he received a paper from a young naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace, who for many years had been studying life in the Malay Archipelago, with the one great aim in view of throwing light on the vexed question to which Darwin had given his life. To his amazement Charles Darwin found that his young friend, independent of and indeed entirely unconscious of his own extended investigations, had come to virtually the same conclusions that he had embodied in his unpublished manuscript. The receipt of Wallace's paper was extremely embarrassing to Mr. Darwin, as he was the last man living who would be willing to wrong another or to rob a fellow-worker of the fruit of his toil. Yet he was conscious of having penned his views fourteen years earlier, and more than a year prior to the receipt of Mr. Wallace's paper he had sent Professor Gray an outline of his theory. In his perplexity he thought of his faithful and sympathetic friends, Sir Joseph Hooker and Sir Charles Lyell, and to them he referred the matter. They advised him to put his views as sent to the American botanist in the form of a scientific treatise, suitable for public presentation, and that it and Mr. Wallace's paper be given simultaneously, with an explanation of the facts, at the annual meeting of the Linnæan Society in 1858; and this was done.

About a year and a half later appeared Darwin's epoch-marking work, "The Origin of Species," and the greatest intellectual battle of modern times was precipitated. The great majority of the older scientists instantly assailed the new theory. Conventionalism, ever by instinct conservative, threw her powerful influence on the side of the old,

while the warring religious sects forgot for the time their century-old feuds, and in one chorus denounced when they could not refute a theory so fundamentally and radically opposed to the letter and tradition of the Old Testament. But though the opposition was intellectually one of the most formidable, if not the most formidable, that had ever ranged itself against a new theory—though its intemperance, abuse, and shallow ridicule were greater than perhaps ever marked a controversy—Darwin, to his surprise and delight, found himself surrounded by as brave and as brilliant a coterie of intellectual knights as ever gathered in defense of a new truth. Herbert Spencer, who even before Charles Darwin had published his work had arrived at the same conclusions through philosophical deductions and had proclaimed them in 1857, now came boldly to the defense of the great naturalist, who was also reenforced by Alfred Russell Wallace, Asa Gray, and the brilliant controversialist, T. H. Huxley. Of still more importance, because of the influence which they wielded, was the advocacy of the new theory of evolution by Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker. Like Huxley and Gray, they had been won over by the masterly presentation of facts made by Charles Darwin. Next came John Tyndall in England, Ernst Haeckel in Germany, and other clear-visioned young philosophers who ranged themselves on the side of the evolutionary thought.

The scientific and philosophic world had never witnessed a fiercer struggle. The conflict, however, was one in which the champions of the new, almost from the date of the publication of "The Origin of Species," assumed an aggressive attitude, and the new theory moved triumphantly forward, revolutionizing the thought of the age, until in the brief space of twenty-three years Darwin, who during the '60's had been called "the monkey-man" in derision, and upon whom the bigotry, ignorance, and intolerance of the superficial had exhausted epithets of ridicule and abuse, stood forth as one of the master thinkers of all

time. At his death, in 1882, England was not slow to honor herself by assigning him a tomb in Westminster Abbey, near to that of Sir Isaac Newton.

IV.

It might almost be said that astronomy as a science had its birth in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. William Herschel, by his discoveries and the impetus that he gave to the study of the stars at a time when the systematic and critical methods of modern scientific research were taking the place of the erratic, systemless investigations of the old order, awakened the enthusiasm of inquiring minds and caused the searching spirit of the oncoming age to sweep the heavens for a wider knowledge of the starry firmament.

From the day when Herschel discovered Uranus, the interest in the study of astronomy has steadily increased, while in few fields of scientific investigation have the revelations been more wonderful. The phenomenal advance, however, has been largely due to the scientific discoveries and to important inventions. Thus, through the great improvement in telescopes, the invention of the heliometer, and the perfection and utilization of the spectroscope and photography, the astronomers of the nineteenth century were enabled to make revelations that would have been almost inconceivable to scientists at any previous period of time. Not only have the boundaries of the heavens been inconceivably enlarged and the presence of millions upon millions of stars been revealed, but we have been able to measure their distance and calculate their size, and, more wonderful still, to ascertain the chemical composition of the flaming suns or luminous stars that keep eternal vigil, though they be millions of miles away.

Among other interesting and important achievements and discoveries of the nineteenth century may be mentioned the star-charting of the heavens, in which more than 500,000,000 stars are placed with a degree of accuracy that

photography alone has rendered possible. The revelations through the spectroscope that the nebula, which had long eluded the scientific astronomer who sought to know its real character, was composed of great masses of glowing gases; the photographing of snows on Mars; the discovery of double stars and of dark stars, and the finding of the planet Neptune, help to make a chapter in scientific revelation that is well worthy a place by the side of the wonderful discoveries of the century in other departments of physical science.

V.

In physics and chemistry progress has kept pace with the march of science elsewhere. If the researches of the nineteenth century had given us nothing more than the great law of the conservation of energy and the conclusive establishment of the undulatory theory of light, it might well demand the right to stand uncovered in the presence of the noblest scientific eras of preceding ages.

The law of the conservation of energy eluded many scientists who seemed to catch glimpses of its truth, from the days of Count Rumford and Sir Humphry Davy until it was flashed almost simultaneously on the consciousness of several men of science, widely removed from one another and entirely unconscious of the fact that other truth-seekers had seen the vision. Although at least five men long claimed to be its discoverers, it is probable that the future will decide between the pretensions of the German physician, Julius Robert von Mayer, and those of the Englishman, James Prescott Joule. It matters little, however, who is entitled to priority. The new truth is now a part of the world's rich heritage, as is also the establishment beyond cavil of the undulatory theory of light, advanced and masterfully maintained by Thomas Young, Augustin Jean Fresnel, and Dominique Francois Arago. These two great facts stand out in the century as lofty mountain peaks, and

their discoverers are entitled to rank with Newton and Copernicus.

In chemistry dazzling achievements marked every decade. A science second to none in utility or in the wonders it disclosed rose as an eternal monument to the patience, industry, courage, and genius of savants who dedicated their lives to the advancement of learning.

In this department of research the advance movement followed the establishment of the atomic theory, first lucidly set forth by John Dalton. This discovery was elucidated and carried forward by enthusiastic workers in many lands, while Sir Humphry Davy was amazing Europe with the voltaic battery, by which he was decomposing certain chemicals. But the story of the century's achievements in chemistry, even in outline, would fill a volume. It is sufficient to observe that with the establishment of the atomic theory chemistry girded herself and went forward on a victorious career, in which she won as glorious laurels as did her fellow-sciences under the fostering care of free thought.

And thus the savants of the nineteenth century turned page after page of Nature's wonder-book, where rocks and fossils of ages long gone by, where the lowly life in the slime of the pool, and where the far-away star-mist that adds to the glory of the firmament became oracles, each unfolding new wonders, magnifying creation's work, and by implication hinting at something far exceeding the most daring dreams of seers throughout the ages. Ah! in the light of the new facts how pitiful and insignificant appears the old-time conception of our world—that childhood dream of an earth the uttermost age of which was six thousand years!

To-day man holds dominion over a world in which the forces of Nature have been wisely and with marvelous forethought working for millions of years. And man, the crown of earth's creation—how he has risen since that far-away day, millenniums ago, when with rude club and with-

out the knowledge of fire he seemed ill-qualified to grapple with and subdue the life around him and the mighty forces of Nature, whose operation so terrified him and of whose laws and purposes he was as ignorant as the savage beasts that menaced his every hour!

It matters not in what direction we turn our gaze, the great world of to-day speaks of the infinite patience and the all-comprehending wisdom of the Source of all life. Do we dig into the earth? Here amid the darkness and the gloom behold provision for the light and warmth of millions, awaiting the time when, by slow and tedious ascent, man shall have need for this bounty and blessing of Nature. And the great coal beds and oil reservoirs are only typical of the beneficence, power, forethought, wisdom, and love transcending finite conception and everywhere visible in creation's handiwork.

Even briefly to cite the vast array of facts, discoveries, and revolutionary truths that the nineteenth century has revealed would require many volumes. Our purpose has been merely to touch upon some of the more luminous and far-reaching truths that light up the last hundred years and are at once suggestive and helpful to a clearer understanding of the work of the nineteenth century in preparing the way for the supreme struggle and ultimate victory of civilization, in which altruism shall overmaster selfishness, and freedom, growth, love, and joy shall be the heritage of all.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

A CONVERSATION
WITH
SAM WALTER FOSS
ON
THE PROMISE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
FOR THE ARTISANS.

Q. From your charming poems of the common life I infer that while you are deeply in sympathy with the toilers the world over, and keenly alive to present-day injustice, you are an optimist in regard to future social conditions. Will you give us your views on what you believe the twentieth century will accomplish for the artisan class, or rather what will be accomplished in the way of social readjustments that will develop character and dignify and enrich the life of all? For I think thoughtful people are everywhere coming to recognize the solidarity of the race and the implication that such realization carries, *viz.*, that no man can gain permanently or secure anything of real value that will outlive this fleeting life, at the expense of the rights, happiness, or development of another.

A. It is true I am inclined to be optimistic in regard to future social conditions. There is a good normal condition of discontent prevailing in the social world, and the first and longest step toward perfection is discontent. Woe to the age that is satisfied with itself. A good, healthy, savage discontent is a sort of millennial precursor at which we should all rejoice. There is hopeful music in a growl to those with ears to hear. Let the thunder-heads loom above the horizon and the storm rumble nearer—the clover and the columbine will blossom fairer after the shower. I have the cosmic faith that things improve in the long run; if they did not the universe would be a failure—and that is a bad thought to think.

The general condition of the artisan class, it seems to me, has improved greatly during my memory, and, of course, it will improve proportionately during the coming hundred years. In spite of all we say to the contrary, most of us actually hate manual labor, as is testified by the alacrity with which we run away from it. The old Adamic curse we still believe in, long after we have ceased to believe in Adam. But the reason the race hates labor so intensely is because it has had too much of it. Continuous labor with one's hands is degrading, besotting, benumbing, unnatural, and wholly inhuman. Men can become work drunkards as well as alcoholic or opium drunkards, and the world to-day is cursed with labor sots—men and women stunted, malformed, atrophied, practically dehumanized by hard work. Large muscles and small brains; great biceps and little souls; strong, broad backs and lean, narrow spirits—such evidences of the Adamic curse of labor are too evident everywhere to-day. What is needed is a more correct balancing of our social book-keeping. Those of us who do not labor at all should labor more—considerably more; and those of us who labor all the time should labor less—considerably less. A few hours' work a day on the part of all of us would keep the world moving in a practical and mechanical way; and the rest of the time could be devoted to real man-building—the development of human nature up to somewhere near the verge of its possibilities. I am inclined to think that the time is coming when man will be obliged to work with his hands but a few hours each day. We are going to harness the tides, put a girth around the winds, and tap the fires of the under-world. The universe is pulsating with unexpended and everlasting energy that cannot be exhausted. It is man's business to harness the cosmic forces and let them do his drudgery for him. Man will suffer under the curse of labor only until he has learned to transfer his burden to the shoulders of Nature.

Q. In the great centralization of industry, as seen in the forming of trusts, combines, and monopolies, do you see the working out in a practical manner of the claims put forward by Edward Bellamy, William Morris, Joaquin Miller, William

Dean Howells, and other social reformers as to the saving and the practicability of the coöperative in contradistinction to the competitive method?

A. The centralization of industry, as seen in the forming of trusts, combines, and monopolies, is a natural and inevitable movement, and in entire harmony with the tendency of the times to do things on a grand scale. It will continue increasingly. The small will be absorbed by the large, and the large will be absorbed by the larger; and it is probable that the larger will finally be absorbed by the largest—the government itself. Let determined things to destiny hold unopposed their way! Trusts, combines, and monopolies may result in temporary evil and injustice; but they are steps in the great march toward social betterment and renovation. The man whose horizon is bounded by the day-after-to-morrow will worry about them. The man whose range takes in the ages will regard them with complacent calmness. The Mississippi River in its course flows, at times, toward the north, the south, the east, and the west. But its general direction is toward the great sea. It finally finds the ocean. Social progress marches by a crooked trail, but it will reach a happy destination.

Q. A few years ago, when "Looking Backward" was first published, one of the most common objections raised was that such combinations as Bellamy described could never be successfully operated; that it would be impossible for the government to manage the great natural monopolies, for example, as efficiently as they were being managed by scores of independent and competing combinations. And this twaddle was taken up and echoed by thousands of parrot minds who take all their opinions from the daily papers, in spite of the fact that the great post-office system was present as a standing illustration of efficient coöperative governmental operation of a natural monopoly or public utility. Now, however, the trusts have forever settled that objection to coöperation, and they have further emphasized the frightful waste of the old competitive system by numerous telling illustrations, not the least of which has been the dispensing with thousands of drummers, or traveling

men. I remember about a year and a half ago, at the time of the formation of a certain great trust, it was stated that three thousand drummers were dismissed within two weeks, as the combination had no need for this great army of traveling men after the various warring houses had been merged into one great concern. And this is but one way out of many through which the monopolies have demonstrated that they can save millions upon millions of dollars through intelligent co-operation and combination. Do you not think that these lessons were necessary before the natural conservatism of the masses could be overcome or the people forced to realize the trend, drift, and demand of the incoming age for the great revolution which is to establish coöperation for all in the place of the old cut-throat and hate-inspiring system of competition?

A. Everything is impossible to the ultra-conservative until somebody does it. There is a class of minds that believe that nothing can be done that hasn't been done. If this class of minds had always predominated we should be cave men and troglodytes to-day, burrow like wood-chucks, and eat one another. The formation of the gigantic combines and monopolies of the present day is only an immense object lesson that shows that men can work together on a large scale. When everybody pulls one way they go faster than when they all pull in opposite directions. This fact ought to be sufficiently obvious without demonstration, but an axiom is harder to prove than anything else. The trusts and monopolies are proving the axiom that two are stronger than one and a thousand are stronger than two; and they are going to prove that the whole government will be able to conduct many enterprises better than any combination of individuals can do it. I am not yet ready to believe that all labor will be nationalized. But we have made a good beginning with the post-office; we have good working socialistic institutions in our public schools and public libraries; we can make an easy gradation to the nationalization of our railroads and telegraphs; and then, if the scheme works well, we can extend it. If it does not work well we can stop. There is nothing extreme, impractical, or visionary in all this. Let us

take a step at a time; but let us step quick to keep in tune with the music this far-sweeping twentieth century is playing for us.

Q. It is often argued that the trusts and monopolies, though they have managed to save hundreds of millions of dollars through combination, have increased the suffering of the people by throwing out of employment vast armies no longer necessary for the effective operation of the various monopolies; while they have made the people pay for far more than a reasonable profit, in order that the monopolies might earn large dividends on watered stock—and this is doubtless true. But who is responsible for a continuance of this inequitable condition? The very people who thus complain—as a union of these persons at the polls could quickly change the industrial despotism, by which the few are acquiring fabulous fortunes and debasing government, into a coöperative commonwealth, in which each should receive what he earns and all workers would have ample time to develop the best in themselves and to enjoy life, as well as to create a great abundance of life's necessities and the beautiful things that feed the imagination and refine and enrich the life of man. Therefore, should we not seek to turn the attention of the people to the way out, and frankly recognize the valuable lessons which the combinations have emphasized, instead of seeking to accomplish the impossible task of bringing back the age of competition?

A. Why, yes; the best way to use the trusts is to make them our schoolmasters. Let them teach us the immense gain that is effected by combination. Perhaps the larger half of the work done by the world to-day is wasted work—work which if the industries of the world were scientifically organized would not need to be done at all. What is the need of a drummer? The post-office department employs no drummers. The Postmaster General does not find it necessary to send out an army of traveling men to eulogize and glorify the government postage stamp. Everybody knows the postage stamp will do the work whereunto it is set. Book-keepers are useful workers; but if the trade and industry of the world were organized and concentrated it is probable that ninety per cent. of the present

book-keepers of the world would not be needed. The same can be said of clerks, middlemen, merchants. In this way a large share of the work now done by the world might be eliminated, and the world be none the worse for it; consequently, the world would have a great deal of spare time for better things than mere brute labor. If the world is ready for it this is a consummation devoutly to be wished. The multiplication of trusts, the development of monopolies, the organization of combines—all are indications to me that the world is actually getting ready for it.

Q. Is there not, however, a real danger that we may become too optimistic and fail to estimate at its full meaning the grave peril of an industrial despotism under a republican form of government, or rather operating a government under the form of a republic? It seems to me that our people are overlooking some of the most solemn lessons of history in this respect. When a great moneyed power, or a class enjoying vast and rich special privileges, once becomes intrenched in a government, it is almost impossible to overthrow or even modify its power in a material way without a revolution of force. The fate of the republic of Florence when it fell under the influence of the great banking house of the di Medici family is a striking illustration of this, although it is but one of numerous similar historic warnings on this point. Therefore, does it not seem important to you that every means possible should be put forth to arouse the sleeping conscience of the people to the real peril that confronts them?

A. As can be gathered from my foregoing answers I have no panic as to the ultimate outcome of our present social conditions. The world is always in a very bad way. Men felt the same fear for the future in the times of Abraham and Homer that they feel now. We are always passing through a transition period. We are always on the edge of an earthquake—but the final burst-up and universal cataclysm is indefinitely postponed. Indeed, an occasional Florentine republic may decay and fall and the race be little the worse for it. The world may even lapse into long Dark Ages of arrested development, but

the seed of progress is in the race, and the century flower is sure to bloom if you wait for it. But I do not believe that the fate of Florence is to be repeated in America, or that the Dark Ages are to return, or that any kind of a revolution but a bloodless one is to occur. The yeast of evolution is working beautifully in the present affairs of men. As long as it works, however, there will be upheavals. There will be movement and overturn. But this is all a healthy, normal, orderly process. The great social ferment of the present day is a part of the eternal amelioration that is always going forward.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE PLUNDER OF THE PEOPLE BY THE CORPORATIONS.

Social reformers have been in the habit of pointing with much apparent satisfaction to the rapid centralization of power and capital in the hands of a few men who control a great monopoly or trust to their own immense enrichment. Here, say the Socialists, is the complete refutation of what was long the chief stock argument of the champions of the old competitive system, who in season and out of season declared that it would be impossible for one head or a single bureau or department efficiently to operate great commercial or business affairs that cover a nation and are complex in character. And the cause of governmental ownership of natural monopolies and of general coöperation in industrial life was hopeless until the people were compelled by startling object-lessons to see the absurdity of this constantly reiterated fallacy. There was much truth in this, even though it would seem such object-lessons were unnecessary in the presence of the rise, growth, and magnificent success of the United States postal service, the governmental ownership and operation of telegraphs and railways in various European countries, the magnificent success of the postal savings banks in France, and the gratifying result of the postal parcel delivery in England, together with innumerable other practical illustrations of similar principles by more progressive nations than our Republic. Yet so powerfully was competition entrenched in the United States, behind prejudice, conservatism, and capital, that doubtless striking illustrations of giant corporations, like the Standard Oil Company, the New York City Bank, the Steel Trust, the Coal Trust, and other similar examples of concentration and monopolization of business interests for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and which are integral parts of the industrial despotism that is developing in the Republic

were calculated to awaken many slow-thinking people to a realization of the importance of certain great fundamental facts that intimately relate to the real prosperity and happiness of the individual no less than the nation.

But there is another side to this question—a grave and disquieting aspect that challenges the serious attention of all thoughtful Americans; and that is the real danger of municipal, State, and national governments in their various branches coming subtly but completely under the control of monetary influences, represented by the great monopolies and corporations. The debauching of political life and the establishment of a real despotism under the paraphernalia of a republican form of government are too apparent to all thoughtful citizens to be longer dismissed as an alarmist's cry; and a further menace to freedom is found in the influence of capitalistic power over the pulpit and press. A few bags of gold are thrown to denominational educational institutions, or to struggling churches and to missionary societies, and, behold! forthwith the religious press and the pulpit become strangely silent when they do not directly or indirectly justify the aggressions of corporate greed. Religion to-day, especially among the great conservative denominations, can boast of few ministers who bravely denounce and unmask the wrongs, the evils, and the injustice of the great monopolies. The influence of the press is even greater than that of the pulpit, and the press has demonstrated time and again that by a little concerted action in unmasking the operation of the trusts and monopolies public sentiment becomes so aroused that in spite of a complacent political administration the monopolies do not dare to go beyond certain limits in their extortions. Yet of late the press has become more and more silent in the presence of great injustice and oppression, and even when opposition is offered it is usually of a sporadic and inefficient character. How can we account for the silence of the great dailies of our metropolitan centers in the presence of the recent steady advance in the price of coal, for example—an advance beyond all reason, and made with the bold insolence which would a few years ago have aroused a storm of opposition irresistible in its nature?

Below I give an exact copy of a circular sent out in May by the Metropolitan Coal Company of Boston, in which this great corporation enumerates some of the reasons why the coal trust proposes to advance the price of coal fifty cents on

every ton during the five months from May to September inclusive:

Edward Hamlin, President.
C. A. Campbell, Vice President.
G. P. Hamlin, Sec. & Treas.
W. C. Winslow, Manager.

Eugene Nelson, Sales Agent.
Jeremiah Campbell, Engineer.
W. A. Rust.

METROPOLITAN COAL COMPANY,

GENERAL OFFICES:

30 CONGRESS STREET, COR. EXCHANGE PLACE,
BOSTON, MASS.

SUCCESSOR TO

L. G. BURNHAM & Co. E. S. HAMLIN & Co. H. G. JORDAN Co.
C. A. CAMPBELL & Co. C. M. WINSLOW & Co.

BOSTON, MASS., May, 1901.

TO CONSUMERS OF ANTHRACITE COAL.

Present retail prices of coal are as follows:

Furnace.....	\$5.00	per ton.
Egg.....	5.25	" "
Stove.....	5.50	" "

Prices at wholesale advanced ten cents per ton May first, and there will be further advances of ten cents on the first day of June, July, August and September, making wholesale prices of coal September first, fifty cents per ton higher than during April.

One cause of this advance is the amicable settlement of the labor troubles in a way which guarantees the miners an increase in wages during the coming year.

A further cause is the consolidation of the railroad companies bringing coal to tidewater, thus ensuring a uniform freight rate.

On account of these conditions, it is our opinion that retail prices are as low as they will be, that there must inevitably be an advance in the near future and that consumers will do well to put in their supply of coal early in the season.

METROPOLITAN COAL COMPANY.

This circular needs no explanation. It shows how, through the consolidation of railways, the trust has been able to prevent the people from getting any benefits of competitive rates in freight, while the miserable little pittance wrung from the coal barons by the half-starved workers about a year ago is

advanced as another reason for an enormous increase in the price of coal to the consumers. Hence we see how this monopoly, though able to save enormous amounts through consolidation, is not satisfied with the increased earnings, but levies an additional tariff, princely in character, upon every coal consumer, from banker to rag-man. The pockets of the rich and the poor alike are being rifled to swell the wealth and the power of an already rich and dangerously influential monopoly. Thus a few men are to be made far richer at the expense of millions and at a terrible and tragic cost to hundreds of thousands of the very poor of our land, while with the added wealth it will be easy further to swell the campaign funds of political parties who are venal enough to be the willing tools of the industrial despots. Our forefathers fought, suffered indescribable privations, and died for the principles involved in a trifling tax that the government to which they owed allegiance sought *unjustly* to impose, little dreaming that in the course of a century and a quarter a handful of men would be able to levy tariffs or taxes on the wealth-creators of the Republic so oppressive in character that similar injustice has more than once in English history been resented when attempted as forced loans and benevolence, though the oppression came from the throne itself instead of from an irresponsible group of individuals representing the new commercial feudalism which is the supreme menace of free government and the greatest oppressive power present in the Republic to-day.

* * *

THE UPWARD TREND OF LIFE AND THE SILENT FORCES OF PROGRESS.

Some one has observed that animal organisms live by devouring other lives, while the spiritual nature lives and grows only by aiding others; and this truth is profoundly significant as indicating the result, with its light and shadow, its glory and gloom, of the ever-present struggle seen throughout Nature. Furthermore, it will be well to remember that all permanent progress, all growth, development, and enduring happiness are measured by the degree in which the spiritual gains supremacy over the animal nature.

The late Professor Henry Drummond, in his suggestive work on "The Ascent of Man," pointed out a great fact that

had escaped the observation of most of the evolutionary philosophers when he clearly showed that side by side with the struggle for life, or egoism, which had been made so much of, was found another fundamental principle of being in the progressive development of living organisms, and that was the struggle for the life of others, or altruism—scarcely perceptible, it is true, save in prophecy or potentiality in the lower forms of existence, and long visible as a tiny but luminous thread or rivulet in the current of existence, but steadily gaining in light, volume, and importance as life rises.

Its very subordinate place in the lowest manifestations of existence doubtless explains the otherwise puzzling fact that it had been ignored or overlooked by careful pioneer evolutionary scientists whose gaze had for the most part been riveted on the simplest and most primitive expressions of life. At length, however, this struggle for the life of others comes to occupy a commanding place. At first we see one life descending into the valley of death to give another being, and later the parent instinct becomes so strong that care for the young overmasters concern for self, not infrequently leading to the sacrifice of life in defense of the offspring. This struggle for the life of others is very marked in many of the higher animals, while in man we see it blossoming in new and constantly increasing glory until there appear all along the highway of progress splendid men and women whose numbers constantly augment as the ages pass and who gladly forego personal ease and comfort, place, position, wealth, and worldly glory, and accept privation, suffering, and death for the happiness of loved ones or for the protection and advancement of tribe or country. Later a still higher or broader manifestation of the altruistic spirit is seen in men becoming voluntary martyrs in their allegiance to a saving truth or for the amelioration, emancipation, elevation, and permanent advancement of the less favored and fortunate ones of earth and for the development and happiness of all mankind.

Nothing is more significant than the fact that with the rise in life comes the broadening and deepening of the altruistic spirit,—the rise of that spiritual element which enfolds the promise of a glorious to-morrow for life,—which speaks of triumph through development, of happiness through the overmastering power of love. It is the supreme consolation of man that his toilsome ascent has been made possible by the slow but positive advance of altruism over egoism—of the God-like over the brutal or self-dominating elements of being.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN DARKNESS AND LIGHT.

The struggle that concerns civilization to-day is the same battle that has been waged throughout the ages. The plane of conflict has been somewhat shifted and methods of warfare have changed, but the essential contention is the age-long struggle between those fighting for self and those battling for others. And though to-day as in the past conventionalism ranges itself on the side of egoism; though the adulation of those who "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning" is as much in evidence now as in olden times; though society, largely given over to gain-getting and much impregnated with the materialism of the market, hastens to lay the wreath of victory on the brow of the multi-millionaire, without inquiring whether or not his acquisitions have been gained by means of indirection or through increasing the burdens and sufferings of his fellow-men; though pulpit and press are prone to laud the "accidents" who gain political and social prestige—yet we believe that at no period in the world's history have there been so many men and women dominated by the spirit of altruism as at the present time, and the forces of enduring progress have never been able to count so many real leaders—strong, fine, true men and women of ideals—as to-day. This numerous band has subordinated all thought of self to the mighty cause of the ages—the advancement of all the people through justice, freedom, education, and equitable conditions; while the champions of egoism are running their spectacular and empirical courses, and the multitude is gaping in wonder or sycophantly groveling before them, and, while many who assume to direct the aims of the young and to mold the character of the rising generation are pointing to these representatives of the night as types of success, the real leaders, the truly successful men and women, are silently and tirelessly sowing the seeds of the kingdom of God.

* * *

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL METAPHYSICAL LEAGUE.

Few persons, even among progressive Americans, appreciate the value or extent of the work that is being unpretentiously accomplished by the International Metaphysical League in

broadening thought and carrying into life a sane, wholesome, practical idealism that is helpful in the various duties and experiences that come to all, and that radiates a noble spirituality, carrying with it peace, joy, and serenity at a time when life is far too tense, turbulent, and feverish.

Ralph Waldo Emerson came under the witchery of Plato and the noble transcendentalism of German mystical and metaphysical philosophers, and he translated, in language intelligible to the understanding of the average thoughtful American who dares to use his God-given reason, much of what was most uplifting and helpful in the teachings of the master metaphysicians of the past. But fine and inspiring as was the influence of the Concord school of philosophy, it was theoretical rather than practical, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that its teachings were addressed to the intellect rather than to the emotional side of life. Now, while it is of great importance that the reason be convinced and the intellectual side of life satisfied, this is not enough. The conscience, the heart, the soul must be enlisted on the side of a new theory, philosophy, or movement before it will dominate the individual life or mold anew social conditions. And the leading workers in the International Metaphysical League are nobly carrying forward the grand work of Emerson and others in so practical a way that they are touching at once mind and heart, thus making the idealism of earlier days practical in our daily life.

The second annual convention of the League, which was held in the Madison Square Concert Hall, New York, last October, was a very notable gathering, and the addresses delivered at that time, which have recently been embodied in the "Proceedings" of the League, form one of the most helpful works contributed by the New Thought movement in recent years. Among the speakers who delivered extremely thoughtful papers at this time were the Rev. R. Heber Newton, the eminent rector of All Souls' Church, New York, and present president of the League; John Brooks Leavitt, LL.D.; Charles Brodie Patterson; Bolton Hall; John J. Chapman; Swami Abhedananda; Dr. Lewis G. Janes, A.M.; and Professor George D. Herron.

This year the League is to convene in October in the city of Chicago, and it is expected that it will be the strongest and most important meeting that has yet been held. The influence of the New Thought movement, of which the League is the leading exponent, is, declares the eminent Rev. George

H. Hepworth, "penetrating every nook and corner of Christendom." But, like all liberal educational organizations that refuse to crystallize into a creedal body, its influence is less evident to superficial observers than that of movements which organize themselves into compact churches or societies, under the banner of dogma. But no thoughtful student of present-day conditions who has given any attention to the wonderful change going on in the pulpit, press, and popular thought, can fail to appreciate the influence which the New Thought is exerting upon the intelligence of our age. It is one of the most powerful antidotes, if not the most powerful, to the growing materialism and brutal commercialism of the age.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

THE QUEEN OF THE WOODS. By Simon Pokagon, late chief of the Pottawattamie Indians. A biographical romance, with frontispiece and sketch of the author. Cloth, 256 pp. Price, \$1.25. Hartford, Mich.: C. H. Engle, publisher.

I learn with pleasure that the third edition has just been issued of the beautiful romance of Indian life by the late Simon Pokagon, chief of the Pottawattamie Indians. The book is in many ways one of the most notable publications of recent years. Its author was a full-blooded North American Indian, the chief of a band who a century ago formed an important division of one of the greatest Indian tribes known to the history of the New World. Chief Pokagon was a remarkable man—a noble specimen of a fast-vanishing race. Through his veins coursed all the passionate love of freedom and of Nature which characterizes the red man. No Indian ever better loved the forest, the prairie, and the stream than did he; but, unlike most of his people, he early became a lover of books, a student to whom ethical truths appealed with a fascination only equaled by his poetic fancy. When between twelve and fourteen years of age he entered Notre Dame School, at South Bend, Indiana, where he diligently pursued his studies for three years. Thence he went to Ohio, where he spent one year at Oberlin College, and subsequently two years at Twinsburg. During these six years of faithful study he acquired an excellent knowledge of English, French, and Latin, and enough Greek to enable him to read his New Testament in the original tongue. He was a man of deeply religious nature, unusually thoughtful and serious, though in his letters there was frequently displayed a vein of dry humor that would have done credit to a Scotchman. He was a strong friend of temperance.

From 1893 to the time of his death I was in frequent correspondence with the old Chief. His letters were always thoughtful and highly interesting. He contributed to *THE ARENA*, and afterward to the *Forum*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Chautauquan*, and other representative monthlies. In describing this book, which he finished very shortly before his death, he wrote me that it was very largely made up of his own life story, and that that part which dealt with his meeting, wooing, and winning the fair Indian maiden whom he loved to call O-gi-maw-kwe Mit-i-gwa-ki (Queen of the Woods) was a record of facts rather than

*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

a creation woven from the loom of the imagination. And in passing I would say that the pages dealing with this courtship are highly poetic and invested with a fascination rarely found in the made-to-order popular novels of our time; it is a heart story whose web and woof were woven of threads of truth and colored by the marvelous tints of a poet's imagination. In one of his letters he thus speaks of this romance in his quaint Indian manner:

"It is the story of my life, with many things about the traits and habits of my people and the wild animals and birds of the forests, with some things about Nature, so related as to make a true story, which Pokagon thinks will be instructive and do some good."

The story is unique in literature. It possesses the simplicity of a child nature, and yet it is by no means crude. The Chief is referring to his childhood days, and in describing a friend and companion of that period the author in his charmingly simple style says:

"In those days I took great pleasure in hunting, fishing, and trapping with an old man by the name of Bertrand. There are many white men yet living who were personally acquainted with that remarkable man. He was a person well calculated to please and instruct a boy in his knowledge of the habits of animals, and of places and things with which he was personally acquainted. He was of medium height, uncommonly broad-shouldered, and well developed in body and limb. . . . He always appeared in the best of spirits, having the most hearty laugh of any man I ever knew. As old as I am now, I would walk twenty miles to hear such a laugh. His skin was dark for an Indian, notwithstanding he claimed to be one-quarter French. When speaking of himself he always talked as if he were a white man. On public occasions among our people, owing to his strength and courage, he was regarded as a sort of police force. I recollect one day during a feast some women came running to him in great excitement, telling him some half-breeds had brought fire-water with them, and were giving some to little boys. He started for them on the double-quick, and before they realized what he was doing he seized all their bottles and broke them against a rock. There were three in the party, and they all rushed for him with sticks and clubs. He knocked each one down in turn with a single blow of his fist. As they lay on the ground, a white man present said, 'Bertrand, you struck those Indians awful blows.' The old man straightened himself up, saying, 'Yes, me tells you me did. Indians have no idea how hard a white man can strike.' For that timely reproof he was given a place at the head of the feast.

"He prided himself on speaking English, which he always tried to do if any were present who he thought understood the language. Among his white neighbors he was always referred to as 'the "Injun" who murders the English language.'"

And in the following brief extracts we see the love of Nature and the poetic spirit of the author, which is so delightful a feature of the work. They are also valuable in that they give a far truer view of one side of Indian life than is found in most of the literature dealing with the red man:

"Just as the sun was going down, we reached our landing place. The shore on either side was fringed with rushes, flags, and golden-rod, and grasses tall between; and scattered here and there wild roses breathed their rich perfume, scenting the evening air. . . .

"It was a beautiful, quiet morning. All Nature slept, until the morning feathered bells rang out, 'Whip-poor-will! Whip-poor-will! Whip-poor-will!' Slowly, but surely, the curtain of night was lifted from the stage of the woodland theater; above me, one by one, the stars hid themselves, the moon grew pale, while all the warblers of the wood opened their matinee, free to all, chanting from unnumbered throats, 'Rejoice and praise Him! Rejoice and be glad! Rejoice! Rejoice!' Just as the sun tinged the topmost branches of the highland trees, a white fog-cloud appeared above the winding river as far as the eye could reach. It looked as though the stream had risen from its ancient bed, and was floating in mid-air. As in wonder and admiration I gazed upon it, a gentle breeze bore it away far beyond the valley from which it arose; and yet it still retained all the curves and angles of the stream until it passed beyond my sight.

"While enraptured there I stood, beholding the beautiful scenery hung by Nature's hand, and listening to the woodland choir, loud the alarm birds (blue-jays) screamed out their hawk-like cries. Abruptly the concert closed, and all was still!"

"The Queen of the Woods" is at once fascinating and highly instructive. It gives the reader a new idea of Indian life, while it breathes forth a pure and lofty spirit that should commend it to parents. It is a volume that should be found in every public library in the land and should be placed in the hands of children, as it will delight the young who possess normal tastes while acquainting them with Indian life and ideals and also tending to exalt their own ideals and to strengthen their moral fiber.

In literature it is unique—a book of real merit composed by a full-blooded Indian chieftain and presenting an Indian's views of life, love, Nature, and mankind. The proceeds of the volume go for the support of the family of the author, who spent his life for his people and died comparatively poor in this world's goods.

HEALTH AND A DAY. By Dr. Lewis G. Janes, A.M. Cloth, gilt top, 186 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: James H. West & Co., 79 Milk Street.

Those who have come in touch with Dr. Janes at the Cambridge Conferences and at the Monsalvat School of Comparative Religion, at Greenacre, Eliot, Me., over each of which he has ably presided during the last few years, will expect a real treat in this little work; nor will they be disappointed. The volume reflects in an eminent degree the broad, sane, and wholesome spirit that characterizes the thought and life of Dr. Janes. One may not at all times agree with the author, but no one can peruse this volume without being made wiser and better for its reading. It is one of the few thoroughly helpful and suggestive books of the last year. But perhaps its greatest charm lies in the rare atmosphere—breathing at once gentleness, love, cheerfulness, and moderation—which pervades it. The effect on the mind is not unlike that experienced on the physical senses by a walk in a forest of balsam fir, or along a pathway fringed with sweet fern on a mountain side in the summer after a light shower has fallen,

As I read this book I marked such passages as I greatly desired to quote for the interest and edification of the reader, but when I had finished the volume I found so much marked as eminently quotable that I was almost in despair, and determined simply to make one extract, which bears on the influence of literature on the mind, and to urge the reader to secure the book as one of the helpful little volumes that should find a place in every library:

"What food is to the body, contact with inspiring thought through good literature and the living voice of the wise teacher is to the mind of man. There is also an intellectual dissipation quite as fatal to good health as the over-indulgence of the bodily appetites. There are noble and pleasing works of fiction the occasional reading of which is good both for mental relaxation from the severer routine of the daily duties and for the ethical stimulus and spiritual uplift that we all so greatly need; but the trashy or pessimistic novel—the book which holds up a false ideal as the object of life—is sowing the seeds of influences inimical to a full and healthy life in the minds of impressionable readers. The modern realistic novel, which minutely describes the sins and shames of society, however noble and altruistic may be its aim, is to my mind most questionable in its moral influence. The picture of life, distorted and maimed by social abuses and the transgression of moral laws, is as untrue to the general fact as it is unwholesome in its mental effect.

"There is another kind of literature, very popular at the present day, which is also most pernicious in its effect upon the minds of the young and of all impressionable people. I refer to those books which exalt and idealize those primitive savage and animal instincts in man which he has inherited from his brute ancestry—permanent and powerful, it is true, because they have been developed out of the age-long struggle through which man has emerged from barbarism and animalism, but useful at the present day only as they are made strictly subservient to ethical and social ends. Such are the books that glorify war, teach contempt of the so-called inferior races, and tend to perpetuate social distinctions resting on the forcible control of one class of people by another. Much of the work of Rudyard Kipling is of this degenerate and demoralizing character. Its very literary excellencies render it the more dangerous in its effects.

"Generally speaking, our mental food should be such as will develop the social sympathies and inspire us to wise activities in all the duties of life. Too much reading of the daily newspaper is a modern form of mental dissipation which has no compensating advantage. The hasty, off-hand judgment of the editorial writer on the events of the day is of necessity superficial and misleading; while the partizan and sectarian bias of the press unfits it for the instruction and guidance of independent and self-respecting minds. The 'yellow journalism' of the day, with its sensational display of the vices and evils of society, is one of the most demoralizing influences in our modern life. The great need of our time is for an independent press, which shall fairly report the events of public interest and comment upon them with sound judgment and fearless rectitude of purpose. The newspaper 'organ' of sectarian or partizan interests, which furnishes ready-made opinions on all the topics of the day at short notice, obedient to the dictation of some selfish interest behind the editorial throne, offers the poorest kind of pabulum for the mind."

The subjects discussed in the volume are "The Unity of Life," "The Temple of the Holy Spirit," "Cleanliness and Godliness," "Health in the Home," "Food for Body and Mind," "Education and Health,"

"Vocation and Avocation," "Aspiration and Inspiration," "Travel and the Open Mind," "The Saving Value of Ideals," "The Ministry of Pain," "Members of One Body," "Art and Life," and "Opportunity."

A word of praise is due Mr. West, the publisher, who in this work has given us one of the handsomest specimens of book-making I have seen in months.

THE MAGIC SEVEN. By Lida A. Churchill. Cloth, stamped in gold, 88 pp. Price, \$1.00. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company.

I.

During the last fifty years various agencies have wrought something more than a Renaissance in metaphysical philosophy and psychical research throughout Western civilization. I say, something more than a Renaissance, because besides the wealth of ancient Indian speculation which has been widely diffused, the philosophy of Plato and other master Grecian minds, the transcendentalism of German thinkers, and the popularization of metaphysical concepts by Ralph Waldo Emerson and others of the Concord school in this country, the searching spirit of science has revealed new and undreamed of power and marvels in connection with the mind and the psychic forces that, even though imperfectly understood, have been clearly proved to be scientific realities instead of merely the unsubstantial vagaries of disordered minds. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that a new continent has been added to the intellectual world through the realization and the appropriation of the wisdom of ancient civilizations and through the psychic discoveries of the nineteenth century. Moreover, since our age has been primarily utilitarian, it is not strange that modern investigators and thinkers have refused to be satisfied with negations or with dreams and pleasing speculations. They have sought to make of practical value to life now and here the power resident in mind and the occult potentialities which environ us and of which there have been so many luminous hints given in various ages.

This desire to utilize or realize all that there is that is helpful to man in the new knowledge has called forth many works and has led to the founding of schools of thought and groups of investigators or students devoted to the demonstration of various theories. Unfortunately many persons who had caught some glimpses of certain great truths have rushed into print with ill-digested thought that could not prove other than confusing, when it was not exasperating, to the reader. The relation of these writers to the philosophic concepts they essayed to discuss was much like that of the blind man who, after Jesus had anointed his eyes, saw trees as men walking. Other writers have fallen into the common error of reformers and enthusiasts, and have gone to absurd extremes; while a still larger contingent of those who have fed the press in recent years have overlooked the important fact that our

age is one that demands concentration in thought and concision in expression, and they have given us works weakened almost to inanity by diffusion, dilution, and repetition. The really valuable thought in a large number of recent books along this line could be easily condensed into one-sixth to one-tenth their compass. Instead of this, the reader is expected to wade through dismal wastes of complex platitudes, with now and then a pregnant sentence or a vital idea blossoming as a wild flower in a wilderness of weeds.

It is therefore refreshing to find a writer who thoroughly appreciates the demand for concision, clearness, directness, and force in the presentation of practical occultism and metaphysics, and who has taken the time to boil down the message until it contains little unnecessary verbiage. A small book of this kind is worth a score of works of many times its bulk, as the reader without waste of time or the confusion incident to a weak and diffuse presentation is able quickly to grasp and hold the ideas presented. In Lida A. Churchill's little volume, "The Magic Seven," we have the clearest and most concise statement of the practical utilization of mental and occult forces for business success and individual self-mastery that I am acquainted with. Here, in less than one hundred pages, are far more valuable suggestions and explicit, practical directions than most writers have given in three or four volumes of several hundred pages. The busy reader can catch and hold the thought expressed, and the method of presentation, while extremely concise, is clear and understandable. For this reason the volume should have a wide circulation among all persons interested in obtaining power and reaching success through self-mastery, concentration, and the observance of those laws of being which place man in harmony with environment and the Source of life.

II.

The first chapter treats of "How to Center Yourself." "Where and what is the center of one who is to win? It is within his inmost self and those things which his thoughts, his desires, his practises, may make for him always available, must make for him actual working forces if he wills it so." This thought is dwelt upon in a suggestive manner, reenforced by apt illustrations, and directions are given to the student by which he may learn how to appropriate the opulence which the writer holds the Infinite is ever ready to give to him who asks, seeks, and intelligently and faithfully labors to possess.

The second chapter is entitled "How to go into the Silence," and opens with this query: "How shall you gain and keep the poise necessary to the absorption and utilization of the powers which insure victory?" The key-note of the answer is given in Emerson's words, "All power is in silent moments." In a few pages of clear and direct reasoning the author discusses the problem and indicates how the individual may go into the silence and come *en rapport* with the infinite Source of life, love, power, and joy. But the coming into this intimate relationship may mean a wholly new mode of life if you have been wandering

in the dark and missing the highway that leads to the fulfilment of life's deepest and purest desires. It is wisest to open the eyes of the soul to behold the glory-lighted way, and walk therein. The statements made are forcibly and lucidly expressed in few words, and in the closing summary we find the following directions given to students for daily practise in the silence:

"I am still of heart and of tongue. I invite, and hold myself in the attitude to receive, the Intelligence which teaches, the Love which protects and satisfies, the Power which invincibilizes, the Peace which blesses. I admit nothing into my life which would prevent or hinder the greatest soul receptivity. I wait in the Silence with and for God."

The chapter on "How to Concentrate the Mind" is highly suggestive. In it the author answers the query, "How shall you bring the wisdom and force which you gain in the centered life and silenced soul into effective action?" Miss Churchill gives brief but definite directions by which she holds any reader will be able "to call his wandering thoughts home, to shut out any disagreeable or disturbing sound or sensation, and to focus the mind at any time, on any subject, with the result of doing what was formerly, perhaps, an hour's mental work, such as studying, composing, creating plots or plans, in twenty minutes. It will also enable him to make of his thoughts *one* thought, which will prove a dynamic power to change all things for him."

The fourth chapter will prove of special interest to those who believe in the power of thought to draw to them the rightful desire of the heart, but who fail to demonstrate their belief in active life. It deals with the question of "How to Command Opulence." Before giving her positive and explicit rules and directions for the realization of the chief desires or wishes of an individual, our author answers the oft-repeated and shallow demand of a certain school of our time in the following pointed language, which will serve to illustrate Miss Churchill's style:

"In using occult means you are not dealing with vague, misty, uncertain forces, but with the *most powerful and certain agents which can possibly be employed*. Occult means hidden. The forces you employ are hidden from sight, touch, sound, or smell. There is no truer declaration than that 'spiritual things must be spiritually discerned.'

"'Give us something tangible,' cries the so-called realist; 'something which chemistry can analyze, science can demonstrate.' Now, it is, to any one who will give the subject five minutes' intelligent thought, a proved statement that not one of the most real and effectual forces of the world can be analyzed by chemistry or demonstrated by science. What is the passion which has wrought most mightily for the world's blessedness, which has populated it, created its homes, generated its courage, nursed its nobleness, developed its unselfishness, inspired its orators, authors, painters, poets, saints, kept its heart warm, given it splendidly effective life? Love.

"What passion has ever devastated, tortured, and ruined? Hate.

"What feeling, no matter what the discouragement of circumstances or the denials of environment, keeps thousands of the world's workers toiling at their tasks? Enthusiasm.

"What sends men to die for their country, or prompts them to forego all that their natures crave, that the demands of justice may be met? Honor.

"What draws thousands to hear a man's speech, or to touch his hand, and makes him like a god in power? Magnetism.

"Can the chemist analyze, or the scientist tabulate, the properties of love, hate, enthusiasm, honor, or magnetism?

"Who can weigh, measure, or explain the sensations of joy, grief, attraction, or repulsion? Which of the world's greatest scientists has not stood dumb before the question, What is Life?

"And it has been proved beyond a doubt that the occult forces, of which we have named a few, are intelligent, effective powers, the very best implements for building up and securing an opulent life; for opulence, which surely means money, means, as surely, everything else which the heart can desire.

"At Ashley-Downs, England, George Müller established, without a word of solicitation, one act of worldly manipulation, the Orphan House which has grown to such huge proportions. In Boston, Dr. Charles Cullis raised and supported, wholly without visible means, his Consumptives' and Orphans' Homes. Both depended solely upon the faith which *holds*, the prayer which *refuses denial*. The beautiful town of Sea Breeze, Florida, was built by Helen Wilmans's mental demands.

"The writer has in mind several individuals, personally known to her, who in the space of three or four years have, by the use of thought forces, lifted themselves from adverse and discouraging conditions to pleasant and profitable ones, which are continually improving."

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters treat of "How to Use the Will," "How to Insure Perfect Health," and "Asking and Receiving," in which the following questions are discussed at length:

"How shall you hold your new resolves, your freshly generated thoughts and practises in place and to their work until they become as much a part of your daily life as breath itself?"

"How shall you be able at all times to sustain the vigorous thought, keep at full pressure the will by which your word becomes God's word?"

"How shall you demand in a way which cannot be denied? Did Jesus mean anything, in a literal, practical sense, when He said that if one asked aright he might have whatsoever he asked?"

These chapters, like those which precede them, are ably treated from the standpoint of the author, and though I cannot always agree with the views presented,—or, rather, go to the extent to which Miss Churchill's convictions lead her,—still I am satisfied that the work is mainly true and vitally helpful. It is a little book which will be of real value to the thoughtful reader, and for many it will do much to lift them from the slough of despond and to face them toward success, serenity, and happiness. It is a volume that all persons interested in the New Thought should possess.

BALLANTYNE. A novel by Helen Campbell, author of "Prisoners of Poverty." Cloth, 361 pp. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This wholesome, well written, and thoroughly entertaining novel is a credit to its author and to America. It is a charmingly refreshing piece of literature after one has been bored by the deluge of widely ad-

vertised "great American novels," many of which are crude, ill-digested productions, devoid of literary merit, whose success has been due to extravagant puffing and to the faithful imitation of patent medicine advertising methods.

"Ballantyne" is, I think, Mrs. Campbell's most finished and entertaining work. It is a novel that will appeal to the serious readers of *THE ARENA*; but I doubt not that many will feel the regret which I experienced—that the author fails to crowd into a few succinct lines a clear statement of the wide differences between the commercial despotism that so seriously menaces America and the industrial coöperation which would secure for all the people the benefits of combination, without any of the curses which attend the trusts and monopolies, not the least of which are the debauching of government, the anesthetizing of the public conscience, the blunting of the moral sensibilities of the individual, and the oppression of all the people for the benefit of a few individuals. Few if any American women better understand vital present-day social problems than Helen Campbell, and in this work a splendid opportunity was given to sow seed-thoughts that would reach and influence thousands of persons who otherwise might not be awakened to the true social situation at the present critical period. As it is, Mrs. Campbell skims over the surface of conditions; and, though often very helpfully suggestive, she fails to strike at the root of economic evils.

The story deals with an American girl who early becomes disgusted with the pitiful hollowness of the lives and the society with which she is environed in Boston. She finds on every hand so much indifference to the poor, so much of contempt for those who are not wealthy, so much of "unctuous rectitude," so little of heart, soul, and sincerity, mingled with a mad desire to ape the aristocracies of the Old World, that she determines to make England her home.

In the old country she meets and falls in love with John Ballantyne, a magnificent type of twentieth-century manhood, who, though born in America, has been raised in England. The young man has idealized our Republic, and on the death of his mother he determines to go to his native land. Before leaving he proposes to the fair American, but her dislike for the Republic prevents the union for a time, and Ballantyne spends a year in the New World in which he makes extensive social studies east and west.

Perhaps no brighter lines are found in the book than those in which Mrs. Campbell exposes the hero-worshippers and fad devotees of Boston. The description of a singular brotherhood in New Jersey enters into the web and woof of the story and serves to heighten the dramatic interest of the work, which is not only well told but will hold the reader from cover to cover without exciting any morbid sentiments. It is a love story that ends happily rather than a problem novel, though much interest attaches to the kaleidoscopic pictures of modern theorists and the graphic and suggestive hints relative to art and literature as well as to political, social, and economic conditions. The author is no stranger

to readers of this review. She has been one of our valued contributors for many years, but in this book the reader will meet the gifted author in the rôle of novelist instead of in that of social and economic essayist. We heartily recommend the novel to all lovers of healthy, suggestive, and entertaining fiction.

BULLFINCH'S AGE OF CHIVALRY; Or, KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS. New and enlarged edition, revised by Rev. J. L. Scott, D.D. Illustrated with 23 full-page plates and numerous illustrations in text. Cloth, 406 pp. Price, \$1.25. Philadelphia: David McKay.

This standard work has been carefully revised and enlarged by the Rev. J. L. Scott, D.D., who has displayed great wisdom and ability in his work. It is a volume that should be found in every library, as English literature is literally crowded with references to the rich myths and wonder-stories of ancient Albion. And indeed so thoroughly are these fascinating stories a part of the treasury from which thinkers draw striking illustrations that a knowledge of them is indispensable to all fairly intelligent persons. Moreover, the great myths and legends of every people hold great truths. They teach vital lessons and represent colossal types of life the study of which is highly instructive to the contemplative mind. In this large volume there move before the reader in stately procession the noble characters and typical figures of England's Golden Age of myth and legend. The multitudinous stories of Arthur and his knights, including of course the quest of the Holy Grail, are here given in a detailed and charming manner. Here, too, the fascinating but tragic legend of Tristram and Isolde is admirably unfolded, while Part Three of the volume is devoted to the weird and often sublime poems of Ossian. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by numerous quotations from the great Anglo-Saxon poets.

The high price of this book has heretofore placed it beyond the reach of many persons who would enjoy it, and Mr. McKay has performed a real service to the reading public by placing this large and magnificently gotten up book before the public at the extraordinary low price of \$1.25.

MONTANYE; Or, THE SLAVERS OF OLD NEW YORK. By William O. Stoddard. Cloth, 356 pp. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus.

Historical and semi-historical stories seem to be the order of the day. One of the latest works of this character is entitled "Montanye; or, The Slavers of Old New York." It deals with the last days of the siege of New York in the Revolutionary War and with the experiences of privateers and slavers during that period. The story is fairly well

written and affords many graphic and valuable pictures of conditions prevailing a century and a quarter ago. The horrors of the slave trade are admirably depicted. Those who enjoy exciting tales of adventure, crowded with action and through which runs the thread of romance, will be pleased with this novel, which tells a love story and ends happily.

NORMAN HOLT: A STORY OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND. By General Charles King. Cloth, illustrated, 346 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

In "Norman Holt" we have one of the best stories, if not the ablest, written by General Charles King. It deals in a graphic and spirited manner with thrilling scenes in the Civil War, and holds the reader's interest in a compelling way while imparting much historical information and tending to stimulate a desire on the part of the reader to obtain further knowledge of the greatest civil war of modern times.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Christian in Hungarian Romance." By John Fretwell. Cloth, illustrated, 124 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: James H. West & Co.

"The Woman Who Trusted." By Will N. Harben. Cloth, 257 pp. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus.

"Suggestion." By George C. Pitzer, M.D. Cloth, 137 pp. Price, \$1.00. Los Angeles, Cal.: George C. Pitzer.

"The Christ Ideal." By Horatio W. Dresser. Cloth, 150 pp. Price, 75 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"Whither: A Study of Immortality." By Wm. Edgar Simonds. Cloth, stamped in gold, 113 pp. New York: John B. Alden.

"What is a Kindergarten?" By George Hansen. Cloth, 80 pp. Berkeley, Cal.: George Hansen.

"Clearing the Way." By the Rev. Xavier Sutton. Paper, 186 pp. Price, 10 cents. New York City: Catholic Book Exchange.

"The Right of the Child to be Well Born." By Mabel MacCoy Irwin. Paper, 22 pp. Price, 10 cents. Chicago: National Purity Association.

"Reconstruction and Other Poems." By Leslie O'Malley. Paper, 24 pp. Chicago: Scroll Pub. Co.

"Idiosyncracies." By Esther A. Macallum. Paper, 26 pp. Price, 15 cents. Lansing, Mich.: Esther A. Macallum.

"The Digrafs Ei and Ie." By Samuel Willard. Paper, 15 pp. Price, 15 cents. Chicago: The Ben Franklin Co.

"A Little Lower than the Angels." By Clarence Lathbury. Cloth, stamped in gold, 201 pp. Price, 40 cents. Germantown: Swedenborg Publishing Association.

"The Symphony of Life." By Henry Wood. Cloth, 302 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"The Constitutional Rights of Physicians." By Dr. R. C. Bayly. Cloth, 168 pp. Decatur, Ill.: R. C. Bayly.

"The Political Economy of Humanism." By Henry Wood. Cloth, 319 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"Edward Carpenter: Poet and Prophet." By Ernest H. Crosby. Paper, 50 pp. Philadelphia: The Conservator.

"Health and a Day." By Lewis G. Janes, M.A. Cloth, 185 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: James H. West Co.

"Books Triumphant." By Carina Campbell Eaglesfield. Cloth, 137 pp. New York: F. Tennyson Neely Co.

"The College-Bred Negro." A social study made under the direction of Atlanta University by the Fifth Atlanta Conference. Paper, 25 cents. Atlanta University Press.

"A Young Man's Problems." By L. C. McLeod. Cloth, 130 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: The Wing Company.

"The Procession of the Planets." By Franklin H. Heald. Paper, 93 pp. Price, \$1. Published by the author, 331 West Fourth St., Los Angeles, Calif.

"John Henry." By Hugh McHugh. Illustrated. Cloth, 96 pp. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"The Way of a Man With a Maid." By Frances Gordon Fane. Cloth, 301 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"The Master-Knot of Human Fate." By Ellis Meredith. Cloth, 309 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Ballantyne." By Helen Campbell. Cloth, 361 pp. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"The Magic Seven." By Lida A. Churchill. Cloth, 88 pp. Price, \$1. New York: The Alliance Pub. Co.

"Now-a-Day Poems." By Philander Chase Johnson. Cloth, stamped in gold, illustrated, 128 pp. Price, \$1.25. Washington, D. C.: The Neale Company.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE Hon. Frank S. Monnett, the author of our leading article this month, is well known throughout the country as the incorruptible Attorney-General of Ohio who a short time ago waged a vigorous fight against the Standard Oil Company. His refusal to accept a large "retainer" to prove false to his oath of office made him conspicuous among American statesmen—a commentary on the moral status of our public men that would seem almost to justify the cynical opinion that "every man has his price."

Mr. Monnett was one of the most prominent speakers at the National Social and Political Conference, held in Detroit early in July, which was described in detail by Eltwed Pomeroy, A.M., in the June ARENA. This successful gathering was an epitome of all the Reform elements represented in American thought—economic, industrial, and sociologic progress having a leading place among the themes discussed. Our editor-in-chief was present and addressed several of the well-attended meetings on the true reformatory mission of the daily and periodical press, one result being that the literary leadership of THE ARENA in the broad field of Reform was officially confirmed by the Conference.

While the policy of this magazine is essentially optimistic, and it is not our custom to "sound an alarm" unless the danger be obvious or clearly pointed out by the contributor—evolutionary progress being a spiral path and not always in sight—yet we present a symposium on the drink evil in this number that should cause every young man in the country to stop and reflect. Dr. R. Osgood Mason, in his article on "Alcoholism in Three Acts," gives facts and figures that may be relied upon as authentic, as the statements of this well-known author and profound student are regarded as authoritative in advanced scientific circles. Mr. Robert Morris Rabb, who contributes

the other paper of the symposium, is a resident of New York and is well equipped for the gathering of statistics on the liquor traffic in our most populous State. That its magnitude is alarming cannot be disputed, and the conclusions deduced by Mr. Rabb will confirm in their opinion those who hold that the only way to cope with it is through the moral regeneration of the individual. Prohibitory legislation has proved notoriously inadequate wherever tried.

The second article of the series by Professor Frank Parsons on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century," which appears in this number bearing the title, "The Great Conflict," is even more interesting and instructive than "The Sweep of the Century and its Meaning," with which Professor Parsons opened our new volume last month. "The Century of Democracy" will be discussed in our next issue. These exceedingly valuable papers should be preserved and re-read by all who are favored with the educational opportunity of their perusal. Editor Flower's long but luminous and not over-laudatory character-sketch of this famous economist, in the current number, is the result of intimate acquaintance with the life and work of the noted author and teacher, and should be brought to the serious attention of all whose aims and ideals need remodeling.

Mr. Flower's long-delayed article on "Physical Science in the Nineteenth Century," for which room has been made this month, is a most excellent and informing synthesis of the material progress of the last hundred years. It is one of a series on related topics from the same pen that we hope to publish more regularly hereafter.

Mr. Sam Walter Foss's "Conversation," in the present issue, is bright and timely though brief, and his observations are a most reassuring antidote to the pessimism that afflicts those reformers who lack the discernment of the true poet. A sketch of the life and poetical works of Mr. Foss will shortly be contributed to our Essay department by Editor Flower.

In Mrs. Wilbert L. Bonney's article on "Women and the Wage System," in this number, much practical common sense is condensed into a few paragraphs. The author presents some plain truths in a way that should compel attention to one of the most interesting, not to say alarming, features of current economic conditions. Other articles, embodying different phases of the subject, are in preparation for early publication in THE ARENA.

The writer is pleased to be able to announce that the leading paper of our issue for September will be from the pen of Prof. George D. Herron, late of Grinnell College, Iowa—a sincere reformer who has been outrageously maligned by sensational newspapers and entirely misunderstood and misjudged by many well-meaning persons in private life. It will bear the title, "The Recovery of Jesus from Christianity," and should be read by every lover of the Nazarene—especially by the official expounders of His life and mission.

Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M., of Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo., will contribute to our next number a strikingly suggestive paper on "The College Trust," which the author regards as a menace to freedom in the United States.

Among other interesting features of the September ARENA that may now be mentioned are: "When will the Bubble Burst?" by Robert A. Wood, of Washington, who considers the recent development of billion-dollar financiering in this country in the light of certain historic analogies; "Law and Liberty," by Frank Exline, who gives some timely and important definitions; and the seventh article in Miss Kellor's series on "The Criminal Negro."

The serious attention of every friend of the magazine who peruses these "Notes" is earnestly invited to Editor Flower's announcement on the next page, as it offers an opportunity to all to coöperate in a simple but effective way in the great work to which our efforts are dedicated.

J. E. M.

A WORD TO OUR READERS.

IN the May number of **THE ARENA**, in our symposium on "An Army of Wealth-Creators *versus* an Army of Destruction," Professor Frank Parsons suggested that readers who might be interested in such an army should signify the same by dropping a line to the office of **THE ARENA**. We have received a number of enthusiastic communications from various parts of the country, perhaps the most remarkable of which is that sent by Mr. L. J. Heffern, of New Orleans, which is appended. Mr. Heffern, after reading the suggestion of Professor Parsons, copied the digest of the propositions as presented in **THE ARENA** and took the same to his friends, with the result that more than seventy promptly signed it in the city of New Orleans alone.

From the letters we have received from various parts of the country we are impressed with the conviction that the proposition will meet with hearty favor from our people as a whole; and in order to get something of public sentiment, as well as to arouse an interest in various communities on this very vital question, we earnestly urge all readers of **THE ARENA** interested in this subject to read again the symposium, and then to cut out the pages containing the proposition, down to and including the words "name and address." Paste this at the top of a sheet of white paper and secure from your friends as many signatures, with the address of each signer, as you can obtain in your community. When the first sheet is full, paste another below it, and so on until you have secured all the signatures possible from those who are heartily in accord with the proposition. Then forward same to the address given below. In this way each reader will be contributing in a real way toward educating the public on a question that is destined to become more and more a paramount issue as the years pass, and that represents the spirit of the new time in contradistinction to the bloody war spirit of previous ages.

The reader who sends in the longest list of names and addresses within the next thirty days will receive, post-paid, a copy of "Persons, Places, and Ideas," price \$3; a copy of "The Century of Sir Thomas More," price \$1.50; and his choice of either "Whittier," price \$1.25, or "Gerald Massey," price \$1.

The person sending us the second longest list of names and addresses will receive, post-paid, a copy of "The Century of Sir Thomas More," price \$1.50, and his choice of either "Whittier," "Gerald Massey," or "The New Time," price \$1.

The person sending us the third longest list of names and addresses will receive, post-paid, his choice of either "The Century of Sir Thomas More," "Whittier," "Massey," or "The New Time."

These books are all handsomely bound in cloth and will be promptly sent to the persons sending in the longest lists of names before the first of September. Address all communications to

B. O. FLOWER,

5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

AN ARMY OF WEALTH-CREATORS VS. AN ARMY OF DESTRUCTION.

Suppose the following alternate propositions were submitted for your choice. How would you vote?—

(1)

One hundred thousand men and half a billion of money to carry on a war of conquest, reduce the patriot armies of the Filipinos into subjection to American sovereignty, and transform our Republic into an Empire.

(2)

One hundred thousand men and half a billion dollars to reclaim the arid lands of our Western States, and make the Mississippi a well-behaved and law-abiding river; or to establish farms and shops where the unemployed may be taught the arts of self-support and mutual help through co-operative industry under good conditions; or to build or buy a transcontinental system of railways to form the first great link in a national railway system owned by the people and operated in their interest.

For which plan would you vote? To get a still clearer view, we may tabulate in corresponding columns some of the leading consequences of the two policies:

(1)

The Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule trampled under foot. Our flag stained with perfidy to an ally, and its starry beauty blotted with aggressive war. The flag of the free become the emblem of oppression to one poor people struggling upward to the heights of liberty. Attention drawn away from vital problems at home in urgent need of decision, and our government, caught in the trap of its own imperialistic policy, unable to protest against England's onslaught upon liberty in the Transvaal. Reckless, blundering, aggressive greed triumphant over conscience and common sense, riding rough-shod over justice and liberty, and, backed by party power and plutocratic interests, holding its grasp on the great Republic it has begun to imperialize in the name of the sovereignty of the people.

(2)

A clear conscience, a glorified flag, the gratitude of the Filipinos, the world's admiration and respect, and a free voice to condemn Great Britain's terrible war in South Africa. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution sustained and illumined, the Republic still intact, the minds of the people, undisturbed by foreign war, grasping with full attention and untrammelled power the great home problems of political, industrial, and social well-being that are pressing for solution, and a vigorous step taken toward the actual solution of some of the most important of these problems.

Would you have voted the left-hand column, in spite of justice and humanity, because it promised a market for our goods? That was the only earnest plea for such a vote—the plea of profit. And how do the profits stand upon the books? Our largest export record to the Philippines amounts to \$3,500,000. Ten per cent., or \$350,000, is a fair allowance of profit on those exports. Thoroughly reliable Republican estimates place the annual cost of maintaining our forceful rule in the Philippines at \$100,000,000. Our present profit is therefore *minus* \$99,650,000 a year.

Would you have voted the right-hand column, had the two plans been submitted to a referendum? Would you have deemed the left an injury and the right a benefit? If so, why not do what you can to undo the wrong and establish the

right? Send your name to THE ARENA as one who, regardless of party or previous condition of political, industrial, or social servitude, is willing to join with others in a citizens' petition asking the Government that the Philippines be given the same liberties we promised Cuba, the same rights of self-government we demand for ourselves, and that the tide of money and labor that is now going to the increase of our military power be turned to the employment of the unemployed in some great work of public improvement.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston University School of Law.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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No. 3.

THE RECOVERY OF JESUS FROM CHRISTIANITY.*

"What the Roman clients accomplished by fear, the priests of the feudal ages effected with the aid of religion, whereby they succeeded in so perverting the egoism of the laborers as to keep them from revolt. It is curious to note how such perversion was deduced, by means of a simple dialectic artifice, from the very morals that had previously inspired the demands of the rebellious slaves. Despite the fact that the greatest of all reformers denounced the furtive nature of property and the usurpatory character of wealth, both of which he excluded from the future life, his disciples hastened to draw a conservative deduction from this same doctrine. The inevitable exclusion of the rich from the kingdom of heaven, and the necessary triumph of the poor in the life to come, constituted, indeed, an excellent argument to reconcile the oppressed with the social system under which they groaned. Thus, under the evil influence of property, the very morality which for the moment enlightened the laborers on their true course became an efficient means of perverting their egoism and turning it from its proper path. Just as the Bible, in spite of its republican spirit, has so often been used in the defense of kings, so now the Gospels, despite their communistic tone, likewise become a powerful instrument for the protection of the richer classes when confided to the hands of mitred sophists who understand how to transform the greatest book of Socialism into the meanest defense of property.

"The inherent antithesis between the primitive and essentially revolutionary nature of Christian morals, and the quietive character derived therefrom through a malicious artifice, necessarily engendered pernicious digressions during the course of religious evolution, and introduced violent contradictions which often ended in bloody conflict."—*Professor Achille Loria, University of Padua, Italy.*

THE religion of Jesus came into the world as an appeal from authority to life. It was an elemental and inclusive revolt against priestly and governmental ordering of life by that which was external to itself. The revolt struck so deep that it was more than a revolt; it begot a radicalism of

* A lecture given in Central Music Hall, Chicago, Sunday afternoon, January 20, 1901.

soul that treated authority with a kind of divine contempt, and sometimes with a child-like loftiness of unconcern. The overflowing divinity and abundance of life, the open and unavoidable presence of the secret place of the Most High at every step or turn, the will to love in each man as his sole law and God—this was the faith of Jesus. To this faith the whole of life was the spirit of the Father, to whom every soul had free and instant access, to whom doors of love were always and everywhere open, so that every soul could go in and out and find pasture—go in and out and find truth and freedom for itself and for service. A divine anarchy of individual liberty for each soul, and a universal communism of spiritual and material goods for all souls, could be the only logic and outcome of such a faith. And it was equally logical that the entire output of Jesus' work and teaching should pile itself up in intrenchments of attack against institutional walls. To him these walls were the strength and symbol of the riot and lawlessness that were turning the garden of man into a wilderness of wild beasts, and wasting human life in every kind of discord and torment, tyranny and slavery. To a faith that took for its working basis the divinity of life, and that sought to awaken in each man the godhood that would make him a law unto himself, institutional authority could not be other than a lawless and atheistic setting at naught of fundamental being. Every coercive custom or law was a profane and deadly putting of hands on the only ark of the Lord that Jesus knew—the free individual. Authority over this free individual was an invasion and desecration of the holy of holies in which God dwelt. Mediatorial religious offices—assuming special privilege in God, presuming to dispense common spiritual property as the merchandise of private monopoly, asserting that only the God of the dead was trustworthy—were the essential atheism that darkened the world; they were the thick veil of subsidized unbelief that hid the real and glorious presence of the Father from the eyes of his sons and daughters.

No sooner had Jesus finished his work than the alchemy of authority began to surround and obscure his idea with the

atheistic principle that was its antithesis. The apostles did not understand Jesus, so he himself was always saying, nor his conception of the divinity of life, nor his matchless faith in liberty and free individuality. Even Paul, who so strenuously stood out against the apostles for his own liberty, could not be satisfied until he had forced the idea of Jesus into the mold of decadent philosophies that made life the evil to be overcome instead of the vision of God to be trusted and rejoiced in. The successors of the apostles, instead of seeking to uncover and call forth the free and divine individuality which Jesus saw in every man, began to impose an authoritative faith, guarded by priestly keys of heaven and hell, and at last enforced by the imperial legions of the Roman ruling or robber class. The innocent legends that naturally grew up about Jesus, in the mystery with which the atmosphere of the East always palpitates, were vested with official authority; and Jesus, the teacher and interpreter of life, became the ecclesiastical wonder-worker. The Christian way ceased to be the new and joyous mode of life it was in the sweet Christian spring-time. It lost that early spiritual fascination, that brave adventure of faith, that moral chivalry, that aspect of heroic quest which hurried men from land to land on winged feet and made the universe a romance to the soul. Instead it became a coercive and menacing faith—the enforced acceptance of the stoic theology and the decadent philosophy of a dying era; it became enforced under threat of loss of soul and wrath of God—the official tradition of the Church concerning Jesus' personality. And ever since, with certain heroic exceptions, historic Christianity has made its way by the atheistic force that put Jesus to death. It has wrought by the brute principle of authority, which is the negation of the free individuality that Jesus set forth as the sole reality of the universe. That which was atheism to Jesus became the orthodoxy of Christianity and the foundation upon which it built its faith and institutions. And the essentially atheistic organization of Christianity remains to this day, to darken the understanding of men and blind them with unfaith

in life, which is the supreme atheism and of which atheism Christianity is the supreme teacher.

The idea of Jesus was never wholly hid, for we find it breaking forth in the preaching of great fathers like Ambrose and Augustine; in beautiful apostles like Francis of Assisi and Bernard of Clairvaux; in the spiritual nobility and political vision of prophet-statesmen like Savonarola and Wyclif. It never ceased to work as a spiritual leaven, precipitating struggles for spiritual liberty and common property; and the Church always managed to turn these to its own glory and profit, after putting the strugglers to disgrace and death. But the Christ idea of the free and self-ruling individual never had free course; the "vested interests" of religious and economic systems alike kept it from being seen and glorified by the common life.

Now, all that I have said is consistent with an abiding faith in the divinity of history and in the sincerity of social evolution. The world being what it was when our era began, half slave and half barbaric, the idea of Jesus had to inclose itself in the historic form of Christianity in order to survive—in order to perpetuate itself down to a time when it could be understood and liberated as the organizing principle of life and society. The idea had to take divine risks, if it was to permeate and leaven and finally possess the world. It had to wear the paraphernalia of exhausted pagan religions; it had to steal along through the centuries under the cover and weight of the Roman imperial system; it had to bear the burden of false and monstrous theologies; it had to stain itself with the mean conflicts and base passions of parties and States; it had to have life and germinating power within itself during the long winter, and trust the human soil to give forth the free individuality of the kingdom of heaven at last. It could not have its way among men until it grew large and strong enough to make history after its own image; to take the reins of history in its own hands, and determine in advance the course of social evolution. It cannot yet use the systems and doctrines of the world for the expression of free individuality; for these have

been developed in historic experiences that have to do with master and man, king and subject, employer and workman; they have the color, the interests, and the feelings of a capitalistic world that is doomed to pass away.

But now the historic form of Christianity has done its appointed work and should be dismissed from the service of life. It is not Christian, either in its faith or its influence, and it ought to come to an end. It bears no resemblance to the simple religion and sweet faith of Jesus; and it does not believe in his self-governing idea, nor even know his gospel. Christianity is indeed a deadly unbelief in God in the name of God; a system of organized infidelity to Christ in the name of Christ. It is a vast parasitic tyranny, which can only exist by exhausting spiritual blood and nerve, by destroying vital faith, and by the utter prostitution of the soul. It is the product of the slave-centuries, with their slave habits of mind, and will not answer for a world in which the self-governing idea is about to make its first profound experiments. It is no fit religion for free men, and offers no fit expression for spiritual integrity or for the experiences of freedom.

If this needs emphasis we have only to reflect upon the prevailing attitude of the Church toward every great question that has to do with our common well-being. It is from the officials of the Church that the recent wars of greed and massacre have had their chief support. The English pulpit created and sustained the public opinion which the English government needed in order to commit one of the blackest crimes in the history of nations. It was from the American Church that the American government received its backing when it became the betrayer and assassin of the liberties of a confiding people. This same Church is urging this same movement upon a policy of blood and revenge in China, where the people have revolted at the wrongs visited upon them in the name of Christianity by its capitalistic and governmental employers. It is unthinkable that the distinctive religious and ruling class sees no inconsistency in bloodthirsty appeals for national retaliation and murder in the name of Christ; but such seems to be the case,

so complete is the spiritual prostitution which existing Christianity has wrought. And the infidelity of Christianity to Christ is further manifest in the almost unbroken opposition of the Church to the movement of labor for economic freedom; also to the further extension of the self-governing idea of Jesus in politics or society. Besides all this, when we reflect upon the character of so much of present-day preaching, upon its brutality and imbecility, upon its ignorance and servility, upon the frightful damage done to the souls of men by its moral ruffianism on the one side and its bloodless and degenerate piety on the other, upon the wolfishness of its ethics and the vulture-like character of its society, upon its support of all the fundamental immoralities of public life and industry, upon its resort to vulgar sensationalism and the methods of "yellow journalism" to get a hearing for pulpit trash, upon the great spiritual devastations which it calls revivals, upon the meanness and dishonesty of its councils—when we soberly and honestly think of what the pulpit really preaches and defends, we cannot but see that official Christianity subsists upon what is menacing to the soul's honesty; we cannot but see that it is destructive of brave faith, free individuality, and spiritual decency, as well as the chief obstacle to human emancipation. The practical atheism and destructiveness of the Christian system are manifest when its teachings and the fruits thereof are judged in the light of all that Jesus taught and meant to do. And this atheism is not mitigated by the noble army of martyrs whom the Church has put to death and then glorified on her banners; nor by the millions of pure and loving individuals who take part in its institutions and activities.

Human life is to-day far better than its preaching; more truly spiritual than its professed religions; nobler than its covenants. It is the real religious nature of the people that is turning them from the Church; and their revolt against the Church's religious system is due to an instinctive and unconscious turning to Christ. The world-movement toward wholeness of liberty is beginning to demand a synthesis of life that shall furnish it with a working basis of bold and adventurous

faith. The long winter is breaking—the winter through which the seed of Judas has lain in the human soil—and a new spring-time of faith is calling us. By this faith will come the recovery of Jesus from Christianity. And the Socialist movement has come into the kingdom of man for just such a time. Socialism will reject Christianity, as it ought to reject it; but it will liberate the spirit and idea of Jesus, and give unto him a sympathy and understanding which an infidel Church has so long denied him. Upon the foundation of economic freedom and unity which Socialism shall lay will the idea of Jesus disclose itself, and have its first fair and free hearing among men.

But if we follow the attitude of Jesus toward life, there is much we have thought sacred and essential that will have to be left behind; much that is not good now, however good it may once have been. The fragmentary records that we call the Gospels have come down to us through the bitter strifes and vicissitudes of parties and sects. They have been subject to changes from language to language, and from changes at the hands of dominant interests. There are things in these Gospels which we do not know about; things which are interpolations or mutilations; things which Jesus probably did not say or do; things which, if he did say them, were mistaken or non-essential applications of his own idea, due to the color and heritage of his times. Then the theological form in which we have known Jesus so mars and distorts his features, so wholly misrepresents his idea and initiative, that we have to go behind the theological centuries in order to see who he really was.

Yet we are left neither desolate nor doubtful, if with brave and truthful eyes we read the matchless life-story which these Gospels artlessly tell, and which neither the misunderstandings of the writers nor the blemishes of priestly scribes can unteach. There is left to us, for adoration and for faith, the sweetly masterful Man, serenely poised amidst the fiercest and hatefulest strifes of men and parties, harnessing the mightiest passions and most consuming affections of his soul to the chariot of an ideal which centuries to come will rejoice in, and centuries beyond

them light the world by. Limitless reserve power, a strength that is all-loving while yet so powerful as to be unconscious of itself or of effort, a tenderness that is majestic, a spiritual vision that takes human infinitude into its perspective—and all these as the blossom of our common human experience, the outgrowth of our human flesh and blood—this is what we see when we look at him who spake the common spiritual sense of the world as never man spake it. We do not see him when we look on the hideous figure of theology and medieval art; the crushed spirit, the broken and mutilated life, the calculated action, the legal obedience—these are not the mighty and beautiful child-man of Galilee. We may better see him in the Prometheus of the sorely needed gospel of Æschylus, defying gods and governments, their heavens and their hells, in order that he may steal the fire of love for the light and warmth of starved and fear-driven men. Or we may see him in the divine revelation of man which comes to us in the Hermes of Praxiteles—the most perfect expression of spiritual manhood that art has ever made. We cannot find him in the slave-preaching of slave-obedience from the pulpits of authority; but we may find him in the heroic love and labor of the common life, from which he sprang and whose glory he is.

It was an unusual power to see the elemental and enduring truth about life, and urgently to interpret life and destiny in the terms of that truth, that made Jesus the most anointed and beloved of the sons of men. He got at the living principle that works at the roots of things, and that runs through their coarse experiences to their blossom and goal. He precipitated into such living crystals the truths at which Moses and the ancients had toiled, and flashed the light of them into so far a future that we are only just now beginning dimly to see what he meant and to think seriously of looking at our life and society in that light. There was much that he did not see and much that he did not do, but no statement or reorganization of life can henceforth get on without his truth. Any new synthesis of life will have to take Jesus into account in a very fundamental way. Stripped of legend and ecclesiastical authority,

the truth he saw will be the unifying principle of the synthesis that will liberate the love-energy by which the whole of life is to be set free.

Thus we are not left orphaned or comfortless, as we turn from the Christ of the past to follow the Christ of the future. We are rather set free clearly to see, for the first time, the fatherhood and brotherhood which Jesus brought to light. It is the obscuring shadows cast by theology and politics on his way, and not the Christ, that we leave behind; we leave only that which prevented us from seeing him as he is. There is left to us that which the official faiths could not give, and which they cannot take away—an ever-persistent will to love, a world-making idea, a glorified thought of man, a spirit and attitude toward life that are above all authority. And these are breaking upon us to-day as our new heaven of truth, in the light of which we may rise to build the new earth of love and liberty.

But we are not to give a new arbitrary authority to Jesus, by holding him responsible for our interpretation of his idea; we are to seek to establish connections between that idea and life and society—living connections—that will enable the idea to reinterpret itself in every fresh problem and experience. It is not a name we are to follow, but the love-way of life and truth. There is a sense in which Jesus will have to be forgotten, in order that his truth may be remembered. He will have to throw his name away, in order to breathe into us his spirit of infinite daring; he will have to pass through our doubts, in order to lead us to his faith in life; he will have to cease to be an authority, in order to become our teacher; he will have to lose himself, in order to save us with his idea; he will have to forget his cross, and make no claims because of it in order to become our brother. The worship of Jesus the person must be changed into a worship of the Christ-principle in humanity; changed to a working with his will to love in the common life. Our personal devotion to him must grow into a social joy, a democratic exaltation of spirit, a service of praise

expressed in calling the average man to godlike sacrifice in upholding the invisible pillars of a heroic public life.

It is not Jesus we need to follow, but the Lord of love and truth in our own souls. We ought not to want to be like Jesus; we ought to be like the thought which God has for each of us, and which he whispers when we are still, or perhaps when we are in the thick of labor or of battle. We have the same right that he had, and are under the same divine compulsion that he was—each to realize our full and free individuality. We are as near the heart of fundamental Being, as deep in the secret of the Most High, as he was; and we are at fault if we do not express that secret more openly, and that being more modernly. It would be wrong in us to limit our own time and experiences to the limitations and experiences of his time. We are most truly his friends, his brothers and lovers, his disciples and saved ones, when we claim and keep for ourselves the freedom which he claimed and kept for himself—kept unto the end, and out into the endless. For myself, I could never desire with Paul to be his slave, or consent to be chained to his chariot; for I am sure that this is the one thing which he himself would never desire or consent to. It is as a friend and equal that he calls me to his fellowship. Only as I will be a slave to no man, or to no God, can I bear the judgment-gaze of Christ and walk before men with his meekness and lowliness of heart. By this appeal from his authority to the divine presence which he disclosed in my own soul, I can be most distinctly loyal to the faith which the great Lord of love asked of men.

You can thus see that loyalty to the idea of Jesus means the end of official religion. To a faith which is truly Christian, there can be no authoritative Church; no temple in the kingdom of heaven for which such a faith looks and works. The faith of Jesus in the divinity of life is the polar opposite of submission to religious authority, which rests upon the denial of God in life. By no possibility could an authoritative Church honestly bear Jesus' name, no matter how many and good its works, any more than an absolute monarchy could be democratic by being benevolent; for, just as the monarchy rests upon

a despotic principle, so the Church rests upon a principle that is fundamentally atheistic. The denial that God is in life and that life is in God, the imposing upon man of an institution to mediate between God and himself, the building up of a ruling spiritual class to dictate terms of admission to God's presence, the training of the soul in a crawling servility of attitude, the establishing of religion on the basis of barter and exchange between God as an infinite capitalist and man as a submissive worker for heavenly wages—all this is the precise atheism which the faith of Jesus came to destroy. It is the horrid blasphemy and outrage which shook the being of Jesus with a blended indignation and sympathy that seem to have sometimes almost torn up his life by the roots. Yet this blasphemy and outrage are the foundation upon which historic Christianity has built. And they are the only foundation there is for an official religion to build upon. Let the faith of Jesus once possess the common life, and his idea of free individuality awaken men to the knowledge of who and what they are, and there is not left for the Church even the shadow of a foundation.

Nor could there be an authoritative Church in a truly democratic society; for, in the nature of the case, a church is a spiritual aristocracy. Economic democracy means spiritual democracy; and to either of these an official religion is a philosophic antithesis, to put it on a baldly intellectual ground. The assumption of a ruling spiritual class is the stuff out of which the Church is built. It rests upon the assumption of special privilege and class-property in God; upon the assumption that some people have more of God than other people, and that they are thereby authorized to sell the knowledge of God for institutional profit. This is not only undemocratic and anti-social: it is the devouring spirit of the Antichrist, abroad in the world in the name of Christ, destroying faith in the name of faith and hiding God from society in the name of God. It is not strange that the Church has invariably sided with the ruling class; for it is itself an inherently ruling-class organization. The Church is also perfectly consistent when it dreads

and opposes the rise of Socialism; for there could no more be an official religion in the coöperative commonwealth than there could be midnight at noonday. Let the idea of an economic ruling class once break down, and every other kind of ruling-class idea breaks down with it. The oil monopoly, permitting the people to have oil only on its own terms, is operated by precisely the same spiritual principle by which the Church operates when it dispenses what it calls salvation on its own terms. The monopoly and the Church grow on the same spiritual root, and you cannot pull up one without pulling up the other; or, rather, you cannot communize the oil supply without communizing the world's truth supply. Capitalism and official religion are one and the same thing at bottom, each springing from the same violently atheistic principle; and when the industrial priest goes the religious priest will go along with him. A society organized by the self-governing idea of Jesus, and founded upon his elemental faith in life, can have no possible use for either priest or capitalist. The coöperative commonwealth means that the whole common life shall be seen as the vision of God, in the splendid light of which the nations shall walk, and every individual. The coming of democratic Socialism is the preparation of the way for the aftercoming of the holy church of humanity, in which every soul shall be a high and free apostle of truth. Freedom will generate its own religion; and that religion will be the great common life becoming priestless and God-conscious, as Jesus meant it to be.

Perhaps it ought to be said, out of justice to the Catholic Church, that there are historic reasons which make possible its perpetuation along the lines of manifest economic development. I can quite agree that the Roman Church has within itself the germ of a universal spiritual democracy, the outlines of a world-society. It is certainly not a sect, and it has always been universal in its ideals of society. The golden age of labor, which the economist tells about, was in part due to its patronage and protection. However corrupt or tyrannical its conduct and administration, it has never quite ceased to be

democratic somewhere in its organism, and its sympathies have never wholly forsaken the people. If the Pope holds out long enough he may yet become the true father of a universal democracy, and the pastor and coördinator of States. If the Catholic Church knew how to lose itself, it might speak the unifying word that would undo the capitalistic order and prepare the Socialist highway for the coming of the kingdom of heaven. If I believed in the principle of authority at all, I should certainly seek rest within its bosom; and I should seek to raise new altars of that marvelous devotion to the person of Christ, that spiritual passion and chivalry, which flamed forth in the divine knighthood of Saint Francis and Saint Bernard. But I believe that the principle of authority is not Christian, but atheistic; and I see no hope that the Catholic Church will speak the unifying and liberating word to society. Besides, it would be fatal to the coöperative commonwealth if the Socialist movement that brings it should proceed under the patronage of any kind of a church, or depend upon any other than its own initiative. Socialism must give no hostages save its pledge of free individuality to the laborer and the people.

So far as Protestantism is concerned, it no longer stands for reality. Its church-goings and activities are without spontaneity or vital spirituality. Its so-called services have become a superstition that is just as persistent, though slightly more refined, as the superstition that bends the savage soul to gods of wood and stone, or the painted ox and the sacred crocodile. Protestantism is a performance, and no longer a faith; it rests upon unfaith and fear, or upon unthinking obligation and stupid habit. The daring initiative from which it sprang, the Prometheus-like spirit of the first reformers, will have to be looked for outside of the Church—among men and efforts that refuse Christ's name. The principle of spiritual adventure that begot the Protestant revolt is the principle that will destroy it; for Protestantism has driven the principle of its being from its councils, and all brave faith with it. The faith of Jesus will soon lift up its voice within church walls no more, but it will take to the fields and the mobs, and be heard in the city

street and along the dusty highway, in Socialist political meetings and barren public halls.

Even so, let Jesus quickly come; for the spiritual revolt against authority is a glad sign of the recovery of his spirit from Christianity. It is the coming again of the Son of man—this time to find the faith he wants for brave and fruitful social adventure. It heralds the time when naked Truth will be its own authority, and need not be clothed upon by priests or enforced by institutions or constitutions. Whoever then has what he thinks to be a word of God or common good to speak will have to depend upon the worth and divine attractive power of what he is and says. Truth that is really true needs no authority to back it up. Authority is the millstone around truth's neck. And we need not fear that what ought to be heard will ever go unheard in the free society. For the common life yearns and agonizes for truth. It has never been the people who have rejected or crucified the truth, except when driven by fear or ignorance or force to follow ruling-class leaders. With the passing away of authority, truth will for the first time have a free vision, a free hearing, and a free human soil to take root and bear fruit in. And when we have the faith of Jesus to depend upon, unbound and unguarded truth to make us free, then we shall be free indeed; for we shall have entered into the faith that is nothing else than freedom.

And the truth that makes free will banish fear from human motivity. Fear has never been anything but a slave-motive in life or religion; it has never answered for free men. The great spiritual adventurers, who by daring risk and initiative have brought truth and liberty to light, have had to leave all fear behind. There is indeed nothing in the universe to be afraid of, save the fearing that keeps us from being love-true and free. When we are done with fearing anything known or unknown, and learn to trust life as its own law and keeper, we shall as consciously have our being in God as we have our breathing in the air. We shall then know that we and the Father are one—that human life and history are but a mode

of the fundamental being or spirit which Jesus called Father. In the secret places of our deepest and most high experiences, we shall see that a universal will to love is the heart and whole of things, and that we ourselves are the struggle of that will for self-realization and freedom. And when at last we have the faith to brave the flaming sword that guards the gates of paradise, we shall find that it has been harmless to hurt us all along, and shall find it turned to ashes as we enter the gates, to go no more out forever.

The recovered idea of Jesus will again lead us, as it did in the beginning, in a revolt against human helplessness. Historic Christianity has been so largely the religion of a mutilated life, of helpless submission to monstrous wrong and organized lies, on the ground of remote heavenly recompense, that we have lost sight of that affirmation of human omnipotence and wholeness which was the power of the initiative of Jesus. The Church, it is true, has brought down to modern life the light of the world; but it has brought it inclosed in all the thick darkness of Asia. It has taught as Christian truth the dark dualistic philosophy that made life an evil. It wrought its atheistic doctrines of life in the blood and brain of civilization. But Jesus identified life with God, and filled it with the song of birds, and the blooming of flowers, and the happy smile of children, and the truth and innocence of love. The Church has set forth unhappiness and resignation as the primal elements of virtue and piety, and made happiness the dreadful sin to be overcome by the elect; but Jesus set forth the law of a happiness that carried in itself the eager serenity and confident gladness of the higher Greek faiths—Apollo being a better prophet of the Christ than either Elijah or Calvin. The Church has begotten a servile morality that is now chiefly protected by the want of courage and spiritual energy to live one's own life, and that satisfies its fears and hypocrisy by propitiating the established and the unknown; but Jesus, the truest and sweetest pagan as well as the Christ-man, ~~calling~~ ^{calling} men afresh to the joy of Nature and to communion with her spirit, begot a life that transcends all moral systems ~~that goes~~

beyond our good and evil, and that knows no part of man as higher or lower than any other part, but sees only the transfiguring divinity of the whole. The Church has trained the soul to the slave-spirituality of submission to brute force in the form of political and religious authority; but Jesus trained the soul for free and unmenaced individuality—for a love of liberty so strong that it was counted sweetest gain to die a free man rather than live as any kind of a slave. The Church being built upon the principle of authority in both law and doctrine, its whole self-interest has lain in keeping men in fear and subjection; in destroying that spiritual adventure which is the sole certificate and expression of faith. The religion of Jesus enthroned man as a god and creator in the universe, brought forth to test and try its resources and processes, to select what is good as the means and ways of free and almighty human living, and thus to make a universe according to his divine liking.

That the recovered idea of Jesus will call forth a faith and action that shall match it, we need not doubt. It is moving amidst our confusion and public apathy, our degrading commercial and Kiplingian literature, our brutal and cowardly Rooseveltian ethics, our shameful honors based on ability to steal and kill, our industrial survivals of predatory savage instincts, to find the spiritual heroism that lies somewhere at the source of it all and summon it to the service of the higher Socialist ideal. It will find what it seeks—a spiritualized and socialized heroism of the common life—and lead it to camp-fire and field of the divine battle that cannot end, until the gates of heaven are taken by man at last, and set in the walls of the holy communist commonwealth. Then shall the will to love in the midst of life be the shepherd of all peoples, and guide them unto fountains of living waters, where God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes.

The faith toward human life which Jesus held, we also may hold, and look and work for the perfect manifestation of its divinity. The human life that has stood the shocks and treasons of history, that has survived the bonds and stripes of

its institutional keepers, that has dreamed the love-dreams of democracy and Socialism, that has brought forth Jesus from its own flesh and blood and the French Revolution from its spiritual majesty, that has rocked the Christ-ideal in the cradle of its hopes, and watched it grow to threaten the world with its glory—that human life is to be trusted. The highest thought of it which man has ever held is but a hint of what is already accomplished for it at the infinite heart of things. For our human life is God's perfect thought—the word which was with God in the beginning, and which will at last be perfectly spoken by a strifeless progress and a joyous history.

Have I taken away your Lord by setting forth the truth upon which he stood rather than the names which the Church has given him? Have I despoiled your faith by asking you to follow his idea of the free and self-governing individual, ensphered in a coöperative and communistic society, rather than the quality of salvation to which the Church invites you? It does not seem to me so. If I have stripped Jesus of his theological attributes, of an unreal and immoral perfection, of power to save with a fictitious and destructive salvation, I have brought him to his own in the human life which begot him and whose divinity he manifests. I have put him into the thick of the human struggle from which an infidel Church withholds him, and where a tender chivalry of strong devotion will crown him with a glory and honor that no official religion has ever given him. I have enshrined him in the faith that is to make the free and universal society, and enthroned him in the heart of the history that moves our human life toward the certain victory of the will to love.

As a child, I used to wonder, as every one sooner or later does, how the great God could have peace in his heart and yet behold the suffering and torment of the world. I felt sure that if I were God my heart would break, and my mind let go of itself, so that the universe would fall back into the chaos and nothingness from which I supposed it had come. If I could not sleep, nor eat my food, because of the misery and slavery of the world, how could God stand it, and besides have in his

heart the peace which Jesus and Paul invoked as a benediction? After years of brooding I saw that only love could have peace—an unfathomable and inexhaustible love that could lay itself down under the whole human situation and fling itself over the whole human retrospect and prospect, so that it should become a sort of infinite heart-inclosure of the whole human experience, bearing just what human life bore, feeling just what it felt, having only what it had, waiting as long as it must wait, finding liberty only when it should become free. I saw how love could have peace by loving all that was not love until it should become love; how the universe could tolerate itself only by bringing forth the best that was in it and putting that best at the service of the worst, or of what has not yet become the best.

As I felt this necessity which lay at the infinite heart of things, and thought upon it, I found it one day taking the form and features of the Christ—first the Christ-man, and afterward the Christ-society. I saw how needful to itself it was that the universe should bring out of its heart some such humanity as was idealized in Jesus; how needful to man it was that he should have some such evidence of love, some such word of universal mind, in order to take the universe seriously and lovingly and believe it to be sincere and rational. Since then, and more than ever to-day, through every development of thought or change of faith or shifting of emphasis, it has been by fellowship with the heart of Jesus, and by seeing his mind as the light that moves on my path when I move, that I have been able to interpret life or live it; able to think of anything as fundamental; able to make any sense out of the universe; able to find any reason for the being of anything. Making full allowances for the child-like and natural exaggerations of his life by his disciples, for their naïve and unconscious concealment of his perplexities and faults, for mistaken thoughts which he may have held in common with his time, for deformities inflicted upon his truth by authority, we may still say that man never spake as this man. He spoke the most liberating and world-making word that has ever fallen from human lips.

No such light as his has shone upon life's fateful problems. His is the strongest and loveliest figure that has come to be our symbol and prophecy. He is the noblest and worthiest shrine at which human life has knelt. That it may continue to kneel there, until it shall be changed into all that was strong and lovely in his likeness, until it shall live out all that was true and beautiful in his teachings, is the best prayer I can make for humanity, or to it.

Yet Jesus cannot solve the problem of economic and social freedom. He is not equal to the Socialist revolution. We shall love him and understand him, and he will abide with us; but it will be by other forces than his that the free age will be brought in. The work that now lies before man must be done in the name of man, and the common life of the working class must become the world's new savior.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

New York.

A MENACE TO FREEDOM: THE COLLEGE TRUST.

THAT the triumph of plutocracy must precede that of the people now seems clear. The unification of our industries in the hands of a few great magnates, kings of commerce and over-lords of trade, is almost here. The accepted list of trusts is in itself a verification of the forecasts of Marx and Engels as striking as the appearance, on schedule time, of a predicted eclipse. And the work proceeds apace. Forty years of financial legislation has almost finished the task of centering completely in the hands of a few monopolists, with Rockefeller and Morgan at their head, the control of the circulatory system of the body politic. New York City is the financial heart of the nation. It is stated by an observant Wall street reader that such is the "fearful power exerted by the house of J. P. Morgan & Co." that, "with at most three others," it "can damn any financial project brought to" our commercial metropolis. Henry Clews, weathervane of Wall street, tells us that with these interests "manipulation has ceased to be speculation. Their resources are so vast that they need only to concentrate on any given property in order to do with it what they please;" that "they are the greatest operators the world has ever seen," and that "this combination controls Wall street almost absolutely."

Of the recent mighty movement in railway circles the public is aware. That it looks toward the perfection of a national railroad trust who can doubt? Furthermore, with it comes the concentration of coal companies and steel companies. Of this Mr. Morgan's partner, Mr. Robert Bacon, declares: "When this combination is completed, J. P. Morgan will be the absolute head of it all." The taking over of the express companies by the same interests is also foreshadowed, to be followed by the taking over perhaps of all the other trusts.

So ominous has grown the outlook that some Republican editors stand aghast at the speedy consummation of policies for which they worked and voted last November, and indulge in declarations which, coming from other sources, they would until recently have branded as insane and incendiary. Of the "Railroad Trust" one of these men declares: "The nation will take it, either at a reasonable compensation or simply by confiscation, through mandate of the people that will set aside even the Supreme Court." And another: "The people will stand this for a less or greater time, as may be, and then the revolution will come."

From such talk, wild though it sounds, we may well take courage and inquire, Will even the party lash, with gratitude for favors received and hope of benefits to come, permanently suffice to hold in line the army who by their ballots have given to plutocracy a *carte blanche* for four years more of license and loot?

That private monopoly spells public monopoly, and that the coming issue is Rockefeller and Morgan *versus* Uncle Sam, is evident. But we must not solace ourselves with the belief that the transfer of the coming single great trust from private hands to all the people will be easily effected. Other nations, notably Rome, have reached the stage of huge private monopolies, but no nation has ever yet taken the step proposed. Alexander Del Mar points out that in Rome the private monopolies fell in a single day, absorbed by a single, all-inclusive, public monopoly. But of this the Emperor was head. Such a solution is no solution. The one great trust must be operated by all in the interest of all.

The men who own and administer our industries may not lightly be set aside. They will not be caught napping. Controlling talents equaling those of Cæsar, Gregory the Great, Machiavelli, Napoleon, and Bismarck, they cannot be routed, with ballots or bullets, by an undisciplined mob spurred on by the consciousness of empty dinner-pails. For years the plutocracy have been preparing for the coming conflict. Otherwise, why the Napoleonic revival? Why the bastiles of death

looming grimly in all our great cities? Why the recent vast expenditures for a navy? Why the steady pressure for a large and permanent increase in our standing army; and why the recent parade of the Rough Rider and his cohorts?

But more insidious and dangerous still are the attempts to debauch the public conscience with schemes of conquest and plunder and to blind the people to the development actually in progress and to its inevitable effects. To this end the organs of intelligence must be controlled. Most of the great dailies and magazines have been captured. How news is systematically "doctored" or suppressed by the Associated Press monopoly, such men as Congressman John J. Lentz have told us. Rumors of the coming newspaper trust are in the air. Government censorship of press despatches seems to have become an established institution, and an American editor has been deported, without trial, from the Philippines, not for publishing falsehood but for criticizing a custom-house official and thus becoming "a menace to the military situation." A back-slidden church has become plutocracy's right arm, and again, as in the days of Jeremiah, "the prophets prophesy falsely and the priests bear rule by their means," and too many of "the people love to have it so."

The most dangerous enemy to industrial monarchy is our educational system, especially our colleges and universities. During one's college days, if ever, one's mind is free. Light, truth, and progress are the traditional watchwords of colleges throughout Christendom. Here, if nowhere else, the business in hand is to enlarge the intelligence, quicken the conscience, purify the ideals, and consecrate the life to the noblest ends. Further, the study of history, politics, economics, and sociology has become the vogue, and courses even in Socialism are regularly given. More important, the laboratory method of study has been introduced by the departments of natural science. Research has become a regular feature of the work of advanced students and each is taught that to be scientific he must lay aside prejudice, think lightly of author-

ity, go to the bottom of things, and then without fear or favor tell what he has found.

Such methods are revolutionary, and wherever conscientiously applied, as in the biological field, have resulted in throwing the science of our fathers into the waste-basket. But competition exists in our universities, each department seeking to appear the most highly scientific, publish the most notable papers, and attract the brightest minds. This competition the economic and sociologic departments must meet, and, to do so successfully, must accept (nominally) the standards that dominate the natural science departments. Advanced students must be set to investigating all manner of social and economic problems and be told that the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth is this Holy Grail. For, to circumscribe the field of investigation or suggest in advance what the investigator must discover would result in laughing the department off the campus.

Free investigation is all that is necessary to expose the rottenness of the existing economic system, and in every university there are students willing and able to turn on the search-light. In many universities, furthermore, there are some teachers of the social sciences who would be glad to be true to university ideals and make of their departments centers of light. But, with an arrogance equaling that of the slave power, our plutocracy has issued its edict that the colleges and universities must fall into line. Hence the inevitable conflict.

Dr. Andrew D. White has traced the "warfare of science with theology." One who has read his book can understand the present warfare of science with wealth.

To control higher education American wealth-owners may do one of three things: First, they may build their own schools, colleges, and universities. Examples are the institutions constructed by the "liberality" of the Vanderbilts, Armours, Stanfords, Rockefellers, etc. In such institutions it is essential constantly to proclaim that the widest liberty of teaching is encouraged and that the sole object of investigation is the truth and the truth only. To permit the impression to go

out that the teachers were interested or gagged and the jury packed would hopelessly discredit the institution and destroy its influence, thus defeating the object of its existence. Second, our ruling class may look with compassionate eye upon the swarm of little, struggling, starveling colleges with which our land is sown and minister to their distress. Manifestly such institutions may be expected to possess sufficient gratitude and business sense to refrain from biting the hand that feeds them. Third, they must control the State educational institutions. Public colleges and universities have from the first been objects of dread to the enemies of our popular liberties: hence the defeat, to this day, of the National University project, though indorsed by Washington and Jefferson and supported by an overwhelming weight of fact and argument; hence also the subversion of Harvard from a State to a semi-private institution, the defeat of other State college efforts in the East, and the practical triumph in that section of the private college and university principle.

The people's colleges and universities may at times pass into the control of the people's friends, and the tremendous enginery represented by these institutions be wrested from the grip of those who make of it a commercial asset and be employed in the interest of the people themselves. A few such instances have occurred, and the fury of the dispossessed and their masters, incredible otherwise, can be understood only by those who appreciate the potency of light and the direct bearing of higher educational institutions upon the problem of "social control."

In the State educational institutions the policy of the proprietary class is to secure control, place in charge only "safe men," *i.e.*, men in sympathy with private wealth or afraid to voice other views, employ professors who have been educated in "safe" institutions and come with the indorsement of those institutions, inculcate their views as "scientific" and scout all contrary opinions as "unscientific" and "partizan," use text-books, if any, that are also "scientific" in the same sense (though these text-books are at times grossly partizan

and false), insist that their representatives must permanently continue in control whatever may be the vicissitudes of State politics, any other policy being gross "spoilsism," and terrorize into silence and submission all teachers whose views may not square with their own.

With Jesuitical adroitness this policy has been pursued, until, with rare exceptions, the higher educational institutions of America have been silenced or enlisted in the service of wealth, the natural opponents of this policy continuing for the most part ignorant of it or indifferent and apathetic, weakly accepting as "scientific" or "partizan" whatever was so labeled by the controlling interests and raising no hand to rescue their colleges from this pitiful thralldom.

The situation, meanwhile, for the teacher of the social sciences has become grave. On one hand he sees position, assured income, "scientific" standing, promotion, and opportunity to work undisturbed in his chosen field. On the other he sees discharge, disgrace, proscription, the stigma of "unprofessionalism" and "partizanship," and—the black-list; for in offending privilege and wealth he has roused a foe that never forgives or forgets, a demon that never sleeps.

Is it conceded that college teaching on social lines in America is not free? Yes and no. The positions taken by defenders of academic prostitution are directly contradictory. One who reads them is forcibly reminded of the logic of the old lady accused of breaking a borrowed kettle. Her defense was that the kettle was broken when she got it, sound when she returned it, and that she never had it.

The defenders of college proscription offer a twofold defense. It is, first, that college professors and presidents are unhampered—free as the wind that blows and the birds that fly—and, second, that of course they are not free; that they have no right to be; that they are but hirelings doing the bidding of their employers, attorneys defending the case of their clients, magnets to draw patronage and money to their respective colleges. Free and bound, judges and attorneys, impartial and disinterested devotees of truth and exponents

of doctrines and policies that will attract the wealth of the wealthy—such, we are told, is the paradoxical position of college men who assume to deal with living issues.

Such statements require support. Here it is:

First: "College men are free." Few data are here needed. The colleges have all along professed freedom. To suggest its absence has been regarded an insult as gross as is a reflection upon the incorruptibility of a juror or judge or the virtue of a woman. Harvard's constant boast, true of some departments, is that that institution is the home of freedom, a genuine "republic of letters." Chicago University in the throes of the Bemis controversy indignantly repelled the charge that the removal of Prof. Bemis was due in the remotest degree to his economic views or to Mr. Rockefeller's wealth or wishes. Said Professors Small and Butler, in presenting the University side: "We wish to make the most emphatic and unreserved assertion which words can convey that the 'freedom of teaching' has never been involved in the case." President Harper added, "There is not an institution of learning in the country in which freedom of teaching is more absolutely untrammelled than in the University of Chicago;" while the congregation of the same institution on June 30, 1899, solemnly resolved: "That the principle of complete freedom of speech on all subjects has from the beginning been regarded as fundamental in the University of Chicago. . . . That this principle can neither now nor at any future time be called in question." Leland Stanford University has made its especial boast of freedom and loyalty to truth for truth's sake. Says a writer: "Leland Stanford University has long made it a boast that it cherished especially a spirit of freedom and liberality within the proper limitations of each professor's sphere in the class and lecture room. Alumni of the institution have fondly referred to this tradition as 'the Stanford spirit.'"

The Chicago *Evening Post* for June 16, 1900, said: "Professor Will did not hesitate to assert that college teaching was being 'subjugated' to the interests of wealth and privilege;

that with rare exceptions presidents and instructors in the United States 'are not free to write, speak, or teach on public questions except in harmony with the powers that be,' and that science is tending to become a farce in our educational institutions. That there is a scintilla of valid evidence in support of this startling charge may be emphatically denied. . . . The utmost freedom of teaching, opinion, and speech prevails [in our leading colleges]. There are no 'official' doctrines which the professors are required to promulgate."

That any should dare to take the other horn of the dilemma seems incredible; yet pages might be filled with admissions and positive declarations to this effect. A few must suffice. The most numerous and brazen occurred in connection with the Andrews case:

"The trustees have the unquestionable right to suppress teaching which they believe to be false as well as injurious to the college." (Penn Yan, N. Y., *Express*, July 28, 1897.) Neither president nor professors "can deny the right of any congregation to select the kind of doctrine that it would like its youth to be taught." (New York *Mail and Express*, August 3, 1897.) "When a professor attempts to teach free-silverism in a gold-bug college, why should he not be turned out if he lacks the grace voluntarily to resign?" (*Minneapolis Times*, July 28, 1897.) "This was not a blow at free speech, but a recognition of the absurdity of a free-silver champion drawing a salary from a sound-money corporation for teaching the students that which the supporters of the university condemned as pernicious and dangerous." (New York *Mail and Express*, Sept. 15, 1897.) The issue was "Andrews or a million dollars, and no man is worth a million dollars to a college; therefore, Andrews must go." (A New England college president to the writer.) "The trustees had indeed a right to expect him to shape his teachings in economics to meet their views." (The Philadelphia *Commonwealth*, July 31, 1897.) "He was only a servant; and a servant must do as his employers wish, or quit their service." (St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, July 30, 1897.) If a college president or professor

"must be permitted to teach errors, the quicker the fact is known the better. Theological seminaries do not allow such latitude." (*Utica Herald*, August, 1897.) "The final test of a college president is his ability to draw funds toward the institution over which he presides." (*Maryland Democrat*, July 3, 1897.) "It was simply a business proposition." (*Kansas City Star*, July 28, 1897.) "If he had persisted in the public expression of his obnoxious opinions, and had not offered his resignation, it would have been their duty to dismiss him." (*Poughkeepsie Eagle*, July 29, 1897.) "The prime objection to him as president . . . was because he taught principles of politics that conflicted seriously with the prevailing belief and sentiment of the university and of the community with which it is identified." (*New York Sun*, August 6, 1897.) "There can be no doubt that an advocate of the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is not a valuable president for an Eastern college, which must in the nature of things depend upon the support of men who believe in the maintenance of the gold standard." (*New York Critic*, July 31, 1897.) "The trustees, . . . when they find a president or a professor teaching pernicious doctrines, . . . ought to discharge him and put in his place an orthodox teacher; if the issue should be raised between business men who support colleges and professors who live upon them, the latter will find their occupation gone." (*Philadelphia Ledger*, August 5, 1897.)

"But," it may be objected, "these are but irresponsible newspaper utterances. What is the position of university authorities?"

Mr. James Henry Raymond, A.M., LL.B., a trustee of Northwestern University, in a signed and published statement said: "In social science and political science they [professors], as a rule, are only a little less qualified to be the final arbiters as to what shall be taught than they are concerning financial problems, and, I repeat, in all things they should promptly and gracefully submit to the final determination of the trustees. . . . A professor is not a mere parrot to repeat and fairly

explain to his students the diametrically opposite premises, arguments, and conclusions of the writers and teachers of the ages upon any given subject. He must of necessity be an advocate, but his advocacy must be in harmony with the conclusions of the powers that be, with the animus and main purposes of the institution, and the teachings of his co-laborers."

That this expression was not unrepresentative is shown by the following declaration by Mr. Raymond: "During the week that has elapsed since its publication I have not received any criticism from university circles, but I have received from the most unexpected sources the most unqualified commendation. . . . The commendations that I refer to come not only from officers of our University but also from those connected with other institutions who have given this matter long and careful study."

Following the above, interviews were had with representatives of Northwestern, Cornell, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Johns Hopkins, and the American, to whom were shown Mr. Raymond's statements. These gentlemen were almost unanimous in their agreement with Mr. Raymond. In answer to the question, "Who is to decide whether the teaching of a professor is truth or untruth?" a Columbia trustee replied, "The board must decide the question of what is right or wrong." Cornell University, established largely as a city of refuge from ecclesiastical despotism and presided over for years by Andrew D. White, author of "The Warfare of Science against Theology," afforded an apparent exception. President Schurman spoke strongly for scientific freedom, but one of his trustees explained that he had evidently done so with mental reservations, since he (the president) had agreed with the board in dismissing a professor who held free silver views. Secretary Goodspeed, of Chicago University, said: "As to the government of universities, I am in accord with the views set forth in Mr. Raymond's letter. On all questions in our University the final, supreme authority is vested in the trustees." Mr. Ferd. W. Peck, one of the directors of Chicago

University, said: "The trustees should see to it that in teaching . . . no unsound financial doctrines nor anything of a dangerous character be taught." Being asked what would happen in case a professor should teach free silver, Judge Henry E. Holland, a trustee of Yale, replied: "Oh, in such a case he would be hauled up by the board; something like the case of last year at Brown University." James W. Alexander, a member of the board of directors at Princeton University, declared that "the board of trustees" were "the ultimate authority," and added: "In case there should be any differences the authority of the board would have to prevail. The professors would have to walk the plank." Similar statements from other educators or members of governing boards could be quoted.

Are these declarations idle talk? Instead, cases of proscription abound. Not to mention an extended list before me, concerning which I am bound to secrecy—eloquent testimony to the potency of the black-list!—nor to dwell upon a second group that may be regarded as disputed, or in which efforts to unseat failed, I will note the following:

By the uncontradicted declaration to the writer (June, 1892) by members of the governing board of Lawrence University at Appleton, Wisconsin, in committee, Dr. George M. Steele was removed from the presidency of that institution because of his leanings "toward free trade and greenbacks." Dr. H. E. Stockbridge was driven from the presidency of North Dakota Agricultural College in 1893 for reasons clearly political. In 1894 Prof. Richard T. Ely of Wisconsin University was tried for sociological heresy and escaped conviction, according to the testimony of his friends, only after a desperate fight. Docent I. A. Hourwich of Chicago University participated in 1894 in a Populist convention and was given by Prof. Laughlin the alternative of resigning or eschewing politics. He resigned. Prof. Laughlin actively championed the gold standard in the campaign of 1896. Prof. E. W. Bemis was dismissed from Chicago University in 1895, and, despite wholesale denials by the university authorities, it is generally believed that but for

his opposition to certain private monopolies he would not have been molested. Prof. James Allen Smith was driven from Marietta College in 1897. Washington Gladden wrote (May 29, 1897), "There is no question that his dismissal was due to his anti-monopoly teaching." Almost a clean sweep of the liberal teachers at Marietta occurred at the same time. The matter was suppressed. President E. B. Andrews was officially asked to "forbear" to "promulgate" his views favoring the free coinage of silver, because "these views were so contrary to the views generally held by the friends of the University that the University had already lost gifts and legacies which would otherwise have come or have been assured to it, and that without change it would in the future fail to receive the pecuniary support which is requisite," etc. Dr. Andrews resigned. The resulting outcry forced the board to recede, but Dr. Andrews left the following year. The Rockefeller largess which was said to be pending dropped soon after into the treasury of Brown. Prof. John R. Commons proved *persona non grata* at Indiana University because of his economic doctrines. Later (1899) in Syracuse University support was withdrawn from his chair for the reason, as was widely believed, that his anti-monopoly attitude was offensive to Standard Oil influences. Professors Frank Parsons and E. W. Bemis were removed from the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1899 because of their position on economic questions, and Dr. D. J. H. Ward was simultaneously dismissed by the same board at the instigation of local clergymen because he was a Unitarian. Prof. George D. Herron's utterances on Applied Christianity necessitated his resignation from Iowa College in 1900. This was soon followed by the retirement of President George A. Gates, who had stood by Dr. Herron and had also offended the school-book trust. President Henry Wade Rogers suddenly resigned from Northwestern University in June, 1900. The above-quoted James H. Raymond was present at the board meeting. Treasurer R. D. Sheppard, also a trustee and present, said: "I will not deny that Mr. Rogers's anti-imperialistic speech a year ago in Cen-

tral Music Hall was criticized by members of the board of trustees, who took the ground that as head of the University he should not voice opinions that were antagonistic to the board of managers. . . . Not a man on the board voted for Bryan as against McKinley. . . . The moneyed men who have been its [the University's] patrons to the extent of giving large endowments to its funds are nearly all opposed to the political views expressed from time to time by Mr. Rogers. . . . William Deering . . . is about the only one of the number who ever has been regarded as even tolerant of Mr. Rogers's anti-imperialistic views." This is one case in which "views" were said to have cut no figure. The dismissal (1900) of Dr. E. A. Ross of Leland Stanford was investigated by a committee of the American Economic Association. This committee published a report of their findings showing their conviction that the dismissal was due to the professor's views on silver, coolie immigration, and municipal ownership—Mrs. Stanford objecting to them. Fifteen economists, including leaders of the conservative school in America, indorsed the report. Prof. George E. Howard of Leland Stanford, discussing the Ross case, said: "I do not worship Saint Market Street; I do not reverence Holy Standard Oil; nor do I doff my hat to the celestial Six Companies." He was required by Mrs. Stanford to make public apology or resign. He resigned.

All these men offended by opposing Republican policies. In the campaign of 1900 the *Chicago Record* polled several university faculties and found them heavily for McKinley. Aguinaldo, American prisoner, threatened with severe punishment unless he advise his people to surrender, issues the advice. This we are expected to take seriously; likewise professorial politics.

Shall we abandon education to plutocracy? Plutocracy will accept the responsibility. Porto Ricans are starving, but the Administration carefully educates them. Its friends say: "The hope of that fair land is in the children. By their ready assimilation of American ideas they constitute the ground-work of a new civil and moral order." Flattering offers have been

made to draw teachers to the Philippines, and General MacArthur is furnishing the Filipinos a specially prepared United States history. Yet education that throws light on the social problem is anathema. That it imparted such education was the crime of the Kansas State Agricultural College. Discussing Prof. Herron's Commencement address at that college while Gov. Stanley was raiding the Board of Regents, the *Kansas City Journal*, a railroad sheet, said (April 16, 1899): "If Kansas is bound to put up with this sort of education she had far better stay in ignorance and burn her colleges to the ground." If we abandon our educational institutions to the foes of liberty we deserve our fate.

What may we do? We may advertise the situation, rally to the rescue of our colleges, and insist that all sides shall be heard. More practical still, friends of freedom may unite on one institution and make of it for the social movement what Oberlin was for the anti-slavery movement. Shall we do it?

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POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE fashion in kings has changed. In former times the sovereign power was in a few or in one person crowned supreme. The nineteenth century has crowned the people. In other days, by right of birth or conquest, a privileged few possessed the government as their private property. Now the public owns the government in theory and to a large extent in practise. Democracy has won upon the field of battle and in the halls of legislation, and government has been deeded to the people in vigorous compacts and solemn constitutions. The laws of selection and survival, which apply to principles and institutions as well as to individuals and races, have given their powerful sanction to popular government. The divine right of kings is extinct with the theories of ghosts and witches and other intellectual monstrosities of the past found fossil in our histories. The sovereignty of the people has become the fundamental thought of modern politics.

The new kings, like the old, are sometimes feeble-minded or inert, and their advisers or even their clowns may exercise for a time the actual power; but the right of kingship and sovereign power is in the people, and if the bosses rule it is in the name of the people and by their acknowledged right, and the people may take to themselves the real power and perfect the machinery of popular government whenever they have the *mind* to do so.

The white light of civilized democracy is a new thing on this planet.* Throughout the past, in varying depths and com-

* The so-called "democracies" or "republics" of former times were not democracies or republics at all, except perhaps in the case of some primitive uncivilized communities. In *Athens* at its best four-fifths of the people were slaves. The governing power was not in the mass of the people, but in a small part of the people. Five out of every six men had no vote or civic right, being either slaves or unenfranchised metics (aliens)—20,000 enfranchised Athenians in a population of half a mil-

binations, the clouds of despotism and barbarism have shadowed the continents. Till near the end of the eighteenth century, the world clear round was dark, with only a half light here and there to tinge the gloom with gray, or a meteor's flash to fade and die in the undiminished night. But just before our century, as the dawn before the day, the light of liberty in broad and deepening flood poured on the peoples through the gates of revolution. Then began the giant move-

lion. The entire working classes and many traders and artificers who would be reckoned now as belonging to the middle classes were without political rights. The internal organization of the ruling class was democratic, but there was no government by the people, no democracy, only a democratic-aristocracy. Yet this Athens in the time of Pericles, of which we have been speaking, is lauded by historians as a pure democracy. And in fact it was the nearest approach to popular government to be found in any ancient civilization, though but one man in six had a vote. *Sparta* never advanced beyond a close oligarchy of hard and narrow-minded landowners and oppressed helots who tilled the soil.

"In all the Greek 'democracies' the slaves, who formed the entire working classes, were denied any share of political power." (May on Democracy, 55, 64.)

When *Rome* drove out her Tarquin kings, 509 B. C., and established what the historians call "The Republic," all power was in the patricians—all laws were made and all offices held by them. The plebeians constituting the masses of the people had no political rights. They began a struggle for political equality, but long before they won their civic rights (completed 286 B. C. by the Hortensian laws giving force to the decrees of the popular assembly) conquest and the law of debt had filled the city with a mass of slaves. With a powerful nobility at the top and a multitude of slaves at the bottom there was no real republic in Rome. How loosely the word is used in our histories may be judged by the fact that the "Republic" is said to have continued until 30 B. C., though eighteen years before that date Cæsar had crossed the Rubicon and established an imperial despotism, though under the forms of republican government. He seized the government by force and ruled with absolute power, until his assassination by Brutus for the very reason that he had "overturned the Republic," which, translated into fact, means that he had swallowed into his one person all the powers which had formerly belonged to the citizen classes or compound aristocracy of which Brutus was a member. It was literally true, as Shakespeare's Antony says, "but yesterday the word of Cæsar might have stood against the world." He was the imperial ruler of the known world. Historians have classified governments mainly by their outward forms and pretenses, and not by their actual nature and substance. Even in the days of her nearest approach to democracy Rome was despotic in her attitude to conquered territory. The people of Italy even were not accorded Roman citizenship till after Augustus, when citizenship had ceased to carry political power.

The "free cities" of Italy, France, and Germany, so famous for their freedom in the Middle Ages, were not democracies, but like Athens were merely democratic-aristocracies—oligarchies with a democratic organization on the inside, but despotic on the outside. The agricultural workers and the masses of the laboring classes generally had no share in the government. The cities were "free" because they were not sub-

ment that has scattered the forces of the night, and with ever-increasing power has pushed, and is still pushing, the nations up the slope of democracy toward the sovereignty of all, and an organization that shall make that sovereignty wise, continuous, and effective.

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

In 1800, the *United States* had just thrown off the English

ject to the prevailing feudal obligations—their citizens were not serfs or vassals of the local nobility; but they were not free in the modern sense, for they did not have government by and for the people, but government by and for a body of nobles, or a commercial aristocracy.

The agricultural laborers of Europe had no share in the government of the Middle Ages, and, "with insignificant exceptions outside of America, it was reserved for the nineteenth century to make this advance." (Adams: *Civilization in the Middle Ages*, pp. 306, 307.) "Even within the self-governing cities the governments were not democratic, and the distinctions between patricians and common people were as clearly drawn as outside their walls." (*Ibid.*, 306.) The tillers of the soil always, and city laborers for the most part, were excluded from the exercise of political rights, which were monopolized by a privileged order. (Lavisser, *Histoire Generale*, 452.)

The principle of the rights of man was unknown in the free cities of the Middle Ages. "The idea [of government by the people] would have been impossible to the Middle Ages. It would have been foreign to all its notions." (Adams: *Civilization in the Middle Ages*, 306.) "The Italian Republics consisted of a small body of burghers, who alone had the privilege of government, together with a large population, who, though they paid taxes and shared the commercial and social advantages of the city, had no voice in its administration." (Symonds: *The Republics in "The Renaissance,"* 128.) Venice, one of the "independent republics" of Italy, was ruled by her patricians in the early period, and later by a close oligarchy brought to a focus in the despotic Council of Ten. In 1581 Venice had a population of 134,800, of which only 1,843 were adult patricians, and by no means all of those had a share in the government, for in 1297 the Great Council was made a close hereditary chamber, and in 1311 the Council of Ten was established with power substantially absolute.

Of all the free cities, Florence was the "foremost in freedom," yet she was ruled first by her nobles, then by her commercial aristocracy, and finally by one leading family of her plutocracy. Aside from evanescent forms of revolution, her freest government left the actual power of the State in a mercantile aristocracy consisting of the 7 Greater Guilds. The 14 Lesser Guilds were also citizens, but could elect only one-fourth of the signory or other group of officers, the Greater Guilds electing the rest. Below these groups of citizens was a large body who had no civic rights, although they paid taxes. Below these was the great bulk of manual workers who did not pay taxes, and had nothing to do with the government except in times of revolution. (Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. III., cap. 22.)

In the free cities of Northern Europe also the Greater Guilds (composed of burghers, usually employers of labor) generally held the municipal government in their grasp. "The working classes could gain admittance to the greater trades by giving up manual labor for a year and a day," a condition practically prohibitive to the mass of artificers

yoke and established a great Republic in the New World; but, to leave some adequate work for future reformers, the slavery that existed throughout the greater part of the Republic was recognized and protected by the Constitution. The ordinance of 1787 prevented the importation of slaves into the northwest territory, but slaves already there before the

bound to the lower trades (May, 17). In some cases the lower or "craft-guilds" attained a share in the government, as in the Italian cities, but except in spasms the dominant power remained with the wealthy burghers, and a mass of manual laborers besides the agricultural workers were outside the guilds altogether and had no civic rights at all. "The people" in the Middle Ages meant the nobles and commercial aristocracy. There was no effort to secure the rights of citizenship to the whole body of the people; there was simply a struggle of classes each seeking to capture the government for itself.

Holland is described as free in the Middle Ages, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when the "Republic" was proclaimed. But the country was full of feudal nobles and their peasant subjects, the cities were oligarchies, and "the States General, which exercised supreme power in the republic, consisted of delegates from the provincial assemblies, which were chosen by the municipal magistrates of the different cities, who were themselves self-elected. . . . Nowhere was there popular election; the representation was municipal throughout." (May, 65.) And the municipalities were aristocracies. The country people and for the most part the working classes in the cities had no part in the government—the mass of the population was out of power. In 1795, upon the invasion of a French revolutionary army, a free constitution was established proclaiming the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man, abolishing feudal customs and titles of nobility, overthrowing the ancient municipal constitution of the provinces, and providing for a representative assembly to be chosen by universal suffrage. The Dutch were free on paper, but instead of attaining self-government they found they had merely changed masters. They were treated as a subject province of France and remained under French domination till the fall of Napoleon.

The forest cantons of Switzerland have been for ages the freest spots in Europe—the freest spots on earth, perhaps, before American liberty was born. But these communities, however free, were primitive—no cities and towns with commerce and manufactures and the complex organization of society, nothing but little townships of mountain farms, with a convent here and there—mere patches of primeval liberty walled in by the white-capped Alps. In the more developed cantons the governments were oligarchies. In Berne, for example, out of 360 burgher families, 80 (and in 1776 only 18) formed the ruling oligarchy in a population of 250,000 to 300,000 people. Such aristocracies continued until the nineteenth century, one of the provisions of the constitution of 1848 being for the overthrow of the oligarchies.

Passing from local government to Switzerland as a whole, we find that when she shook off the Austrian yoke and freed herself from the Empire she passed under the domination of France and so remained till 1814. In the sixteenth century the French king was a controlling factor in Swiss affairs, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the confederation was practically a dependency of France. In the national sphere, self-government was not attained till the nineteenth century.

Among some primitive peoples, such as our Saxon ancestors and the

ordinance took effect were not emancipated. New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had provided for gradual abolition by prohibiting importation and enacting that children should be free at birth or on attaining a given age, etc. Only in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts

ancient Jews, democracies existed more or less like those of the primitive forest cantons of Switzerland. But such governments are not entitled to be called *civilized democracies*. A little, undeveloped, homogeneous social group may form a democracy, but the *union of civilization and democracy* is a very different thing. Division of labor, separation of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, development of cities and towns, organization of military force, complex judicial and administrative functions, and large industrial interests—these are the things that create inequality and put the strain upon democracy. Organization usually overwhelms the primitive democracy, and establishes monarchic or aristocratic institutions. Only the *civilized democracy*, that thoroughly understands the value of free government, founds itself on constitutional guaranties and popular education and controls organization for the benefit of all,—only such a democracy can be relied upon to endure the strain of civilization. Of all the civilized communities of the world (so far as we have knowledge) down to 1800, there was only one in which the government from top to bottom was in the control of the great body of the people, and that one was our own United States.



(Caricature of Louis XIV. by Thackeray.)
 "You see at once that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes and cloak, all *fleurs-de-lis* bespangled.... Thus do barbers and cobblers make the gods that we worship." — *Thackeray*.

(which then included Maine) was slavery extinct by law.* Government by the people, therefore, free of slavery or despotism, existed only in a small part of the United States.

In *France*, the revolutionists had stormed the Bastille, destroyed the Bourbon throne, and framed a republican constitution; but arbitrary rule was organized by cliques of elected despots, and the country was really controlled by successive tyrannies of terrific factions until the people were glad to accept the more orderly and intelligent despotism of Napoleon, who seized the government by a *coup d'état* in 1797 and became First Consul in 1799 under a constitution that placed all power in his hands. Laws were to be drafted by a Council of State, discussed by a second body—the Tribunate, which could not vote—and voted by a legislative assembly that could not discuss. But back of all was the initiative of the First Consul, without which no project of law could be drawn. The direction of administration and the whole appointing power were in the same hands.†

Even local government was swept within Napoleon's power. "A system of centralization came in force with which France under her kings had nothing to compare. . . . Where, under the constitution of 1791, a body of local representatives had met to conduct the business of the department, was now a Préfet appointed by the First Consul, absolute like the First Consul himself, and assisted only by the advice of a nominated council, which met for one fortnight in the year. . . . Even the 40,000 maires, with their communal councils, were all appointed directly or indirectly by the chief of the State."§

With the army, the administration, the appointing power, and the initiative in the hands of Bonaparte, the French Re-

* The settlers of Vermont in 1777 framed a constitution forever excluding slavery from that commonwealth. New Hampshire abolished slavery in 1784, and the phrase, "All men are born free and equal," in the Massachusetts constitution of 1780, amounted to abolition according to the interpretation established by judicial decision in 1783, when the question came before the Supreme Court.

† Judson, p. 48.

§ Fyffe I., 207.

public was no more a republic than Rome was a republic when Cæsar was First Consul, with the army, the appointing power, and the legislative initiative in his grasp. In 1804 the thin veil of the consulship was removed, and the soldier of the revolution became Emperor of the French in name as well as in fact.

Holland and Switzerland, like France, had recently acquired free institutions, with equal political rights and no taint of slavery or serfdom, but both were largely affected with oligarchy in local government and both were under the thumb of Napoleon—the actual control was an external despotism. The little republic of Andorra in the Pyrennees was also under French control.

In all of Europe no other country bigger than a township was on the whole so free as *England*, yet she was ruled by a landed aristocracy. She had her Magna Charta, her House of Commons, and her Bill of Rights; there was no serfage; local self-government was established and the press was free: but the middle classes and the working people had no ballot and no share in the national government. Through a greatly restricted suffrage, faulty distribution of representatives, bribery, and office-buying, a small class of wealthy nobles controlled the House of Commons. In 1801 the House had 658 members, 425 of whom were chosen and controlled by 252 wealthy and influential patrons. Parliament, which held the sovereign power, was entirely controlled by the nobles. Such a parliament it was, full of the aristocracy and their vassals, that had driven the American Colonists to revolution, and joined the continental enemies of democracy seeking to crush the French because they had declared for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity and acted on the right of the people to elect their rulers. England even avowed her purpose of continuing the war till France should give security, by the restoration of the Bourbons, that she had laid aside the principles on which her revolution was founded. With such aristocratic rule at home, no part of the empire subject to English government could be considered free.

South America from the Isthmus to the Cape was under the heel of foreign despotism, for the most part Spanish and Portuguese. *Africa* and *Asia* were in night without a star. In all the world there were only the little town of San Marino, the last remnant of Italian liberty, and the infant United States that enjoyed the blessings of civilized government free of actual despotism over the masses of the people; and San Marino's government, though not actually despotic, was oligarchic rather than republican, nearly all power being vested in a chamber of sixty elected for life. So that the United States (extending at that time only from the Mississippi to the Atlantic above the Florida line) was the sole possessor of effective liberty—the only country with popular government in real control of affairs; and even this one-fiftieth of the world was tainted for the most part with the pestilence of slavery—about 800,000 slaves in a population of 5,308,000—only three States ($\frac{1}{880}$ of the world and $\frac{1}{650}$ of the people) were democratic and free of slavery.

DEMOCRACY IN 1900.

In 1900, the democratic principle, free of the taint of slavery, rules the world of civilization. In comparison with the past, *America, Australia, and civilized Europe are free*. After three efforts, *France* at last succeeded in establishing a lasting republic in 1871. The impulse of the revolution and the successive waves of democratic feeling that swept over Europe, especially in 1830, 1848, and the latter half of the century, demolished absolutism and established parliamentary rule in nearly all the States of Western Europe. Constitutional government and popular elections have been adopted in country after country, sometimes through insurrection and sometimes through peaceable agitation, till even *Spain* established a republic in 1873, and, though unable to maintain it free of allegiance to the throne, she has still a responsible minister and lower house of parliament chosen by universal suffrage. The Czar of *Russia*, the Sultan of *Turkey*, and the Grand Duke of *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* are the only absolute rulers left in Europe; all other

governments are constitutional, with the fundamental powers of legislation and taxation in the hands of the people. Turkey is uncivilized, Russia only semi-civilized, and the people of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, though without a State constitution and seemingly satisfied with local absolutism, taxation and legislation by Duke instead of by parliament, nevertheless elect their representatives to the Reichstag (or parliament) of the Empire.

France and *Switzerland* are republican in substance and in form. *England* is republican in fact, though not in form. Her king is a mere figurehead, with no actual power even to veto an act of Parliament. The House of Lords has repeatedly found itself unable to resist the Commons, and the Commons are elected by the people. The Reform bill of 1832 extended the suffrage and reapportioned the representation; thereby transferring power from the wealthy and titled to the great middle classes. The measures of 1867 and 1884 still further extended the suffrage, including at last the artisans and agricultural laborers—every citizen whose holding or lodging is worth £10 a year (a \$50 annual rental, or a holding or use that would be of that value if rent were paid for it); so that the actual sovereignty now is in the great body of the people.

Canada and *Australia* are practically free republics. They govern their own affairs, without despotic control or interference from England, and their relations with the empire amount simply to a federation for international purposes. The federation has the cordial assent of the colonies, and England would do well to put the union sentiment on record by a referendum vote of the provinces and organize it in a federal constitution, defining the rights of the States and admitting their representatives to the Federal Parliament.

England's conduct in *South Africa*, like that of the United States in the *Philippines*, appears to show a weakening of the political movement toward democracy and self-government; but in truth the despotic forces at work are chiefly industrial, not political, and when the clouds of conflict have rolled away it will be seen that the love of political liberty has been grow-

ing all the time in England and America, although just now the love of wealth for ourselves may be growing faster than our love of liberty for other people.

One after another the countries of *Central and South America* have thrown off the Spanish yoke, or other external control, and established republican government with constitutional guaranties, and suffrage always wide and often universal. The grade of civilization is not as high as in most of our States, and the power of presidents and demagogues is sometimes very great—greater than the constitution warrants in some cases just as it is with us now and then; but the ultimate power is none the less in the people by the construction of the government, notwithstanding the fact that they do not always exercise their power in these countries, any more than they do in New York or Philadelphia or in our national government.

Japan abolished serfdom in 1871, and in 1889 her emperor granted a liberal constitution, with a parliament of peers and representatives having powers of legislation and controlling finances. The representatives and the local officers and councils that govern the municipalities are elected by the whole body of male Japs who have attained the age of twenty-five years and pay a small tax. *Cape Colony* and *Natal* enjoy a large degree of liberty; and self-government, though interrupted by war, will doubtless be reestablished in the *Transvaal* and the *Orange Free State* on a broader basis perhaps than that provided by the heroic Boers, whose freedom cause we love but whose narrow and exclusive policy in the past we deplore. *Guiana* (French, English, and Dutch) is not an independent republic or democracy. *Asia* and *Africa* are still almost completely dark, but do not count in any review of the civilized world.

While studying nineteenth century movements for this series of articles, an assistant tabulated for me all the countries of the world for 1800 and for 1900, showing the government in form and in fact, with the population and area, of every country in existence at each of those dates. For 1800, we could find

but one free country, while the tables show that fifty countries now have popular government, free of despotic control and clear of the taint of slavery or serfdom.*

Chattel slavery is not quite dead yet—slaves are still hunted in Africa and held in some barbarous regions. But the civilized world is free of it, and the grand movement against it is one of the nineteenth century's strongest titles to our admiration.

Throughout the Americas, Australia, and civilized Europe *manhood suffrage* is the basis of government, with varying provisions in respect to age, residence, criminality, etc., 'to guard the ballot against the lack of due intelligence, character, and interest—mild educational or property qualifications such as the ordinary man may easily attain being sometimes added to the common safeguards, with here and there, as in some of our Southern States, an effort to use restrictions of this sort to cover a class disfranchisement. A law that excludes the mass of the people, the bulk of the families in the State, is not in accord with the principles of republican government, and is in vigorous contrast with the practically universal suffrage that

* In England, Normandy, Baden, and Denmark, feudal serfdom lost its life before the French Revolution. The revolution swept it out of France, Holland, and Switzerland. Bavaria abolished it in 1808, Prussia in 1809, Austria in 1811, Wurtemberg in 1817, Mecklenberg in 1820, Saxony in 1832, Hungary in 1848, and so on till all the slaves of the soil in Europe were liberated, Russia joining the liberty column in 1861, when Alexander II. emancipated forty-six millions of serfs. The slave trade was stopped by Austria in 1782, by the French Convention in 1794, by England in 1807, and by this country in 1808. The Swedish trade closed in 1813, the Dutch in 1814. The Allies declared against it at Vienna in 1815, and Napoleon in the Hundred Days abolished it a few weeks later. Spain agreed to end the business in 1820; Brazil stopped it in 1826; Venezuela, Chili, and other South American States prohibited it as they acquired independence; and the Spanish government declared it piracy in 1865. In the later years of the century the civilized powers under the lead of Great Britain have earnestly sought to stop the traffic in Africa. In 1877 Egypt signed a convention prohibiting the slave trade in or across that country, and in 1890 a "General Act" for the repression of slave-hunting was agreed to by Turkey, Persia, the Congo Free State, Zanzibar, all the European maritime powers, and the United States.

All the slaves in the British Empire were freed in 1834, with compensation (£20,000,000) to their owners.

Lincoln, in 1862, proclaimed the emancipation of all the slaves in States remaining in rebellion on New Year's Day, 1863. The slave States not in rebellion soon after freed their negroes—whereby four million blacks were liberated in America; and in 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted to prohibit slavery forever on our soil. Brazil abolished slavery, 1867-1888.

obtains in most of our States and in France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, etc.

In four of our States and in New Zealand, West Australia, South Australia, Madras, and the Isle of Man, *women* have secured the full suffrage (all since 1869 and mostly since 1890); and school, municipal, or other partial suffrage has been accorded them in twenty-six of our States, and in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada (Ontario and Quebec), New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, British Columbia and the Northwest Territory, Cape Colony, Tasmania, and parts of Australia (Victoria and New South Wales), Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Russia, France, Italy, and parts of Austria-Hungary.*

The area of countries in which the principle of woman suffrage has been recognized in the last thirty years, by the

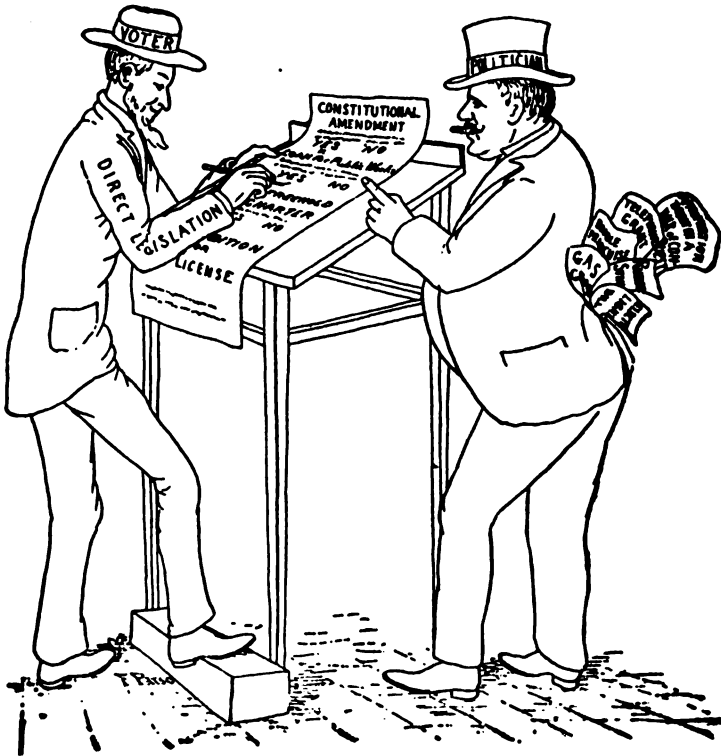
* In some of these cases of partial suffrage the law limits the ballot to special classes of women, such as landowners, taxpayers, etc. The very narrow provision of Italy is simply that widows may vote by proxy. In France, women teachers may elect women to the school boards, and women engaged in commerce have since 1898 the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce.

18th CENTURY.19th CENTURY.

passage of laws or constitutional provisions securing at least a partial suffrage to women, is about 20,000,000 square miles, with a population of about 400,000,000, or roughly one-third of the world ($\frac{3}{5}$ of the land area and $\frac{4}{11}$ of the population). The whole extent and depth of political life are not yet illumined in all these countries, but the light has begun to shine on them all, and its power is steadily increasing.

Progress must be noted also in the direction of perfecting the *methods and machinery of popular government*—the Australian ballot, civil service reform, proportional representation in Belgium and Switzerland, direct legislation in Switzerland and the United States, direct nominations by petition or by primary election, preferential voting, corrupt practises acts, the auto-

THE VETO POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE.



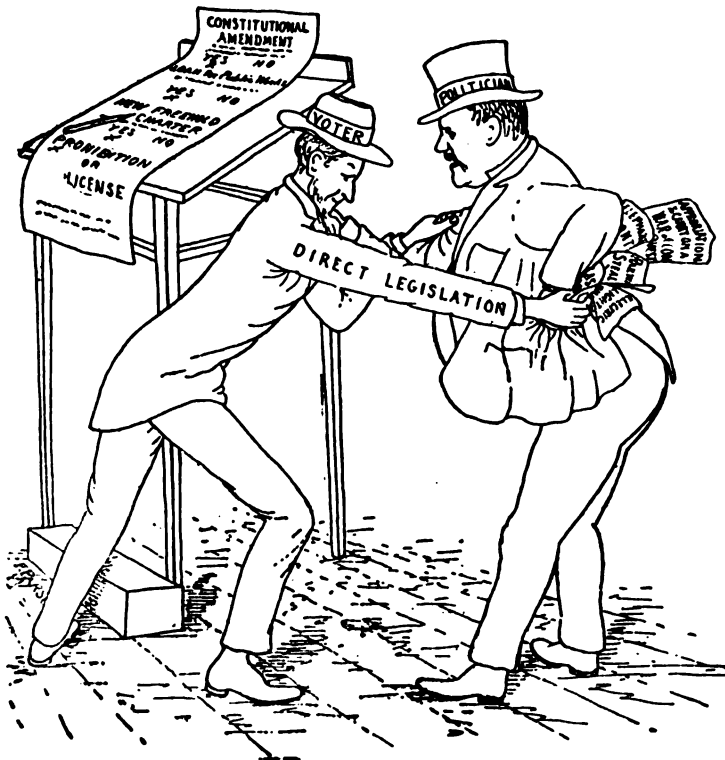
1. POLITICIAN TO VOTER: "State your opinion on these matters, please."

matic ballot, provisions against special legislation and for municipal liberty, home made charters, etc.*

Of all governmental methods after the secret ballot, direct legislation and direct nominations are the most vital in a complex community, because they are the fundamental means of securing and protecting the substance and the forms of freedom. Direct legislation affords the people an immediate veto on the corrupt or undesirable acts of their legislative agents; and in spite of the blockade of private, class, or corporate interests in the legislatures, it enables the people to

* See *City for the People*, Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, for the facts about these movements, especially the development of direct legislation and municipal liberty.

EXTENSION OF THE PEOPLE'S VETO TO FRANCHISE STEALS, ETC.



2. VOTER TO POLITICIAN: "Let me see those bills in your pocket also."

POLITICIAN: "Hold on, there; you don't know enough to vote on those things."

establish equal suffrage, municipal liberty, popular election of Senators, progressive taxation, public ownership, coöperative organization of trusts, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, proportional representation, the merit system, direct nominations, popular recall, full education, and all the other measures needful to perfect the form and substance of democracy. The referendum with the initiative perfects the representative system, abolishes the private monopoly of legislation that characterizes lawmaking by final vote of elected delegates, destroys the concentration of temptation that exists where a small body of men can vote away public franchises and grant other valuable privileges and immunities, makes the sovereignty of the people continuous and effective instead of spasmodic and partial, and transforms elected legislators into agents acting under the instruction and the veto of the people. It is essential to self-government—the only means of guarding the representative system so that it shall be really representative and shall not become a mastery instead of an agency. For these reasons, the adoption of the initiative and referendum in Switzerland and the rapid extension of their use in the United States in recent years, together with an earnest and widespread movement for their full adoption, constitute one of the most important indications of the vigorous trend toward popular government.

Not less important is the substitution of direct nominations by petition or primary election in place of the caucus and convention system. The power of political “bosses” and “machines” depends very largely on their control over caucus and convention nominations. Direct nomination is one of the surest means of transferring power from the schemers to the people, and the movements in this direction in New Zealand and the United States are among the most important facts in the history of democracy.

The establishment of municipal liberty, or local self-government in local affairs, is also of moment in this connection. Five States have accorded municipalities the right to frame their own charters, and many others have given towns

and cities more or less complete control over local franchises and municipal business. The development of free speech and a free press, and the growth of free schools with an extensive system of public instruction, are vigorous symptoms of democracy. Progressive taxation of monopoly values, incomes, and inheritances, division of large estates, labor legislation, compulsory arbitration, public recognition of the right to employment, and old-age pensions, in New Zealand, indicate the strength of the tendency to equalization in the most advanced communities. And, finally, the remarkable development of public ownership all over the civilized world, and the growth of coöperative industry in Europe and Australasia, must be noted as manifestations of the democratic movement in the field wherein the next great battle with despotism is to be fought. This will be dealt with later when we come to the special study of material progress, the concentration of wealth, and the trend to industrial equalization.

Let us now sum up the civic contrasts between the beginning and the end of this great *Century of Democracy*, noting the relation between civilization and free institutions, and then investigate the *causes* that have undermined the sovereignty of kings and put political power in the hands of the people.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston University School of Law.

WHEN WILL THE BUBBLE BURST?

JOHAN LAW was a great man. His greatness ran in financiering. Perhaps he was the greatest of all financiers. At any rate he evolved a successful system for winning at faro, and when his other schemes failed he was still able to make a "respectable living" by means of that system. What other evidence need there be of his greatness?

There is a remarkable historical parallel between John Law and J. Pierpont Morgan—only Mr. Morgan does not play faro; his favorite game is solitaire.

The tendency of the present time is toward the formation of trusts, the amalgamation of these trusts into still greater trusts, the community of interest in great transportation corporations, the bringing together into unison of management all the various forms of Mammon. All these have their prototype in the financiering exploits of John Law about 180 years ago.

J. Pierpont Morgan has placed the commercial and financial interests of a great nation under one control. That has happened but once before in the history of the world, and that was when John Law cornered the money and the commerce of France.

If we wish to cast a horoscope of the future we have not to resort to an astrologer. History furnishes one for us. The unchanging and unchangeable law of cause and effect, that of historical sequence, is as certain as was that of the Medes and Persians. It rolls on like the relentless car of Juggernaut crushing all before it.

Mr. Morgan is the head of the great syndicate that holds the monopoly of this country. It is largely through his rare ability as an organizer, his brilliant conception and execution of financial schemes that are almost appalling in their magnitude, that the great transportation lines of the continent have been brought into close relations with one another, within one own-

ership, or so closely allied as to be practically under one control. In accomplishing this many railroads have been financed. The financiering of a railroad means that a syndicate has been formed representing capital at the head of which is a skilled operator representing brain power. The brain power discovers that by the refunding of bonds, the rearranging of stock issues (sometimes accompanied by a receivership or a foreclosure, and possibly by a rate war, to bring opposing interests to a realization of what is good for them), by some judicious changes of and economies in management, and by proper traffic arrangement with other lines, a railroad may be made to produce a larger revenue in proportion to the actual market value of its securities than formerly. Often the word "wrecking" is applied to some of these processes, but that is a vulgar term. It is much more polite to describe it as a readjustment of the road's securities to meet changed circumstances. The expected resultant increased revenue in proportion to former actual market value is capitalized and appears in the reorganization in an increased issue of stocks and bonds. The syndicate takes this increase for itself, for it is the value that it has created, and the investors in the road are no better off than they were before. Sometimes they are not as well off, though often they reap the advantage of greater activity in the stock market, thus being afforded an opportunity to unload. If, as may happen, their certificates, which were formerly quoted at say 60, have advanced to 80, it will generally be found that the financiering process has resulted in scaling down the amounts, and the man who held one hundred of the old receives but seventy-five of the new. The methods of different operators differ somewhat, and the financial condition of some roads may demand a slightly different process; but the ultimate result is just the same, if the brain power and the capital are able to bring matters to a successful issue.

By the consolidation of various railroads many savings in the cost of operation are accomplished. It costs a good deal less to haul a carload of freight from Chicago to Boston when

every mile of track over which it passes is under one management than it does when the car has to be transferred to another road at Detroit, again at Buffalo, and again at Albany. The net earnings are again increased by the ability to prevent disastrous rate wars, especially if the competing roads are brought under the same community of ownership. The increased net earnings that are expected from these consolidations are again capitalized and go to reward the syndicate that engineered the deal.

The same principle operates in the industrials. Several manufacturers in the same line become convinced that by co-operation they can reduce expenses and minimize competition. They consolidate. The expected savings through consolidation are capitalized, and the shrewd manipulator, who convinced the manufacturers of the wisdom of consolidation and financed the deal, walks off with the additional capitalization. Such has been the history of the trusts that have been formed.

The origin and the rapid increase of the wealth of most, if not all, of the great financiers of the day can be traced back to just such operations as these. Instead of the "squeezing out" process employed by manipulators in smaller concerns, they have been content to let the "other fellow" have the ordinary return for his investment; but the profit accruing from increased economies and judicious combinations, and which the increased capitalization represents, always finds its way into the safe deposit vaults to which the financiers alone hold the key.

The formation of trusts of the old-fashioned kind, the kind that grew so familiar in the golden era that followed the financial depression of 1893, of necessity ceased with the passing of the century. There were no more fields to conquer. Everything had gone into a trust. Thence the step was but natural to the Trust of trusts. The financier in the twentieth century was bound not to fall behind the marvelous financial progress of the nineteenth. *Excelsior* was his watchword, and he progressed onward and upward. The eight different mammoth corporations that had divided between them the various

branches of the iron and steel industry were brought together into one Gargantuan corporation, the magnitude of which could scarcely have been comprehended a few years ago.

The United States Steel Corporation has a capitalization of \$1,154,000,000 in stocks and bonds. Of this vast aggregate some \$125,000,000 represents the capitalization of the expected economies to result from the new corporation. This \$125,000,000 goes of course to the syndicate headed by J. Pierpont Morgan, and represents their fair and equitable earnings in organizing this monster trust. It represents value they created, and it is but just that it should be theirs!

Mr. Morgan is the head of a syndicate that stands to-day as the principal factor of the financial world—one might almost say as the financial world itself. Behind him are European financiers, who hold kings and empires in their clutches, and the great money kings of the New World. There is presented the spectacle of the "community of ownership" of the Rockefellers, of the Vanderbilts, of Carnegie, of Hill, of Hariman, of Whitney, of countless other multimillionaires, and J. Pierpont Morgan stands forth as the accredited representative of that community of ownership.

The oil interests, the coal interests, the railroad interests from sea to sea, the iron and steel interests, the great banking interests—all are closely allied under one common control, and every other large financial interest in the country is so involved with or dependent on them as to come under the same influence.

What will be the eventual result of this vast aggrandizement of capital, this constant unifying of the business of the country? Ossa can be piled on Pelion; but, if many other Ossas and many other Pelions are brought and piled on top, the pile growing higher and higher, will not the resulting pile be apt to have its center of gravity moved without the base?

That was precisely what happened as a result of the financial operations of the J. Pierpont Morgan of the early part of the eighteenth century. John Law was the ablest financier of his age, the ablest that Europe had at that time seen. He was a

thorough student of economics and of finance. He had made himself a complete master of everything that could be learned by an analytical and exhaustive examination of financial subjects and of the financial system of every European nation. He was not a visionary, but a remarkably shrewd man of affairs. This estimate of him is based on a broad view, not on the narrow one that would proclaim the successful revolutionist a patriot and the unsuccessful one a rebel—the successful speculator a financier and the unsuccessful one a fool.

When John Law organized the Bank of France in 1716 the finances of the nation were in what seemed a hopeless state, national securities were all but valueless, and royalty was bankrupt. In a short time he brought order out of chaos and established national and commercial credit. His banking system was far in advance of anything that Europe had then known. The notes of his bank found ready acceptance, and were as safe and secure as those of any bank ever known, before or since. Through his bank he was the bulwark of national credit. The management of the bank brought him in close touch with all the various commercial interests of the country. He saw opportunities for economies of management and increased revenues through consolidation. The unification of the business of the country was entered upon. Once entered upon it proceeded along the same general lines that have characterized the financial operations of the present day.

Law no more anticipated the ultimate bringing together of all the various commercial interests, when he first floated the West Indian Company in 1717, than did the New York banker when he engineered the absorption of the West Shore into the Vanderbilt system. The gradual expansion, the seeking for new commercial interests to conquer, followed in one case just as in the other. There was not the range of opportunities for speculation, for financiering, in those days that there is now. There were no railroads, no coal fields, no oil fields, no steel mills, no extensive manufacturing industries. Man had not then learned to confine steam, to control electricity, to seek fortune in the bowels of the earth, to substitute iron for ma-

sonry and timber, to produce usefulness out of waste—to do those countless things that enter into the business of to-day. But such opportunities for financial exploitation as there were came within the range of the Scotchman who had come to the relief of the French national treasury. They embraced the commerce of the country with its colonies and with the Orient, the handling of the State revenues, the refunding of the State debt, and the control of the coinage.

To the West Indian Company was granted by charter the control of the trade of Louisiana and the sovereignty of that province, as well as the fur trade of Canada. But there were other provinces and other countries with which France had commercial relations, and their trade was brought under the unifying influence of John Law. Reorganizations and recapitalizations followed in quick succession, until in 1719 the resultant trust, the Indian Company, controlled French trade in America, Africa, and Asia, and either directly or through its banking ally held control of the State revenues, which had been farmed out to it, the coinage of the country, and the management of the national debt. It was supreme in its absolute control of finance, and the government was practically at its command.

It is not intended in this discussion to point out the strong or weak points of Law's financial schemes, nor to give a historical account of what is known as the "Mississippi Bubble," but merely to call attention to its great similarity to financial exploitation of the present day, allowance being made for the world's progress in the intervening 182 years. The same methods employed by Law then, if employed to-day, would have produced the same result as that accomplished by Mr. Morgan; or perhaps, as a more fortunate manner of expressing it, the methods employed by Mr. Morgan now, if they had been employed in the days of John Law, would have produced the same result as Law's.

It may be interesting to note, though foreign to the subject of this inquiry, that Law conceived the idea of doing away with Parliament, whose function at that time was solely in connec-

tion with the raising of taxes, and to raise the State revenues through commercial grants. This idea is seen in practical operation in some States at the present time, where the effort is made to defray the expenses of government out of taxes laid on corporations as a payment for their charter rights. It might be a valuable experiment to try Law's plan *in toto*, and do away entirely with some modern Parliaments!

Whatever were the inherent weaknesses of Law's financial methods, it is made evident by M. Thiers's careful review of the subject that the Mississippi Bubble burst not through any fault in the scheme but through its own greatness—from its very magnitude. Embracing as the Indian Company did the whole range of commercial enterprise and financial opportunity, when it could no more speculate in the future, when it had reached the limit of expansion, it could no longer detract attention from the real rather than the speculative value of its shares. Then came the crash.

Its very vastness placed it beyond the power of any man or syndicate to control the market with a steady hand and give the stock the proper support when beset by the "bulls and bears." Then, too, there was added that fatality which endangers all corporate exploitation, the realization when the market reaches a high figure by some of the insiders, which in more instances than can be enumerated has brought ruin or serious loss. Russell Sage might tell an interesting little story of an affair of that nature happening to a pet stock of his once upon a time, and there is not a stock manipulator in any bourse of the world but is more fearful of the treachery of his associates than of the schemes of those whose interests lie on the other side of the market.

"Overcapitalization" might be charged as the primary cause of Law's failure. You have often seen one of those large sponges that the coachman uses sometimes in washing the carriage and the harness. How large and heavy it is when it is taken from the pail! How small and light it is when the water has been squeezed out! Just imagine if you can what would be the appearance of the United States Steel Corporation's

\$1,154,000,000 of capitalization if it underwent a similar squeezing process. The watering of stock is by no means a lost art.

John Law, before the bursting of the bubble, had accomplished in the financial world of 1719 substantially what J. Pierpont Morgan has in that of 1901. Will the parallel stop there?

It is to be hoped that Mr. Morgan will be able to keep a strong hold on the market and prevent any undue fluctuation in the allied stocks, and that the great financial houses and capitalists with whom he is associated will none of them seek to withdraw secretly from his support; else there will certainly follow such a feverish condition in the market as will make the Wall street of to-day rival the Rue Quincampoix of 1719.

It is to be hoped the bubble will not burst, but that its iridescence will continue to attract the admiration of the world until such time as the corporation shall be absorbed by the nation and the natural advantages and public franchises become the property of the people. When Mr. Morgan and his associates can realize by unloading on the government, and the management of the various enterprises shall become a governmental function, then their great wealth will enable Mr. Morgan to establish a hospital, Mr. Rockefeller to endow a college, and Mr. Carnegie to build a library in every city and village in the land.

ROBERT A. WOOD.

Washington, D. C.

JAMES A. HERNE: ACTOR, DRAMATIST, AND MAN.

An Appreciation by HAMLIN GARLAND, J. J. ENNEKING, and
B. O. FLOWER.

I. HIS SINCERITY AS A PLAYWRIGHT.

WHEN I first met James A. Herne and his brave little wife, they were fighting a losing battle with a play called "Drifting Apart." This was in the first months of 1889, and all through 'ninety and 'ninety-one, and the summer of 'ninety-two, ill-luck pursued them. I saw a great deal of them during those years, and their sincerity of purpose as well as their unconquerable courage won my profound admiration. They had the highest ideals of what the drama should be, and they never swerved from the course which Mr. Herne himself outlined in his first letter to me, written in answer to a criticism I had made of "Drifting Apart." He believed that a drama should interest,—he knew it must do that,—but he also insisted that it should have as a basis a theme calculated to do good. He wished to send his audiences away morally better than they came. In one sense this was instruction, and in another sense it was not. It was true entertainment.

In the twelve years of our intercourse he wrote me freely and most intimately on his work as dramatist and playwright, and I can say that while he acknowledged the necessity for a money success he never retrograded in search of it. He believed that a "box-office winning" and an artistic success were both possible in the same play—which he proved in "Shore Acres" and "Sag Harbor."

Mr. Herne took his work seriously. He was never flippant about it. He had ideals and was not ashamed of them—he was, indeed, ready to fight for them. That he stumbled and fell short of reaching his ideal did not sour him or discourage

him. When "Margaret Fleming" failed, he said, "I'll write a better play." When "Griffith Davenport" was taken off, he said, "The time will come when this play will be considered one of my best." When he was forced to give up his part in "Sag Harbor" he at once planned to retire to Herne's Oaks and write a better play than either "Shore Acres" or "Margaret Fleming."

I have never known greater courage or more wonder-working pertinacity. He had his moments of black depression, but his resiliency at sixty years of age was a constant marvel to me. He was intellectually young. He seemed of my own age rather than a generation ahead of me. He was also intellectually hospitable to new ideas and capable of boyish enthusiasm; but through all his ups and downs, failures and successes, shifts of scene and confusion of advice, he never lost sight of the kind of drama he wished to produce, which was a sane, unexaggerated, humorous, and tender story of American life.

The fight he made to get "Shore Acres" produced was stern, as I know, for I shared it with him. The editor of *THE ARENA* and I helped to produce "Margaret Fleming," in Chickering Hall, and we suffered sympathetically all that Mr. Herne and his heroic wife went through in their determination to be true to their ideals. The story of those days of discouragement, if told, would set at rest any doubt of Mr. Herne's sincerity. It is a source of pleasure to me to remember that, after being all through those years of struggle, I was present, with Flower, and Enneking, and Hurd, and Chamberlain, on that glorious first night at the Boston Museum when "Shore Acres" began its golden tale of a hundred nights, and telegrams from New York poured in upon Mr. Herne offering "time" that he had almost begged for. This was the beginning of easier times for the author, and, mindful of his growing family, Mr. Herne kept closely to his success for several years. His play "Griffith Davenport" brought him some fame, but no money, and he went back to "Shore Acres." He began to plan other plays, however, and always sought a union of good work with

salable work; and it is this high purpose,—this inner sweetness,—hidden from many of his friends, that will live in his plays. They have faults of style and construction, but their main interest is wholesome and their outcome noble. “Uncle Nat” may be taken to represent the type of life that appealed to Mr. Herne with greatest power as a dramatist. As an actor he loved *all* quaintly humorous, unconsciously self-sacrificing characters—just as in life the cause of a self-immolating reformer like Henry George appealed to him with regenerative power. His humanitarian enthusiasm and his plays “Shore Acres” and “Margaret Fleming” expressed the man as I knew him. He made himself a national force in our drama, and the best of his teaching has already entered into the stage-craft of our day.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

West Salem, Wis.



II. MR. HERNE AS I KNEW HIM.

WHEN a noted man passes away who has helped along some great movement in art, literature, or science, the questions always arise: What has he accomplished? What influence has he exerted? Will his work live and be successfully carried forward by others?

The late James A. Herne, who has recently passed from among us, rose to a prominent position among the revolutionary or evolutionary Progressives of the world, not only helping in the reconstruction of the drama—which stood in much need of sincerity, virility, and truth in tendency and expression—but also throwing himself heart and soul into the conflict for the rights of the people.

I for one am satisfied that his influence for good, as stage manager, actor, dramatist, and social economist, will be of permanent value, because he went back to first principles—to Nature—to Truth. At the time when Mr. Herne turned to truth for art's sake, the difficulties confronting him seemed insurmountable. It was almost impossible for him to gain

a hearing, and it required the greatest courage to persevere in a course that seemed to promise nothing but defeat.

I remember that it was about that time that there was considerable discussion going on relative to the establishment of a *theatre libre*, to give opportunity for the introduction to the public of progressive men and their work. Mr. Hamlin Garland, through whom I became acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Herne some time before they presented "Margaret Fleming" to the Boston public, was very enthusiastic over the proposition to have such an institution brought into existence, because it was so discouragingly difficult to get a fair trial for any play that did not pander to the popular taste. Mr. Herne often remarked that he envied the painter, because it was easy for the latter to bring his work before the public. In the field of art, competition was yet free and healthy. It must have been disheartening for Wagner to wait eleven years before one of his great productions was performed. Millet during his lifetime was appreciated by a few artists, but not by the public. He died very poor and is hardly yet understood, although his pictures now bring princely prices. Very few great men have lived long enough to enjoy the material fruits of their labor, Turner and Mendelssohn being notable exceptions.

Mr. Herne, although an avowed realist, a grubber for undulterated truth, and a stickler for its objective representation, was impressionistically inclined, and would in time, I believe, have gravitated to idealism and subjective representation. But in this event his work would have been genuine, because this evolution of a playwright from the bondage of stage tradition, conventionalism, and superficialism to almost brutal truth and rigid simplicity is the natural course for him to follow in order to find his true or best self somewhere between the two extremes. The realism of Ibsen, Tolstoi, and Sudermann served to blaze the way for Mr. Herne. Henry George guided him in the way of social justice and economic progress. Hamlin Garland, Mr. Howells, and others were stanch friends and were likewise making for the same goal; but from no one did Mr. Herne receive so much inspiration, sympathy, and help as

from his devoted and accomplished wife, Katherine Herne, who ever understood and encouraged him.

His "Drifting Apart" and "Margaret Fleming" are powerful sermons. "Shore Acres" represents the heart life of the people. "Griffith Davenport" is a grand summing up of a great national struggle and gives almost a complete impression of the great Rebellion. This last great effort gave me (as an artist) the highest opinion of him, not only as an actor and a playwright but as a great artist and a strong man. In the field of painting such men are not always at once appreciated, any more than in the dramatic world. Thus Hunt, George Fuller Innis, Homer Martin, and many others have had to die to be recognized at their true value.

Mr. Herne when in Boston found his way into my studio frequently. He as well as his wife loved pictures, and were especially interested in all representations of Nature that were honest, individual, and truthful. When I first knew the actor he was almost too rabid a realist for me, and we had some spirited talks on the subject. I remember one of these discussions, when Mr. Howells and Hamlin Garland were also present. Either Herne or Garland insisted that I was a realist, because pictures standing around proclaimed me as such. I promptly denied the charge and insisted that what he designated as pictures were only careful studies. Some one then said, "If you are not a realist, what do you call yourself?" I replied, "I do not know what I am, but I try to be an unadulterated individual."

In the course of the conversation either Mr. Herne or Mr. Howells asked my definition of the real and the ideal. On the spur of the moment I said, "The ideal is the choicest expression of the real," whereupon Mr. Howells said, "Good!—that is the shortest definition on record." Mr. Herne also liked the definition, saying that it exactly voiced his sentiments.

The death of Mr. Herne is a grievous loss to his family and a great loss to the world.

J. J. ENNEKING.

Boston, Mass.

III. THE MAN AND HIS WORK.

I.

IN some respects the life of the late James A. Herne is unique. The eminent playwright, the delightful actor, and consummate stage manager rose to distinction and wrought effectively for a wholesome American drama in spite of adverse environments in early years and the temptation of gold, ease, and ephemeral popularity later in his career. Thus he proved himself superior to the most baleful and seductive three influences of modern life. He was remarkable also in that, after an early career that counted for little in the work achieved, he awakened to a keen sense of the deeper meaning of art and manhood and became an earnest, aggressive, and constructive worker in artistic, literary, and social fields at a time when most persons become set, conservative, sluggish, and not infrequently indifferent and pessimistic. Like William Morris, who spent the early part of his brilliant literary career as "the idle singer of an empty day," but who later came under the compelling influence of the pending social revolution to such a degree that he became beyond all else an apostle of justice and human progress, so James A. Herne, after a varied career on the stage, as actor, stage director, and manager, married a woman of superior ability, both as an artist and a thinker; next he won a fortune in a conventional melodrama and was in a fair way to become immensely rich by catering to the tastes of those who care only for cheap amusement. Then, however, he came under the influence of the threefold revolution that marked the closing half of the nineteenth century—the evolutionary theory as expounded by Herbert Spencer, the revolt against artificiality in literature and art as led by Tolstoi, Ibsen, Sudermann, and Mr. Howells, and the social gospel as proclaimed by Henry George. These influences awakened all that was best in his being, quickening his emotional nature on its higher planes of expression. The effect was astonishing to those who had known the man in earlier days. He determined to devote the remainder of his life to serious and true

American dramatic work, and with this resolution formed he steadily refused to surrender what he conceived to be the true demand of dramatic art, though sorely tempted by wealth to be easily gained by ephemeral productions. For many years he was a student of Tolstoi, Sudermann, Ibsen, and other great veritists in literature, while the social philosophy of Henry George won his whole-hearted acceptance. In it he believed there was to be found social salvation with freedom, and to almost the day of his death he was ever ready to give his services freely for the cause of the single tax. His addresses were clear, popular, sincere, and convincing, and he contributed a magnificent service to the cause of social progress by his faithful work in this direction.

II.

Mr. Herne was worth about one hundred thousand dollars when he was overmastered by the light and determined to consecrate the remainder of his artistic career to the cause of truth in the field of dramatic expression. His "Hearts of Oak," a conventional melodrama, was phenomenally popular, but he determined on the creation of plays that should be at once serious, thoughtful, and true. His first drama in this direction was "Drifting Apart," probably the most powerful temperance sermon ever produced on the boards of a theater. It proved a financial failure, as did "The Minute Men," a pioneer Revolutionary study, though this latter was far stronger, finer, and more artistic than many recent dramatic successes among war plays. It was not difficult to understand the cause of these failures. Mr. Herne had for years been playing to audiences that demanded an exciting melodrama, filled with mock heroics, dramatic clap-trap, and spectacular effects that delighted the galleries. With his large following the new plays fell flat. The actor was speaking to them in an unknown tongue. There were in the cities in which he played thousands of persons who would have greatly enjoyed "Drifting Apart" and "The Minute Men," but few of these people had ever seen Mr. Herne, as the conventional melodrama had

little attraction for them. Hence he disappointed his old friends and had not as yet found an appreciative new audience.

A man less resolute would have given up the struggle when poverty stared him in the face, and, adopting the unworthy but popular cry of the modern commercial world, would have exclaimed, Since the people do not want good plays I will give them what they want!—and thereby become again independent. Had his home influence favored such a course, it is possible that he might have returned to the conventional, barn-storming melodramas; but in his high resolve to be true to the vital ideal, "art for progress, the beautiful useful," he was warmly seconded by his accomplished wife. Katherine Herne had entered heart and soul into the higher and broader conception of being which had so revolutionized her husband's work. Together they had studied and heartily accepted the vision of justice unfolded in the social gospel of Henry George. They had perused with delight the masterly exposition of evolution as given by the great philosophic thinkers who have made the nineteenth century forever memorable; while the rugged protests against the unreal, the artificial, and the hollow hypocrisy of a conventional literature and art by vigorous Russian, Scandinavian, and German thinkers awakened their enthusiasm and proved a positive inspiration. And now, when standing in the shadow of defeat, with fortune vanished and poverty present, Mrs. Herne courageously and steadfastly encouraged her husband to persevere.

It was during these trying years of adversity that Mr. Herne wrote "Margaret Fleming," which I think is by far his greatest dramatic creation, as it is also the most powerful protest against the double standard of morals to be found in our dramatic literature. But, fine as was the play, it was too unconventional for managers. Mr. Herne could find no means of bringing it before the public. It was at this time that Hamlin Garland, Mr. J. Henry Wiggin, and a few other friends interested themselves in the production, with the result that it was enacted for about two weeks at Chickering Hall, in Boston, Mr. and Mrs. Herne assuming the leading rôles, supported by a care-

fully selected company. The presentation, however, lacked the advantage of scenic effect and other auxiliary aids, but the essential greatness of the play was felt by all the more serious in the audiences. The critics, even those who championed the conventional drama, acknowledged its power and worth.

It was this production that introduced Mr. Herne to the thoughtful public and also acquainted managers with the worth of his new work. Mr. William Dean Howells further aided the actor with some fine criticisms and by a letter to Mr. Field, of the Museum, at the time the latter was debating whether or not to accept "Shore Acres," a simple and true play of New England life which the actor had written after the completion of "Margaret Fleming." Finally Mr. Field decided to give the new play a trial. It did not prove instantaneously successful, and toward the close of the second week I remember Mr. Herne's calling at my office in a rather despondent mood. He told me that Mr. Field did not consider the play a success and was talking of taking it off at the close of the next week, and the fact that the audiences were slowly increasing did not seem to convince the skeptical manager of the value of "Shore Acres"; but by the end of the third week the play was drawing fine houses, and thenceforth to the close of the season—a period of about one hundred nights—it was a reigning success. From that time, barring the financially unfortunate venture attending the production of "Griffith Davenport," Mr. Herne enjoyed the pleasures and comforts of prosperity.

III.

Perhaps no man with noble ideals and high aspirations at all times reaches the standard that floats as a pillar of fire before the soul, and Mr. Herne, in common with others, did not at all times, even in his later years, reach his ideals. This fact he expressed to me in a letter written less than two years ago. I had given my impressions of the actor-dramatist as I knew him, in a magazine article, and Mr. Herne, who was a man of few words, wrote me in regard to this paper. "You have," he said, "given me more than I deserve. I only wish that

I were all that you say of me, and what you have said is exactly what I wish to be." In my paper I had merely given the impressions of the man that I had received from seeing him in his home, from conversations with him, and from a study of his great characters; for in a man's master creations there is ever shadowed forth much of his own nature as well as his best aspirations.

It is a fact worthy to be mentioned in passing that nowhere was Mr. Herne so passionately loved as in his own family. He was almost idolized by wife and children, while his services to the cause of the American drama have during recent years been recognized by the most eminent and competent critics on both sides of the Atlantic. In his recent work on the American stage, the very able dramatic authority, Mr. Norman Hapgood, pays the following tribute to the work of Mr. Herne for the American drama:

"Two men stand out, as far as we may see, clearly ahead of their predecessors—James A. Herne for intellectual quality supported by considerable stagecraft, and William Gillette for the playwright talent, working on ideas of his own. Their plays are equaled by single efforts of other men, but no other American dramatist has done so much of equal merit."

Mr. Herne's loyalty to truth in art and his desire to make the drama a potent factor in present-day life—a real educator, as well as a true reflector of life and the aspirations of the age—were tested in the furnace of adversity to such a degree that it revealed the presence of that high, true spirit that in every age has marked the men and women who have carried forward whatsoever is best in religion, in science, in art, and in life, in spite of a mockingly indifferent and often openly hostile conventionalism.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE SINGLE TAX AS A HAPPY MEDIUM.

IN the rush of events amidst which we live, it is not strange that there should be an almost infinite variety of opinions as to the relative importance of these events, as to their causes and consequences, and also as to the best means to be used to strengthen and perpetuate the good tendencies and to modify or destroy the evil ones.

When the tax lists are prepared, and we learn what we must pay in this way for the advantages of association, we are very apt to feel that the community is encroaching on our rights, and we proclaim the doctrines of Individualism as those which are to bring the millennium through their observance; but when our house burns or is looted by burglars, and the fire department or the police fail to protect us, we become convinced that Socialism, which shall prevent any loss or avoidable discomfort from coming to us, is that of which the prophets and seers have sung in their portrayals of the heavenly estate. This, in brief, suggests the two directions in which the thought and effort of the day are being exerted.

Individualism and Socialism—manifested in many ways and through endless applications—are the two conflicting ideas of the time; and each, or either, if followed to its legitimate end, will win for its votary the name of “crank,” if not of criminal. Each is a name to conjure with, if you would fill with palpitating dread the breast of the well-to-do and the comfortable, or rouse to a frenzy of rage the down-trodden or the impecunious, or would you fire with holy zeal the heart of the humanitarian, burdened with the sense of others’ wrongs and panting with the desire to help and to rescue. For, as Socialism suggests Paris after the close of the Franco-Prussian war, it also speaks of William Morris, John Ruskin, and other benefactors of the race. As Individualism may suggest Bresci, who so recently robbed the Italian people of a beloved king, it also

brings to mind many a martyr to the cause of humanity. If, then, each has much good to its credit, and each has wrought much harm—since either, logically extended, will destroy the other, its good results as its evil—does it not follow that there must be an intermediate ground or base of action, which shall conserve the good of both while avoiding the evils of both? Is there not, in fact, a “happy medium”? That we may, if possible, discover this medium, let us see what, if any, are the points in common between the Individualist and the Socialist.

A little reflection will show, I believe, that each is seeking that “life, liberty, and happiness” of which our fathers thought when they gave us the Declaration of Independence. The Socialist would gain his object by so controlling all that no one shall be able to oppress another; that is, he would take from all the power to injure any one. The Individualist would remove all restrictions directly from each individual, making even the association with others subject only to the will of the one. That is, he would make the individual so strong as to have no fear even of all others. But, seek it as he may, each is striving after liberty. How is it, then, when so many are striving after liberty—so many that the quest may be said to be wellnigh universal—that so few gain even an approximation to what they seek?

It cannot be that liberty is but a name—a condition about which to theorize or dream, but too elusive and unreal to be attained by humanity. It must be, then, either that our conceptions of liberty are false, in part or in whole, or else our methods of striving after it are ill-adapted to its attainment.

Let us first consider, for a moment, what we commonly *mean* by liberty; then, perhaps, what *real* liberty is. In doing this we will find that the idea of liberty held by all some of the time, and I fear held by some of us all of the time, is a state in which we can do as we please absolutely, without let or hindrance, and can have at any moment, and practically without effort, just whatever the whim of the moment leads us to fancy. But we know perfectly well that Nature’s laws, to say nothing of these laws of right and wrong, which we more

commonly call God's laws, will not permit of such a state. "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." "The effect must be preceded by the adequate cause." These are laws that must be reckoned with.

Again, liberty is the right of all—of each equally with every other, but no further. Clearly, then, it is limited for each just at the point where it would infringe on the liberty of another.

Is not true liberty the absolute and complete ownership of the individual by himself? Let us consider what such ownership means or involves. If I own myself completely, it follows that no one has any claim upon me; and if not upon me, then not upon anything which I may create or produce, save only as I may freely give or barter such a claim. But there is a corollary to this statement of which we must not lose sight; namely, I have no claim upon any other individual, or the productions of any other, save as such claim may be freely bestowed as a gift or as consideration in a voluntary barter.

If you have no claim upon me, and each other individual in the universe has no claim upon me, it follows that no community or assemblage of individuals can have any claim upon me; just as you may string ciphers together until you have encircled the globe, and yet will express no value. But, if I have no claim upon you and you have no claim upon me, there is one direction in which we both have a claim, and that is our claim upon the natural resources, not produced by any individual or body of individuals, but by God, who is the Creator of us all, and who has provided them as a necessary source from which by our own individual efforts we shall each provide for our own life and happiness.

So far we are clearly Individualist; but let us now see what there is from the Socialist side. As an Individualist, I must, to be consistent, provide entirely for myself—I must be a shoemaker, farmer, weaver, miller, tanner, carpenter, baker, etc., all in one and for one. But we learned long ago that this is an impossibility; that one can bake and another make shoes, and that both, or all, are vastly better served if each does what he can do best and each exchanges products with those who

do other things better. To do this, however, successfully, we must be near one another; and so we gather into communities, and with communities come new requirements.

If I cross a field, even in wet weather, the sod is not injured, and it holds me out of the mud; but if a thousand pass and repass in the same day the path becomes a quagmire, and we must have roads and walks, to say nothing of drains and sewers. We must also have provision in the way of police, etc., to see that all this is kept in repair and that every one gets equal use of these improvements; and so association grows until we have our cities, States, and nations.

Two questions now arise: To whom do these improvements belong? and who is to pay for them? For the first: Did you or I create them? No. Then neither you nor I have title to them. But, as the community created them, title is vested in the community; and in the community will be vested the title to all things and all values created by it. To the second question the answer is easy. Improvements made for the community are to be paid for by the community; improvements made by the community are to be paid for to the community—by those who are benefited thereby.

Here, then, are the occasion and justification for what we commonly call taxes. It is the right of the community to demand pay from its beneficiaries to the amount of their benefits and the necessity for the community to have that wherewith to pay for benefits conferred upon the community. But we saw that the community has no right to your goods or mine, or to any part of them, except in return for services rendered. It follows that the community, like the individual, must take of what it has itself produced to pay for what it received; and, clearly, the value of the land produced by the gathering of the community, which makes land in its vicinity more desirable than that at a distance, is produced by the community and not by the individual. It is, then, the property of the community, not of the individual, and is a source from which to derive the means to pay for the benefits bestowed upon the community—hence for which the community is responsible.

Another value belongs to the community, and is available for the satisfaction of its obligations, and that is the excess in value of one piece of land over another, either because of mineral wealth, fertility, or other features that make one more desirable than another. This is so, because of the equal right of all to all of God's gifts to the race. For, since it is a law of Nature that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time, it follows that some in seeking their share of the Father's bounty will get more favorable locations than others. But it would be no better, if they were ousted, to give place to others, and rotation in possession would be impracticable and at best a poor corrective. Yet it is still true that all have equal claim; so let the favored one pay to the community—that is, to all—the excess of what his favorable location will enable him to produce over that which his less favored neighbor can produce with equal labor. This is the way, and the only way, to equalize opportunity: that is, to give liberty to all. And this is the Single Tax, the "happy medium" between Individualism and Socialism, which leaves—say, rather, which makes—the individual free, yet which gives to the community all the improvements and advantages that can be conceived of.

It is doubtless true that, under this rule, large fortunes will disappear; but is this not as it should be? Where all are equal in the sight of God, should there be such disparity in the sight of men? And, with greater wealth for the few, bitter, pinching, abject poverty for the many shall also pass away; and with both shall go the peculiar sins alike of the poor and the rich.

It is often said that the great middle class is the bulwark of the nation; but by this plan all will be middle class, all will be bulwarks, while at the same time there will be none left to assail—none to overturn the freedom of all.

That this idea is gaining support cannot be doubted. But let us not forget that Truth and Liberty are of universal application. They are not for the seventy or eighty millions of us in the United States, nor for the greater number of English-speaking people, nor for the still greater number of so-called

Christian people, and not for the millions of Africa, Asia, and the islands of the sea—for all come from the same creative hand. All are dependent on God's bounty. We all are brethren.

Let us, then, be in earnest in our quest for liberty—more earnest than ever before; but, understanding what liberty is, let us cease to seek it each for himself, or for his own immediate family, or even for his own nation—for such seeking must ever fall short of attaining its object. Let us rather, in the light of a fuller, nobler conception, strive to attain liberty for all, guarding even more carefully against acts of oppression and injustice from ourselves and ours than we do against encroachment on our rights; and thus, each individual setting himself right, we shall awake to find all free, all enjoying liberty, absolute and complete—for none will be left to act as oppressors.

This is the end sought by the Single Taxer.

W. A. HAWLEY.

Pittsburg, Pa.

LAW AND LIBERTY.

IT is not easy to discover that any nation, ancient or modern, has ever recognized any distinct and well-defined sphere within which the operations of government and legislation ought to be confined. About the only limitation ever generally recognized by governments has been the extreme limit of tolerance of a patient and long-suffering people. Within that necessary limit, human government has been supreme, absolute, and arbitrary, whether exercised by the will of a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy.

The odious dogma of the "divine right of kings" has from time to time been displaced by the scarcely less odious and dangerous dogma of the *divine right of majorities*. Nothing was held sacred to the individual man from the burdens and exactions of legislative authority until the Declaration of Independence promulgated the bold and startling proposition that man has certain *inalienable* rights, including "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."* The Declaration, though somewhat vague and altogether inadequate in defining the zone of *inalienable* rights, served to fix in the public conscience the great moral conviction that there is such a zone of forbidden ground round about the individual upon which no government may rightfully intrude; that, somewhere, there is a line at which the individual may say to all human authority, "Thus far, and no farther."

That conviction has been the vital principle and saving factor in our national life. But it yet remains for the common sense of the people clearly to apprehend and accept the great principles and maxims that will serve as monuments to mark so distinctly that "he who runs may read" the boundary-line of rightful government and legislation. In fact the

* This is not said in forgetfulness of the Magna Charta. That instrument limited the royal prerogatives, but without the remotest thought of limiting the legislative power of the English Government.

notion is all too prevalent that any measure of governmental policy and legislation is legitimate and right if it be the will of "the majority." The physical force of a majority is undeniable, but unlimited right to govern can safely be conceded only to infallibility. The majority of the American people have often been wrong, though never intentionally wrong. When the people shall have arrived at a common acceptance of the principles that mark the limits of rightful legislation they may be relied upon never to transgress those limits; and herein is grounded our hope of the future.

The dogma of the divine right of majorities arises from a tendency to ignore or depreciate the individual man in his relation to society. But the axiom of physics that the whole is greater than any of its parts has no relevancy to intelligence and morals. It is not true of man in his relation to society, except in a physical sense.

Religion assures us that man is made in the image of God; that dominion over the earth was given to him, and that he is immortal. But, independent of divine revelation, we know that man existed prior to society. Society never constructed a man, but men have constructed society; man is real, society is artificial; man is a person, society a thing; and it is reasonably certain that society was made for man, not man for society. Man is in himself a distinct personality, a moral agent, endowed with a soul to aspire, a mind to conceive and plan, and a will to execute. He is, in all the infinite universe, an independent entity—by nature absolutely free to wish, to choose, and to act at will, without control, without restraint, subject to no authority, bound by no law, confined only by the limitations of pain and death. All beings beneath man in the order of creation remain from generation to generation unchanged in desires and habits of life, bound by the inflexible chains of instinct. Man alone, though possessed of instincts, is independent of them; he may rise above or sink beneath them at will. Man alone possesses within himself the power to violate the laws of God, of Nature, and of his own being. And therein consists the majesty and glory of manhood: free as

God, sole possessor and ruler of himself, and responsible to himself. It could not be otherwise without deposing man, the person, and reducing him to a mere "thing." It is moral agency—absolute independence of will and freedom of action—that makes evolution and growth of human character and virtue possible; without it such progress would be impossible. By completely subjugating the will and action of a man to the absolute control of another in all things you destroy him as a person. Partially to subjugate and control him is, *pro tanto*, partially to destroy him. Here we have a truth, immovably fixed in the essential nature of man, reducible to this maxim: *individual liberty is essential to individual character and virtue.*

As society is made by and composed of the individuals who are its members, it is certain that the character and virtue of society are always relative to the general character and virtue of its members. Nations are organized society, and governments are the instruments by which the power of nations is exercised. The well-being of society, the vitality of nations, the efficacy of governments depend upon the intellectual and moral stature of the individual citizen. It is the individual who elevates society. Society cannot elevate the individual. Man as an individual began, a naked savage without knowledge and without law, to elevate himself; and it was only after achieving measurable success that he was able to begin the construction and upbuilding of a civilized society. The progress he has been able to make has always been proportionate to his freedom from external restraint and control. Given perfect liberty of thought and action, he will regenerate himself and the world. His natural tendency is upward; he never deteriorates except when his will is checked and his life forced into a groove marked out for him by others. As he deteriorates, the society of which he is a member deteriorates proportionately. Here is another fixed truth that may be compressed into a simple maxim: *national character and virtue depend upon the character and virtue of the individual citizen.*

Man is ever striving after better things and setting before

himself higher ideals. Exceptional cases of depravity, however frequent, only serve to prove the rule by the abhorrence and condemnation with which they are regarded by mankind in general. History is a record of the struggles of man for the achievement of higher ideals. There have been bright periods, when human genius has risen to sublime heights, and dark periods, when the whole race seemed hopelessly doomed in the degradation of ignorance, superstition, and vice; but the bright periods were always coincident with an unusual degree of personal liberty, and the darkness prevailed when the individual was bowed down under the weight of human authority. At every relaxation of its heavy hand the aspiring genius of man has mounted upward. The yearning of the human heart is for that which is right. The universal desire of all men is for absolute personal independence and liberty, but the great majority of mankind are well disposed toward their fellow-men and willing to allow to others the rights they desire for themselves. It is this fact that makes civilized society and government possible. It is a safe maxim that *mankind in general are disposed to do right*.

But the fact that there are, at all times, exceptions to this rule is the overshadowing misfortune of the world. Some men are not well disposed, but, when they have sufficient power, will violate the rights of others. It is this fact that makes human governments necessary. While all men desire absolute liberty, none but the strongest could realize that desire but for the restraining hand of law. Governments are instituted *solely* because some men will injure their fellows, and the common desire of all men for perfect liberty cannot be measurably gratified without the common safeguard of law. Upon no other pretext whatever can any assumption of authority by man over man be justified or excused. But for the fact that some men will injure others, no human government would ever have been established or tolerated; for, if the desire of all men for perfect liberty were already fulfilled and secure from all external restraints and perils, no man would ever either aspire or submit to authority. The authority of the parent over

the child is no exception. The child is not a responsible moral agent, and it is not only a natural right but a moral duty of the parent to direct and control the child until it arrives at years of discretion. But no man, no class of men, no majority however overwhelming, can reasonably pretend to a natural right or moral duty to exercise parental or paternal authority over any man who is a moral agent. Any attempt to do so is an invasion of personal liberty, a meddlesome interference with human life and destiny, and a profanation of all that is divine and sacred in man. Even the Creator holds the independent will of man sacred from the control of Omnipotence. It ought to be a universally accepted maxim that *government derives its right to exist and to exercise authority from the necessity of restraining those who would injure others.*

Absolute liberty includes the natural privilege to do, or to abstain from doing, anything dictated by the will, whether good or evil, right or wrong. But it is clear that the fullest measure of liberty that it is possible for all men to enjoy at the same time without conflict must necessarily include all those acts and omissions that do not injuriously affect others, and must exclude all acts and omissions that will injure others: the former is the sacred domain of liberty, the latter is the rightful domain of law. Natural liberty is as boundless as the range of human thought and the desires of the human heart, whether consistent or not with the liberty of others. The zone of inalienable rights, sacred to the individual, within which no government may rightfully intrude, comprises all of natural liberty up to the line of conflict with the rights of others; and there it ends. At that line the rightful authority of government begins and holds dominion over the common ground of conflict between natural liberty and the rights of others. That is the line at which the individual may meet all assertions of human authority with the warning, "Thus far, and no farther." The end of government is to guard and defend individual liberty, not to intrude upon or destroy it.

When this conception of the limitation of just government shall have received the common assent of mankind, as the

supreme standard by which all legislation shall be judged, a considerable number of familiar laws will stand condemned; but the solution of the economic and political problems that threaten the peace and security of society will be simplified. The common acceptance of some such definite standard is necessary, as a safeguard not only against aggressions of power and ambition, but also against the benevolent but dangerous experiments of State Socialism.

The centralization of wealth and diffusion of poverty and dependence; the growth of corporate power and greed that is absorbing the fruits of labor, monopolizing and driving common individuals out of all the avenues of human effort, industry, and enterprise, and reducing the great majority of the people to the precarious and slavish condition of wage-workers, totally dependent upon the charity, fortunes, caprice, and disasters of the corporations that employ them—these things are the product of legislation and policies that transcend the limitations of just government.

Remedies should not be sought in the making of more laws, nor in making more experiments still further departing from the rightful domain of government. Remove from the path of individual life and liberty all meddlesome legislation that creates false conditions, narrows the opportunity and cripples the power of the individual, and the genius of man will peacefully, justly, and rapidly rise superior to all the evils that have come upon him, and with him society will rise to a higher and more secure state than ever before.

"Civilization" and "progress" are much abused terms. It is not civilization that degrades the many while it elevates the few. It is not progress that narrows the opportunities of and impoverishes the common people, while multiplying the aggregate wealth of the world. Civilization is measured by the moral elevation of the common people. Material progress is measured by the pecuniary independence of the common people and their opportunity for self-directed enterprise.

FRANK EXLINE.

Geddes, S. D.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

VII. CHILDHOOD INFLUENCES.

THE remainder of the investigation presents the environmental conditions under which Southern negro criminals are reared. The cases already described are typical of the whole class. These results are more trustworthy than similar ones obtained from Northern white criminals. The coöperation of both officers and convicts was most earnest, and the small communities from which the criminals came made it easy to trace the influences in families and among associates.

From data gathered from prison populations aggregating nearly 10,000 and from minute observation of those measured, the evidence is clear that the negro criminal class is not an educated one. The ninety subjects measured were selected from about 300 women. Illiterate subjects were accepted only when others were not obtainable. From 42 offenders against the person, it was necessary to use 11 who were illiterate; of the remainder, 16 had attended country school, the average attendance being 3.7 years of about 3 months each—about one year of Northern training. In quality of education there is no comparison. Out of this number, 15 had attended city schools, the average attendance being 5.6 years. Thus the advantages in the city are greater. The education of the parents shows that in 7 cases both parents were illiterate; the fathers in 13 cases were illiterate, and in 21 cases had received some education, and 8 were unascertainable; of the mothers, 22 were illiterate, 14 had received some education, and 6 were unascertainable. The reasons given for leaving school at an early age included such as—work, 8; marriage, 4; moved away, 3; epilepsy and illness, 4 each. "Ran away from home," "got tired," and "didn't like it" were common reasons. The most favorable ages for attending school were, in order, 7-9, 9-11, and 11-13, only a very small number being in the last class.

The facts for offenders against property are slightly different. It is of interest to consider these separately, for this class is largely from the city districts and shows the superior advantages there. Out of 38, only 7 were illiterate and only 8 had also attended country schools. The average period of attendance was 4.4 years. The education of the parents was better than that of the class previously given. If a prison population possesses no higher average of education than this, and the parents are in a position to bequeath so little knowledge and educational culture to the children, there can be but little foundation for the assertions that the education of the negro does not decrease crime. Certainly the educated negroes are not found in the prisons, unless illiteracy and ability merely to read and write constitute these.

The methods used by parents in teaching right and wrong are of interest because they reveal something of the moral standards. Both persuasion and punishment were used, but the latter exceeded the former by a great majority. A number of the subjects declared they were not taught differences between right and wrong. They were punished for fighting, stealing, dipping snuff, lying, wanting others' things, card playing, dancing, or drinking. There is little or no evidence of the finer moral discriminations, and the method is training through punishment rather than through wise direction which avoids punishment. Restraints are shown in a few instances where parents objected to visits to saloons, dance-houses, etc. As among children who have been sent to Northern reformatories, the presence of stepfathers and stepmothers was often made evident by harsh and unusual punishments and by the children leaving home at an early age. Where the negroes had been brought up by whites, the training was generally lax. The punishments included: whipping with switch or strap, 62; sent to bed without food, 33; dark room, 31; locked up, 9; slapped (frequently), 9; tied up, 4; kneeling, 4. Other punishments were: head tied in a sack, standing on boxes, no food or water, frightened, holding bricks, silence, arms tied up, clothes tied over their heads, and kneeling on cracked

bricks or shelled corn. The punishment does not lack in severity but in certainty. It is usually administered spasmodically and during anger. Often the amount of injury caused by the child's act regulates the degree of punishment, as does also the amount of shock to the parents' feelings. To illustrate the latter, if a child falls into a few inches of water and soils its clothes it may receive a moderate punishment, but if the mother is frightened because it has been in danger of drowning it may receive a more severe one. Spasmodic, unsystematic, unsympathetic, and often unprincipled discipline is the practise.

The object in securing the number of books read was to determine to what use the education had been put, and if any educational influences existed outside the schoolroom. The results show: Bible, 37; none, 27; novels, 22; Sunday-school books, 11; juvenile, history, and newspapers, 6 each; biographies, schoolbooks (as readers), and religious papers, 5 each; poems, 2; magazines, 1. One-third of the number had never read anything, and only 1 could describe a magazine clearly. The prominence of the Bible is of course due to the fact that it is often the only book owned, or obtainable. While its value is not questioned, the absence of every other kind of literature must often make it misunderstood, or lead to a narrow application of its precepts. Biographies and history were respectively those of Washington and Lincoln and of the United States. The preferences in reading show that the Bible was in favor with more than one-half. This is inaccurate for two reasons: many had no other literature from which to choose, and others thought, as a matter of duty, they should prefer it. The range of reading was so limited that but little preference could be expressed. In choice, George Washington was a close second to Jesse James, while Diamond Dick and Nick Carter won over all other dime novel heroes. Mrs. Holmes and Augusta Evans were the popular novelists, and "Mother Goose" and "Peck's Bad Boy" represented the juvenile reading. There are no opportunities for obtaining reading matter in the prisons or in the country districts, and only limited ones in the cities.

The number of children in a family throws light upon the

problem of crime, because in a crude way it reveals the probable chance of each child for training and care. A farmer with a small section of plantation can do better for one child than for ten. Food, clothing, and *individual* training and opportunities become more limited as the numbers increase. The number of children in the families from which these criminals came ranges from one to twenty-seven. The average is eight per family. It becomes apparent, then, that some of these children must enter the labor ranks at an early age. The chances for individual training were small because the mother was also a laborer on the plantation. This statement is based upon the supposition that both parents are living, but the results show that before they had reached the age of 15 (the estimated age at which a girl still needs parental care) 30 had lost their fathers and 29 their mothers, and in 6 instances both parents had died. This means that in nearly two-thirds of the cases there had been step-parents, and the girls had married or they had been forced into the world to work for themselves, and often for younger brothers and sisters. In case of death there is rarely any provision made for the family, the benefits of insurance and the millions of small savings in the North being unknown among the mass of negroes.

The greater number of subjects claimed occupations as follows: nurses, 21; servants, 15; cooks, 14; field hands, 12; laundresses, 9; none, 5; factory and dining-room employees, each 2. Sixteen had been taught dressmaking, and 9 followed it. In many cases immorality was preferred to these trades, because of low wages or inability to secure work. The wage-rate is lower for negroes than for whites, and upon many plantations there is no regular price paid—exchange and barter still being resorted to. The average age at which they began work was 12.5 years, but there are a few instances where they have begun as nurse girls at ages ranging from 6 to 10 years. Without exception they belonged to the laboring classes.

There is one other interesting factor in the influences in the childhood of these criminals—the nature of their play. This was almost entirely out-of-doors and their games were of a

social nature, which means removal from parental restraints. Where numbers of children play together, careful supervision is needed to prevent the acquirement of bad habits and selection of bad associates. The games were: dolls, 66; hide-and-seek, 49; ball, 39; jump-the-rope, 39; see-saw, 39; jack-stones, 21; marbles, 19; ring games, 11; croquet, 10; swing and craps, 9 each; poison, 7; cards, housekeeping, and running games, 6 each. Mumbletepeg, hockey, kites, leap-frog, tops, hoops, etc., had each one or two adherents. There were but few toys used, and the games were simple, involving no complicated elements or apparatus. "Hide switches" is a game peculiarly their own, as is also "poison." Little or no use is made of play to develop such qualities as tolerance, self-control, patience, and unselfishness, except as the children teach one another.

For the childhood of these children, who have become criminals, there are found: defective education, meager moral instruction, little or no reading, unfavorable conditions (as related to home training and opportunities), harsh punishments, restriction to the laboring classes, and unrestrained and undirected recreation. This being true, what influences are found in the adult life of these same criminals that may counteract these early ones?

The recreation in adult life was divided into drama, music, and art. The horizon was so narrowed that it was difficult to secure results, but they represent fairly the conditions. Two preferences were allowed each subject, in order that the results might be more trustworthy, and they are here grouped together. The kinds of recreation preferred were: church festivals, 36; picnics, 18; shows, 13; excursions, 13; fairs, 10; "never went anywhere," 4; concerts and dances, 3 each. Some of the reasons given were: "have fun and enjoyment," "likes church doin's 'cause are better places," and "more quieter." In drama they gave their preferences in the form of "likes sad parts best," or "likes funny parts most." In attempting to secure more definite facts the following resulted: 46 admitted that they had seen no plays, 8 liked minstrels, and 4 had seen

circuses. Some of the plays seen were: "Ten Nights in a Bar-room," 3; "Monte Cristo," "Devil's Auction," and "Two Orphans," 2 each; and "White Salve," "Skipped by the Light of the Moon," and a dog-show, 1 each.

The field of music was more familiar to them. The results were: church music, 58; instrumental, 32; band, 20; love-songs, 13; string instruments, 10. Art was dubious ground again, for 28 preferred pictures—like photographs, crayons, etc.; Biblical pictures, 25; paintings, 16; pictures of Nature, 6; decorations, 4. Pictures of people, buildings, in wax and in hair, were also mentioned. Art meant to them "all pretty things," and in this they included a great array of bright colors, varied designs and decorations, and articles used in domestic art. It is seen that the bulk of their social life centers in the church, the incentive being a desire for a "good time." Their music is for pastime, and is not a cultural influence; drama is almost unknown, and their taste in art is similar to that of primitive tribes. The kind of associates is also of importance. It was necessary to explain carefully what was meant by good and bad associates. Forty-seven believed their associates were bad and 32 that they were good. Results were unobtainable for the remainder. Forty-nine were decidedly in favor of "social times," 14 were semi-enthusiastic, and 11 were not sure if it was a "good thing."

The kind of temptations is a question naturally related to the associates. The results are much at variance with the actual facts, for it was difficult to make them understand the nature and scope of the question. They believed, for instance, that temptations were only such *when yielded to*. Twenty-two of the records were considered unreliable and were set aside. In the remainder, only grave temptations were given, such as immorality, use of alcohol, stealing, dancing, carousals, and fighting. They placed no emphasis upon the smaller temptations. The habits reveal, more clearly than do the temptations, the moral standards. These numbers are undoubtedly too small, as a few of the criminals would not openly admit their bad habits: immoral, 45; swearing, 38; smoking and use of

snuff, 32 each; alcohol and chewing tobacco, 23 each; morphine, 5. Some of them had as many as five of these habits—and the average was over two each. Some of the ways in which they were acquired were: in prison, 11; tobacco for toothache, 5; taught by relatives, 4; bad example, through illness, and at school, 3 each. Other answers were: "on the farm," "in bad company," "own desire," and "always had them." Tobacco is furnished all convicts in the South, so there is a constant temptation to use it.

Facts for recidivism were unsatisfactory. Only one-seventh admitted having been previously arrested, and of these two-thirds were offenders against property. For the offenses against person the penalties were so severe that there had been but small opportunity for a repetition of the offense. This throws but little light upon the question of habitual criminality.

The habits of the parents included such as: For the fathers—smoking, 36; chewing tobacco, 35; alcohol, 19; gambling, 7. For the mothers—smoking and snuff, each 22; chewing tobacco, 8; alcohol, 3. The relatives of 20 others used alcohol, and epilepsy was not infrequent. Morphine is rarely used, and only in the cities; while cocaine is unknown.

From these factors in adult life it appears there was little or no improvement in the environment, and that the results were but the logical outcome of the earlier surroundings.

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TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE SUCCESSFUL MEN OF THE AGES.

It has ever been as it is to-day. The truly successful men—they who mold civilization and elevate humanity, who move the world onward and upward, and who live in the lore of the ages—work in comparative obscurity, or encounter the savage and brutal opposition of Church, State, and conventional society, and their greatness or the measure of their magnificent service is not realized until long after they have passed beyond our vision. Let me illustrate by two or three typical cases out of thousands that might be cited.

Between the years 60 and 66, while Nero, seated on the throne of the Cæsars, was lord of life and death and, commanding unlimited millions, was living a life of luxury, license, and dissipation surrounded by multitudes of flatterers in a city that wildly applauded the brutal spectacles with which he regaled the populace, there was brought before his judgment seat a prisoner who came from far-away Palestine. We can easily imagine that there was little that was attractive in the exterior of the man in bonds, who belonged to a race for whom the Romans entertained supreme contempt. Still less could there be found any bond of sympathy between the ideal worlds in which they lived; for Nero was a typical representative of egoism, surrounded by the majesty of law, clothed in power, and at the summit of what shallow conventionalism would call success, while the prisoner was "a disturber of the peace." Men said of him that he fomented sedition. He had been driven from Ephesus because he had imperiled the trade of certain crafts, for then as now the market was more important to conventional society than manhood and morals. Certainly he antagonized the State religion of the Romans and the habits, customs, and morals of the Imperial City. Moreover, he was a typical altruist. He was dominated by the spiritual nature. On the way to Damascus he had been overmastered by the

Light, and henceforth his life was given, and gladly given, to the cause of all rather than to the interest of self. This man, who awakened the varying emotions of indifference, contempt, scorn, anger, and hatred among the upholders of law and order and the conventionalism of his day, was one of the real leaders of the ages.

A few years elapsed, and the emperor and the prisoner had perished. The egoist had fled from the fury of those over whom he had ruled and died an ignominious death. The altruist probably found a martyr's grave. For two thousand years the name of him who in the year 60 stood as the type of what conventionalism ever labels "success" has awakened no feelings save those of horror, loathing, revulsion, or pity in the mind of normal manhood, while the life, the words, and the work of the obscure prisoner, the "disturber of the peace," have proved an inspiration and an upward lever to millions upon millions of lives. In the light of history, which life, think you, was the more successful? Which man was the true leader?

From Paul to Nero we turn to Epaphroditus and Epictetus. The former was a rich freedman who basked in the favor of Nero. He was a man envied by thousands because of his influence at court. His wealth, power, and popularity doubtless made conventional instructors of that age point to him when teaching the young as a fine example of success, for he had once been a freedman and had now become possessed of all the things that shallow conventionalism esteems most highly. Among the many slaves who thronged the luxurious home of Epaphroditus was a crippled Phrygian named Epictetus. He was a high-minded youth who early came under the influence of the pure philosophy of Stoicism. He renounced the ephemeral pleasures that occupied the egoists, from Nero and Epaphroditus down to the most ignorant of the slaves around him. He chose the path of altruism. He who is overpowered by the "love of the best" cannot remain idle or concerned with self-interest. Henceforth he must seek to brighten and ennoble other lives; and thus we find Epictetus following the path of purity and virtue in the midst of unequaled corruption and guiding others along the pathway of holiness. After the ignominious death of Epaphroditus, who was executed for complicity in the death of Nero, Epictetus gained his freedom and became a teacher of ethics in Rome until Domitian banished the philosophers. Then he went to Epirus, where he long taught his disciples and where he delivered those masterly dis-

courses which have been a positive help to thousands of men and women, and which the noblest of the Roman emperors declared had helped him to a virtuous and just life as had the teachings of no other man save Socrates.

Once again, let us notice two modern lives. During recent years the Anglo-Saxon world has been flooded with biographies of Napoleon Bonaparte. Many of these have been fulsome and unhealthy narratives in which the Corsican has been idealized and held up as a heroic figure. As a matter of fact he was perhaps the best representative of egoism which the nineteenth century presents—a man to whom was given the power to carry forward the democratic ideal to far greater lengths than did Washington, but who, recreant to his great trust, betrayed freedom and the cause of human progress for self-aggrandizement. Through the great and unique power with which he was endowed and the force of circumstances that environed him, he was enabled to rise to the highest pinnacle to which an egoist can mount. After his coronation conventionalism regarded him as one of the most successful men of the ages; yet in a few brief years we find him a lonely exile on a desolate ocean-girt isle—all his dreams of glory vanished, wealth and power fled forevermore—while there follow him to the end the curses of hundreds of thousands of human beings who through him have been robbed of life's dearest treasures.

In less than a score of years after the death of Napoleon on St. Helena an Italian exile might have been seen threading his way through the fog-darkened streets of London. As Napoleon was the typical representative of egoism, Giuseppe Mazzini was a splendid type of altruism. He was a fine scholar, a man of ideals and imagination, who at the sound of duty's voice deliberately turned from the pleasures of a literary life—which strongly attracted him—and accepted imprisonment, exile, and the gravest perils in life for the unity and freedom of his native land. In London he was reduced to the direst poverty, but no thought of self could turn him from the cause. Tirelessly he wrote and worked for true democracy. He was one of the earliest philosophers who fully realized the meaning and implication of the solidarity of the race, and he dedicated his life to the cause of liberty and human happiness. While working unceasingly for Italian unity and liberty, he also established in London a free school in which he taught the very poor children of his countrymen—ever seeking to broaden their intellectual horizon, awaken their spiritual energies, and increase their happiness. Much for which he wrought was

achieved in his lifetime, and when he died, at Pisa, in March, 1872, more than eighty thousand mourners followed his remains to the grave, and his splendid writings are to-day probably influencing and inspiring the apostles of altruism more than at any previous period. That poor exile was one of the world's great leaders, though the conventionalism of his day ignored and scorned when it did not persecute him.

* * *

GREAT INVENTIONS OF THE DAWNING CENTURY AND WHAT THEY PROMISE FOR THE RACE.

I. ACTIVITY IN THE WORLD OF INVENTIVE GENIUS.

Many writers predict that progress through inventions and discoveries for utilizing the forces of Nature in the service of civilization will be far less marked in the twentieth century than it has been during the last hundred years—a period universally regarded as preëminently the age of invention and scientific advance. The opening of the twentieth century, however, reveals an unprecedented activity among inventive geniuses and those who are seeking to utilize the power and wealth of Nature for the benefit of man. Indeed, I think it is not too much to say that the promise of the present years seems to indicate that the great discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth century will prove merely the foundation for still greater works, or at least that the achievements of the past will be splendidly complemented in the near future by discoveries of incalculable potential value to the race. Mr. Edison announces two achievements that will be of immense importance, presuming that the great inventor and those who have been sufficiently in his confidence to speak intelligently are not mistaken in their conclusions.

II. PALACES OF BEAUTY FOR THE MILLIONS.

Mr. Edison has heretofore been a conservative prophet concerning the practical value of his own discoveries. Hence his statement that he has discovered a process of making a Port-

land cement, adapted to the building of homes, from cottages to palaces, which can be poured around iron or steel frames and made at a cost far cheaper than brick or stone, while being practically fire-proof, has already awakened an almost world-wide interest. This new building concrete, according to the inventor, is composed of crushed stone, sand, and cement. The houses will be poured into wooden shells temporarily put up around a skeleton framework. When the first story has been thus poured, the next will be treated in a similar manner. The roof and stairways also will be of cement. The pouring will require no special skill on the part of the laborers. The building will occupy comparatively few days, while the general effect can be made most pleasing to the artistic taste, as all who have visited the great expositions and world's fairs of recent years will readily understand. Mr. Edison believes that with this new concrete beautiful homes will be so cheapened that a poor man will be able to enjoy a little palace at a rental not exceeding ten dollars a month.

III. CHEAP AND LIGHT STORAGE BATTERIES.

The other discovery also promises great things, being something that inventors have laboriously toiled for during recent years. It is a new storage battery, which, among other advantages, is light and cheap in comparison with the lead batteries now in use, which weigh from 120 to 180 pounds per horsepower. Mr. Edison's new battery weighs 55 pounds per horsepower, and is thus seventy pounds lighter than the lightest lead batteries. One charge of a lead battery will carry about thirty miles, while the inventor claims that one charge of his new invention will carry from seventy-five to one hundred miles. Moreover, the old batteries take from four to five hours to charge, while the new batteries can be charged in from two to two and one-half hours. They are also easy to manage and not apt to get out of order. Few people realize the immense importance of a discovery that furnishes a high storage battery at a moderate cost. It will doubtless soon lead to the extensive employment of horseless vehicles in agricultural pursuits as well as greatly increase the use of automobiles and various self-propelling vehicles for travel and transportation, while its influence on the larger problems that relate to electrical power in manufacturing, lighting, and transportation will be incalculable.

IV. GENERATING POWER DIRECT FROM THE SUN.

Perhaps, however, the inventive discovery of the greatest promise that the present year has witnessed is that by which the great problem of generating power directly from the sun has been solved in a practical manner. No invention of recent years promises more in beneficent results for mankind than the solar motor, whose practicability at last has been proved in South Pasadena, California, where for many months it has been daily generating steam by which a ten horse-power engine raises water for irrigation purposes.

If we except aerial navigation, perhaps no problem has engaged inventors in recent years more than that of generating power by direct methods that would save the enormous expense heretofore required. The world's greatest waterfalls have been recently employed on a gigantic scale, and attempts are being made from time to time looking toward compelling the ocean's tides and waves to assist in solving this great twentieth-century problem. And now, through the agency of unique and ingenious machinery, employing gigantic reflectors, the necessary heat has been caught direct from the sun and transmitted to a boiler that develops a pressure of 150 pounds within one hour from the time the sun's rays begin to fall upon the mirrors. The reflector is fitted with an electric clock, by which it is moved three times every minute throughout the day, and in this manner it is made to follow the sun. The boiler is also so constructed that it turns with the reflector.

This invention is of course yet in its infancy, but it has passed the experimental stage, having, as has been observed, been in practical and satisfactory operation for many months. Its utility for the purposes of irrigation alone will be almost incalculable, as vast tracts of land that heretofore have been desert wastes, owing to the lack of water and the great expense for fuel essential to render irrigation possible, can now be transformed into gardens, orchards, and fruitful plains, and after the first cost there will be little additional outlay. As storage batteries become more and more perfected these motors will doubtless further serve man in important ways. The world is rapidly coming to a point where, with just and equitable social conditions, all men, women, and children can live in comfort and happiness, having an abundance of all that is needful and ample time for moral and intellectual culture and development and for recreation and rest.

V. MAKING SUN, WIND, AND WAVE THE SERVANTS OF MAN.

It is quite reasonable to expect that the world will soon see the sun utilized on a gigantic scale for the generation of power, while it is highly probable that improved machinery, somewhat similar to that foreshadowed by Professor George Sutherland in his admirable work on "Twentieth Century Inventions," will be utilized for making the wind and waves cheap and effective generators for the world's power. Along this line—that of generating power direct from the sun, winds, waves, and waterfalls—it seems that man's greatest progress will be made in the domain of invention and discovery of a utilitarian character; and these discoveries, if employed for the benefit of all people instead of for the enrichment of a few and the enslavement of the many, will go far toward enabling man to do the world's work in a few hours daily, leaving ample time for every son and daughter of earth to develop body, brain, and soul, and to enjoy the life that now is.

VI. SHALL SCIENCE AND INVENTION EMANCIPATE OR ENSLAVE EARTH'S MILLIONS?

But let no man forget that all the great potential blessings of life may be so abused that they fail to contribute to the happiness, elevation, and enrichment of life for all the people. It is for the men and women of to-day to determine, by their actions, their words, and their votes, whether the blessings of science, discovery, and inventive genius shall be made the beneficent servants of true progress, the emancipators of humanity, and the angels of peace, joy, and growth for earth's millions, or a blight to civilization and a further enslaver of the people. No man can escape the stupendous responsibility that to-day confronts him in the battle between democracy and commercial feudalism.

* * *

MR. JOHNSON AND THE TAX-DODGING CORPORATIONS.

One of the most important problems immediately confronting the electorate is that dealing with just and equitable taxation. For many years the farmers, small traders, and well-

to-do artisans have been paying taxes approximating the full demands of the law. The great wealthy railroads and other corporations have been, in a large proportion of cases, dishonestly evading the payment of a large percentage of their share of the taxes, and thus the poor and the middle class have been saddled with a load that has become an oppressive burden—a burden that would have been greatly lightened had the corporations borne their share in the government, State, and municipal expenses. Moreover, the presence of such dishonesty has necessarily served steadily to lower the *morale* of the people and to deaden the public conscience, while aiding in the establishment of an oppressive commercial feudalistic power—a parvenu plutocracy within the borders of the Republic.

From time to time there have been sporadic attacks on this growing injustice, which, thanks to an indifferent press and to the power of the corporations, the political boss, and the party machine, have amounted to little. Since the election of Mr. Tom L. Johnson to the office of mayor of Cleveland, however, the corporations have received a rude shock, as the aggressive Single-tax Democrat has boldly, bravely, and ably assailed this wrong in a manner that has greatly alarmed the corrupt monopolies. The mayor is making a systematic effort to compel the railroads and other rich corporations that operate natural monopolies to pay a just proportion of the taxes. Something of the method as well as the aggressive spirit of this statesman may be gleaned from the following, which recently appeared in *The Public* and was taken from a private letter written by the mayor of Cleveland to Mr. Post:

"I have employed Prof. E. W. Bemis, and we have been making a campaign against the present assessment of steam-railroad property for taxation. Eighteen or twenty of the railroad assessing boards have met in Cleveland, and we have been able to show in each case that the railroad property was assessed at from five to fifteen per cent. of its true value in money, averaging very much below ten per cent. when considered all together. These local boards have made only slight increases in assessments as a result of our appearing before them, and we propose to carry a protest to Columbus before a board of equalization composed of four State officers who have the power to increase these assessments without limitation. We may fail there also, but we are arousing this entire State on the subject, and the question appeals to the rural districts more strongly than was anticipated. Our aim is to make this the principal issue at the election of members of the Legislature next fall. Should we succeed in doing that, I predict a revolution in the conservative country vote. We purpose showing that more than \$500,000,000 of steam-railroad property escapes taxation through the ig-

norance or cupidity of the auditors in the eighty-eight counties. We will also show how much each county loses by the present unjust plan. There isn't a county in this State that is not affected, and the distinctively farming counties are the heaviest losers. From the responses I have received from all classes of citizens in this State, I feel that we have touched a sympathetic chord, and I look for great results for just taxation."

The splendid fight that Mr. Johnson is making will command the enthusiastic approval of every honest citizen, while it is sure to arouse against him all the power that plutocracy can command. Of course, his motives will be impugned by the corruptors and by the corrupted who have become wealthy by means of indirection. The army of crumb-seekers in press, pulpit, college, and State—that, Uriah Heap-like, humbly do the bidding of the trust magnates and of the capitalistic exploiters—will leave no stone unturned in their effort to discredit and make ineffective the vitally important work being carried forward by one of the bravest and ablest men in public or private life to-day. These things are to be expected, but they should be met by the united, passionate, and whole-souled support of every man and woman who loves democracy and who believes in honesty, justice, and an equality of opportunity.

* * *

PLUTOCRACY'S BELSHAZZAR-LIKE ARROGANCE.

The charges of thoughtful writers, statesmen, and educators, who, seeing the corrupting influence of plutocracy throughout the social and political organisms, have raised a warning voice, have recently been emphasized and reenforced from a most unexpected quarter. The trusts and corporations must indeed be very confident when a paper like the *New York Sun* throws away all disguise and makes the following frank editorial confession:

"War upon plutocracy is hopeless. The Democracy will never prevail until it satisfies the country that the Democrats, not the Republican party, are the real friends and instruments of plutocracy. They must offer more favorable conditions for money-making than the Republicans can furnish, or they will remain indefinitely as poor in political strength as they are to-day."

The *New York Sun*, says Mr. Louis F. Post, editor of *The*

Public, "is said to be under the control of J. Pierpont Morgan;" but, whether this is true or not, there can be no question as to the fact that the *Sun* is one of the strongest and ablest outspoken supporters of the present Administration as well as an efficient friend of monopoly and the centralizing of wealth and power in the hands of the few. This astounding confession is even less significant, however, than the action of certain great corporations which have heretofore been deferent to labor organizations, but which now boldly declare that they will henceforth under no circumstances recognize organized labor. It is quite evident that at last the representatives of predatory wealth believe themselves to be sufficiently intrenched behind the bulwarks of government, and that their control over opinion-forming agencies is also such, that they can safely throw off all masks and arrogantly exercise despotic power with impunity. We believe, however, that the exercise of this spirit, as much as anything else, will awaken the people and set in motion reactionary influences that not unlikely will precipitate a crisis. Certain it is that the war upon the labor unions will add thousands of recruits to the ranks of the Socialists.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

EMILE ZOLA'S SOCIAL MASTERPIECE.

LABOR. A novel by Emile Zola. Cloth, 604 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

A Book Study.

I.

Nothing is more instructive or suggestive to the student of literature who is deeply interested in economic progress than the great number of "social visions" by leading thinkers and popular writers that have appeared within the last quarter of a century, and the marked success that has attended many of them. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" was a pioneer work. It had been refused by one leading firm, and was finally brought out by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Company. To the amazement of the publishers, it inaugurated the day of enormous single-volume sales, more than a quarter of a million copies being greedily taken by the public, whose indefinable longings were already reaching toward a higher ethical spirit in government—toward a social state in which coöperation should be the key-note, and justice, freedom, and fraternity the dominant influences in society.

The next "social vision" to obtain wide currency was William Morris's "News from Nowhere." The distinguished and popular poet, artist, and novelist had come under the compelling influence of the new spirit of the age, and henceforth he dedicated his life to the service of all. "News from Nowhere," though in many ways not as satisfactory as many similar works that have since appeared, possesses real literary merit and will long live in our literature. It is also rich in helpful suggestions and breathes forth that spirit of freedom which the great Socialistic leaders of the Anglo-Saxon world hold will never be realized until civilization comes under the beneficent influence of the coöperative commonwealth.

Joaquin Miller's "City Beautiful" was unfortunate in its publishers, and therefore was never brought extensively before the reading public. It, however, is in many respects the most charming of all the "social visions" of our time—a literary gem, highly poetic and freighted with

* Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

the finest thought of the new time. It also shows how intimate is the relationship between the life and teachings of Jesus and the present-day ideals of coöperation, of justice, of liberty, and of fraternity, which constitute the burden of the message of the prophets of social progress. It contains an ideal picture, sketched by a consummate artist and poet, whose work embodies very much of the splendid vision of the new time that is coming into the consciousness of many throughout the civilized world.

Then came Mr. Blatchford's "Merrie England," a book that in many respects suggests "News from Nowhere," and written down to the comprehension of the simplest intelligence. It is said that between one and two million copies of this book have been sold.

Perhaps the most finished of all the "social visions" of the present time is Mr. Howells's "A Traveler from Altruria," a noble literary and artistic addition to the permanent social fiction of America; but the most masterly economic exposition of the new Socialism in the form of a romance that the New World has given to mankind is found in Edward Bellamy's last great economic romance, "Equality," a volume which occupied the closing years of the author's life and in which the principal objections advanced against Socialism are one by one answered in the course of the story and in a spirit at once free, frank, tolerant, and engaging. But, like many of the social romances dominated largely by the message of justice, the novel or story as such is too insignificant to interest those whose chief desire is to be entertained.

Before me, however, lies a social romance that will hold the attention of thoughtful people by its profound human interest and its vivid dramatic pictures of life quite as much as by the powerful contrasting views of warring social systems that occupy the thought of civilization to-day. This most recent and in many respects strongest story that recent decades have contributed to the literature of coöperation and Socialism is "Labor," Emile Zola's latest novel. *No student of social, economic, or political conditions, and indeed no person who wishes to keep abreast of the current of modern life as it relates to economic progress, can afford to slight this masterpiece among social studies—this epic of labor and love.*

II.

The story abounds in striking antitheses. The Pit is the incarnation of the modern capitalistic iron works, with their long hours and dehumanizing influences, thrown up in striking lines upon the canvas. It is not an exaggerated picture, as those familiar with the great iron works will attest. Here we see the war of the workers against the manager, who, himself a hard-working man, is striving to earn large dividends on the investment for the capitalist who has furnished the money. Starvation and deep-seated hatred are much in evidence, and the sodden, brutalized puddlers, half burned up by the frightful heat to which they are subjected through long days of toil, are drawn with such photographic accuracy that the reader sees and feels what the author must

have seen and felt before it would have been possible for him to have penned this powerful protest against the old order. While over against this gloomy scene, typical of the present-day struggle between the capitalistic class and the proletariat, Zola places the ideal city of brotherhood and the agrarian communal community—La Crecherie and Combettes, where under an equality of opportunity there arises a new order—such an order as would exist under conditions of justice and fraternity and that will be realized in the oncoming age, unless the onward sweep of life toward coöperation for all receives a serious check on the one hand or succumbs to the despotism of commercial feudalism on the other.

III.

The novel opens with M. Luc Froment's arrival in the iron-manufacturing community where an enormous industry has been builded up by two generations of hard-working men—the Qurignons, father and son. The latter, after establishing the business on a gigantic scale, realizing a munificent fortune and building for himself, and as he fondly hopes for the generations of Qurignons who are to come after him, a lordly palace, becomes paralyzed. That was thirty years before the story opens, and though he still lives and is daily wheeled throughout the broad domain over which he had long wielded the authority of owner, he has not during this entire period been able to frame a word, and his wistful eyes gaze out upon the world without expression or aught to indicate that the changing scenes before him are noted or their meaning understood.

The works have for long years been carried on through the capital of his granddaughter and her husband, Boisgelin, and under the able, energetic, and industrious management of one Delaveau, a cousin of Boisgelin's. The immediate family of M. Jerome Qurignon, the invalid, had turned out badly. Insanity, dissipation, and violent death had taken from him all save his beautiful and high-minded granddaughter, Suzanne, who, with her husband Boisgelin and their little son Paul, resides at Guerdache. The enormous revenue yielded by the Pit and turned over to Boisgelin is largely blood money, having been wrung from the workers by compelling them to labor during long hours in the most exhausting toil and under unsanitary and unhealthy conditions, for wages that only permit them to live in hovels of poverty and amid conditions that favor moral degeneration, mental inertia, and physical decay.

Delaveau, the manager of the foundries, typifies the modern money-seeker, who toils long and laboriously in an effort to create wealth and who becomes infected by the fatal spirit of modern materialistic commercialism, while Boisgelin represents another class. He is a man upon whom wealth has fallen as a curse, anesthetizing his conscience and taking from him those finer qualities which lift man to a noble eminence and which largely differentiate him from the lower animals. This man, like the other leading figures in the story, is colossal because he is truly typical. He lives in a false world, having a contempt for labor and sub-

ordinating all thought and aim in life to the gratification of selfish and sensual desires. He is false to his wife, by whom he has acquired wealth; false to the manager of his works, who is supplying him with a princely revenue by which he is enabled to pursue his career of unbridled lust and extravagance; and he is false to almost every duty and responsibility that manhood and circumstances in life impose upon the individual.

From the vivid pictures of misery, drunkenness, degradation, and brutality at the Pit, and of ease and luxury at Guerdache, the reader follows the hero of the volume to the home of M. Jordan. Here a brother and sister live in a quiet, simple way. The former is very delicate, but he is an indefatigable worker, a working scientist, engaged in electrical experiments. He is little interested in the social and economic conditions, believing that through scientific inventions and discoveries humanity is to be emancipated. He also has extensive iron works, but they have been carried on by a trusted agent who has just died, and it is to consult M. Luc Froment about the future of the works that Jordan and his sister, Soeurette, have called him from Paris. The brother wishes to sell the works to Delaveau, that he may not be annoyed, taxed, or worried with any outside enterprises; but Luc prevails on him to delay action until he has considered the matter. Later the hero of the romance proposes to run the works on a coöperative or Socialistic plan, believing he can set an example in a practical way, through the success of which other communities, and in time the entire nation, will be led to adopt a similar peaceable solution for the great world problem—a solution that rests on justice and equality of opportunity for all, whose key-note is brotherhood, and that would inevitably further the rise and permanent happiness of the many. The proposition of Luc is warmly seconded by the sister and is assented to by the brother. Thenceforth the progress of La Crecherie, as the new social iron-manufacturing community is called, and that of the Pit run parallel. Later the peasants of Combettes decide to come into the community of La Crecherie.

The struggles, the discouragements, the despair of the young philanthropist are vividly pictured, and one of the most dramatic pages of the book is that dealing with the advice of young Jordan to the discouraged Luc, in which the former insists that Luc must not give up his plan. At length the tide turns. La Crecherie and not the Pit becomes the great center of prosperity as it has long been of health and of a larger degree of happiness and comfort than workingmen have hitherto known. This, however, only serves to arouse the *bourgeois* population of the Pit, who unite in a savage attempt to crush the new experiment, first by law. Later Luc is stabbed by a would-be assassin. However, he does not die, and that which seemed to be a great calamity proves a blessing to the philanthropist, bringing to him love and loyalty.

The years pass, and the members of the coöperative community grow rapidly in wealth. They are concerned in the manufacture of iron implements for peace and progress, of agricultural implements and iron

for transportation and peaceful commerce; while the manager of the Pit, believing that implements of war will prove most remunerative, has long since given his attention to the making of guns and shells. The Pit, having no reserve fund, is unprepared for a time of depression, and a tragic end overtakes the faithless wife and the hard-working manager, both of whom perish in flames which consume the Pit and which have been lighted by the manager's hand.

Old Jerome Qurignon, now far into the eighties, after looking out on the world with expressionless vision for more than a generation, gives evidence of having received a powerful internal shock and of regaining the faculty of speech. This occurs just after the burning of the Pit. The first articulate words are, "It is necessary to give back." On the sign of an awakening consciousness on the part of her grandfather, Suzanne had sent for the old family physician, who, after an examination, expressed the conviction that it was probable that the old man had received an internal shock and that dissolution was at hand. Moreover, he continued, it was not improbable that before he died he would regain the power of speech. The physician then recounted some cases in which this phenomenon had appeared, and he further expressed the fear that the aged capitalist might have seen and understood all that had gone on for thirty years, as such cases were on record. A few days later the invalid regained the power of speech sufficiently to request the presence of M. Luc Froment, as well as that of Suzanne, Boisselin, and the little Paul. He then recounted how the vast fortune accumulated had been a curse, because it had been unjustly acquired. What others had earned the Qurignons had appropriated, and this gold had in time come to blight and curse the family. His son Michael, after indulging in years of licentious dissipation, had ended his life with a pistol shot. His daughter Laure had taken the veil. His son Philippe had married a worthless character and later had been killed in a duel. His grandson Andre had wasted his life in an insane asylum, and Gustave, the brother of Suzanne, had robbed his father of mistress and fortune, leaving the latter to commit suicide, while he also met a violent death. Boisselin, the husband of M. Jerome's only surviving granddaughter, had squandered their fortune on the wife of the manager of the Pit, had brought the great business to the verge of ruin, and was also the cause of the tragic death of Delaveau and the faithless Fernande as well as of the reduction of the Pit to ashes.

And now the hour has come when "restitution must be made." "Nothing," says the old man, speaking as one from the tomb, "of that which we have believed to be our wealth is ours. If this wealth has poisoned us and destroyed us, it is because it was the wealth of others. For our happiness and the happiness of others, it is necessary to give back." The old man appeals to each one present and insists that the splendid palace of Guerdache, which he had builded to be the proud home of the Qurignons for generations, as well as what remains of the Pit, must be returned to the people. The former shall be made into a hospital for women and children, with its spacious grounds for a public

park, while the Pit shall be revived and operated only under the Socialistic plan employed by Luc in the building up of the great La Crecherie.

M. Jerome Qurignon's wishes were carried out, and as the years passed the rich agricultural fields of Combettes and the great manufacturing interests of La Crecherie and the Pit were carried on for the mutual benefit of all. Great wealth came as the result of united labor, but instead of being enjoyed by the few while the many remained in poverty, squalor, and constant fear of the evil day to come, each family alike enjoyed opulence; and under just and equitable conditions in which all worked and none feared for the morrow life took on new meaning and beauty. The heart sang, the soul developed, the brain expanded. Joy reigned everywhere, and the spirit of love and fraternity dominated society.

IV.

"Labor," though unquestionably the most interesting as well as one of the strongest Socialistic novels yet written, is not free from defects, both as an ethical treatise and as literature. It is freer from the naturalism that has proved so offensive in most of Zola's great works; yet in the relations sustained for a time between the hero and Josine, a beautiful victim of the present-day unjust social order, we find a moral blot that takes from the value of the work. And, though M. Luc almost pays the penalty for his offense with his life, yet the episode detracts much from the value of a volume which as a whole is instinct with the full-orbed justice and the spirit of brotherhood that are streaking the eastern sky with the promise of the coming of a brighter day than man has ever known. One regrets finding any moral blot in a work whose spirit and dominating note are so essentially noble. It is only just to observe, however, that apparently the defect of the work arises from the author's desire to protest against the degrading influence of present-day social conditions and conventional ethical standards rather than from a confused view of the fundamentals of right and wrong in social relations.

From a literary point of view the volume is rather prolix and is I think materially weakened by the long-drawn-out chapters which follow the dramatic recital of M. Jerome Qurignon; for here, after a powerful dramatic climax, the author's intense desire to force home on the imagination of his readers the happiness and growth that will attend the inauguration of a social system based on justice and brotherhood, leads him to dwell at length upon the various marriages of the little ones he has beautifully and touchingly depicted in earlier chapters; and, apparently fascinated by the picture of a free, emancipated, and happy people, M. Zola dwells long and lovingly on his theme; whereas, had he closed the book with a brief descriptive epilogue, showing the turning over of Guerdache and the Pit to La Crecherie, where in a few compact sentences a picture of the joy of life under love, justice, and brotherhood should have been boldly outlined, the novel would have been immensely strengthened.

Typographically the book is far from being up to the old standard

of the Harpers. We find such examples of careless proof-reading as the following: "She heaved a great *sight*" (for "*sigh*"). The word "sufused" occurs for "diffused." "Andre" occurs where it should read "Achille." Such mistakes are indeed surprising in a book bearing the imprint of Messrs. Harper Brothers.

V.

As a story, "Labor" is intensely entertaining, being filled with the human interest, the graphic descriptions, and the faithful portrayals for which M. Zola is justly famed; while its comparative freedom from objectionable naturalism makes it an acceptable volume for general perusal. That a book so instinct with justice, moral vitality, and ethical power should offend conventional critics and the upholders of social injustice goes without saying. Already the criticisms against "Labor" remind one of the attacks and ridicule heaped upon Victor Hugo's noble masterpiece, "Les Misérables," by the popular but morally servile critics of a generation ago who upheld ancient thought and defended the old order. The dilettante "sissies" who occupy seats of honor on literary journals that are pledged to the defense of the *bourgeois* civilization are always ready to cry down virile works that make for social righteousness or that call loudly to the conscience in the name of justice. But in literature as in life it is the prophet voice sounding in the van of the caravan of civilization that helps the world onward and that lives in the love of the ages. "Labor" will do an immense service through the power of suggestion, coming as it does at a time when the social conscience is awakening and in an expectant attitude. The vision of full-orbed development, of freedom and happiness, and of the inevitable result that must follow the reign of justice and fraternity in the social state, will live in the imagination of thousands who in time will become prophets, apostles, and teachers of the higher moral concepts that are floating upon the horizon of the twentieth century. My advice to all friends of THE ARENA is to read "Labor." It will do you good.

THE MASTER-KNOT OF HUMAN FATE. By Ellis Meredith.
Cloth, 310 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This romance is as stimulating and suggestive as it is unique in its character. A catastrophe engulfs all North America save a tract in the Rocky Mountains, on which are but two human survivors, a man and a woman, after the cataclysm. The man is a brilliant young lawyer who was rapidly rising in the public world. The woman is somewhat older than her companion. She is a person of great strength of character and much individuality, possessing a wonderful singing voice. A cabin on the mountain-side affords shelter and home. There are some cattle, horses, and other domestic animals that were above the water line when the ocean swept over the plains and plateaus. For days, weeks, and

months the two keep a beacon-fire burning on the mountain-side, but look in vain for sail or smoke-stack. During these waiting months, and even after they have given up all hope of rescue, the time is largely spent in gardening, exploring their world, and caring for the animals left in their charge; and during this time they discussed many vital problems that intimately relate to civilization here and now. In referring to the condition of our country at the time of the cataclysm, the heroine says:

"Given a pure democracy, and demos reigns sooner or later. The shiftless go to the bottom, and then, like the upper and nether mill-stones, they grind everything between them. That which is below cries 'Alms!' and that which is above responds, 'Largesse,' and the voice that cries 'Justice!' is stifled between. The stone that crushed from above and the rock that ground from below were very near, and men dreaded them, for when the grist is ground, and flint strikes upon flint, the conflagration is at hand. . . . I only know what I saw, and what the poets have said. I wouldn't dare to be as radical as Lowell, nor as bitter as Tennyson, nor as savage as Carlyle, or Ruskin, or Hugo. We had overcome the sharpness of death, but whence could we hope for deliverance from the sharpness of living?"

Perhaps some readers will think there is a touch of morbidity in the closing chapters, where the survivors of a world's wreck, who have come to love, gravely debate whether they shall cast themselves over the beetling crags into the sea and drown together or emulate our first parents. Yet for some this discussion will doubtless prove as interesting and suggestive as the many other thoughtful arguments that enter into the romance. The story is deeply interesting from its opening page. It is finished in literary form and possesses a charming simplicity of style, while a high moral purpose is everywhere in evidence.

THE MORISCOS IN SPAIN: THEIR CONVERSION AND EXPULSION. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Cloth, 463 pp. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Company.

This volume is a valuable contribution to authoritative historical literature. It is the work of one of the most careful and painstaking modern students of history—a scholar who in his former able contributions has shown the capacity and inclination for that exhaustive research which is necessary for the writer who essays to deal with subject-matter at its fountain-head, and who must not only sift evidence but also arrange and marshal before the reader such facts as are germane to the subject and of whose authenticity there is little reasonable doubt. Dr. Lea's scholarly and voluminous works on "The History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," and "The History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church," as well as his five other historical works on kindred subjects, amply demonstrate his worth as an able and fearless historian to whose indefatigable labors the Protestant world is greatly indebted.

The present volume concerns one of the most somber but interesting pages of medieval history, embodying not only, as the author observes, "a tragedy commanding the deepest sympathy, but it epitomizes nearly all the errors and tendencies which combined to cast down Spain in little more than a century from its splendor under Charles V. to its humiliation under Carlos II." This deeply fascinating subject is treated in a clear, forcible, and engaging manner. The reader's attention is quickly caught and sustained throughout the work in a way that proves the historian to be a master in his craft. It is well that we have a brave, painstaking, and candid historian to give a truthful, unvarnished story of the crimes committed in the name of religion in the past; for no lesson is more timely for Americans than that which impresses the importance of maintaining, guarding, and protecting perfect religious freedom for every child of earth and the necessity of combating all attempts to mix religion with politics or to unite Church and State. There can be no great or permanent growth or enduring happiness where toleration and intellectual and religious freedom are not cherished and encouraged.

THE WOMAN WHO TRUSTED. By Will N. Harben. Cloth, 258 pp. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

In this novel we have the story of a young Southern author who, after winning the heart of a beautiful young woman in his native town, goes to New York in quest of fame and fortune. He is soon disillusioned, as have been hundreds of other aspiring authors. Poverty and misfortune companion him. A designing widow lends him money at a time when his father through speculation is on the brink of ruin and disgrace. In return for the timely generosity the young man in a moment of emotional weakness offers to marry his benefactress. He is immediately accepted, and at a time when the young lady from the South, with whom he is really in love, is *en route* to New York to perfect her musical education. Complications follow, but in the end the Southern belle triumphs and the story closes happily. This story, which originally appeared serially in *The Saturday Evening Post*, is by no means, in our judgment, equal to some other work that Mr. Harben has given to the public. The hero is not a strong character, nor are the other personages in this book instinct with life.

NEW MODES OF THOUGHT. By C. T. Stockwell. Cloth, 150 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: James H. West Company.

In "New Modes of Thought," by Mr. C. T. Stockwell, we have one of the ablest and most thought-stimulating works that have appeared in months. The author possesses the happy faculty of presenting his thought in a compact, entertaining, and easily comprehensible manner. The volume is chiefly devoted to the discussion of "The New Materialism" and "The New Pantheism." Under these two general heads Mr.

Stockwell considers: "Movement of Philosophic Theories;" "Spencer's Philosophy;" "Haeckel's Monism;" "What of the Future—the Trend?" "A Conscious Universe;" "A Completed Chapter in the Atomic Theory;" "Spanning the Chasm;" "The Matterhorn of Modern Scientific Speculation;" "New Modes of Thought Inevitable;" "Old and New Pantheism—How Related;" "Development of the Pantheistic Conception;" "The Instinct of Personification;" "Coalescence of Theism and Pantheism Possible;" "Origin of Isms;" "Defining God;" "The Ultimate Productive Cause;" and "Begotten, not Created." As to the value of this work I cannot do better than quote the thoughtful opinion of the editor of the *Springfield Republican*, who observes that:

"Here we have presented, in the most concise and comprehensive shape, what has not hitherto come into print: the momentous trend of chemistry, physics, and philosophy to one and the same end—the recognition of a point where matter (as understood) stops, and something comes in which even great scientific scholars declare may as well be termed 'Love' as be given any other name. This is the same as saying that scientific reasoning has touched upon spiritual force, and has recognized it."

THE SYMPHONY OF LIFE. A Series of Constructive Sketches and Interpretations. By Henry Wood. Cloth, gilt top, 203 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Mr. Henry Wood has wrought a work of great value in giving our people a number of metaphysical and New Thought works, both in essay and story form, which are essentially noble, inspiring, and refining in character and influence. His glowing style lends a charm to whatever he writes, and, though I cannot agree with many of his social and economic views, I have derived great pleasure and profit from his lofty philosophic idealism, as found in "The Symphony of Life," "God's Image in Man," "Ideal Suggestion," "Studies in the Thought World," and his two novels, "Edward Burton" and "Victor Serenus." I know of no modern essayist who has the power of investing abstract philosophic theories with such fascinating interest as Mr. Wood. What in the hands of most writers is dry and difficult to comprehend is presented by this essayist in so luminous a manner as to be at once clear and entertaining.

Mr. Wood's latest work, "The Symphony of Life," merits wide reading. It is a handsome volume, containing twenty-three essays, in which such subjects as the following are thoughtfully and entertainingly presented: "From the Pre-Adamic to the Human;" "The Human Body as a Temple;" "The Oneness of Life and Being;" "Evolutionary Reconciliation;" "What is the Meaning of Evil?" "What is the Higher Law?" "Thinking as a Fine Art;" "The Ever Present Judgment;" "The Unfulfilled Ideal of Religious Liberalism;" "Reactions in the Higher Development;" "Dogmatism, New and Old;" and "The Cosmic Consciousness."

THE LIFE AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

By the Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

Reviewed by the Rev. Robert E. Bisbee.

The Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., has had so much to say on so many questions—he is so steadfast in adherence to theories once accepted, so dogmatic in assertion and strenuous in opinion—that, able and apparently candid writer that he is, his utterances awaken in thoughtful minds an *a priori* sense of distrust. For this reason I wish that some other author, with a style of equal force, clearness, and beauty, might have given us the book which claims to place before the reader the best results of the higher criticism of the Old Testament—to contain a careful analysis of the law, politics, poetry, history, drama, philosophy, ethical culture, theology, folk-lore, and fiction of the ancient Hebrew people. This is a great claim, and it is unfortunate that it could not come from one capable of commanding a higher confidence in the accuracy of his mental processes. Even from the hand of Dr. Abbott the book is not without worth. It is, of course, intensely interesting. It contains a strong and novel putting of many vexed problems in Scriptural interpretation, and, if I were sure that the author was not exalting certain facts and suppressing others in the interest of preconceived theories, I would add that the book is a storehouse of valuable information. Under the circumstances, however, I would scarcely dare to do this without verifying by original investigation the statements of the celebrated and eloquent divine.

The work contains four hundred pages and is divided into sixteen chapters. It discusses the Bible as literature, Hebrew history, prehistoric traditions, the life of Moses, the founding of the Israelitish nation, Hebrew ethical philosophy, Bible lyrics, the nature of prophecy, and the message of Israel. In the course of the discussion, mingled with much that is wise and helpful, are occasional lapses into such consummate illogicalness as this: "The government of the father does not depend on the consent of the children, nor that of the teacher on the consent of the pupil, nor that of God on the consent of man. No more does the government of the State depend on the consent of the citizens. For America the notion that government rests on the consent of the governed was forever demolished by the civil war." He then goes on to show that government rests on divine authority.

The error in the foregoing is very subtle and almost defies analysis. There is a deceitful equivocal meaning in one of the terms. Government, in the deeper sense of eternal law, may not depend on the consent of the governed, but the form and scope of national governments do; and this notion has never been demolished, nor indeed can it be. It may be defeated for a time; it may be obscured, juggled with by such men as Abbott, but demolished never. The words above quoted contain the entire reversal of history and render utterly obsolete Lincoln's Gettysburg ora-

tion. They degrade the founders of the government, together with its great savior, from the rank of statesmanship to that of blind leaders of the blind. They imply a false analogy between parental, school, and divine government on the one hand and the forms of national government on the other. Even taking the term *government* in its deeper significance of eternal law, the author's position is not wholly true; for it is not the authority or dictum of even the supreme Lawgiver that gives force to law so much as it is the eternal constitution of things, whether revealed and declared or not. Moreover, it is not necessarily quite true that the consent of man may not be in some sense a factor in this eternal constitution. Dr. Abbott has herein revealed himself as at times a shallow thinker, a sophist, and an unsafe leader.

A statement, nearer to the truth than anything Dr. Abbott is capable of, has been made by Professor James T. Bixby. He says: "The distinction between sin and righteousness is not made by any fiat, even of the Almighty. The reason that injustice is wrong is not because it is forbidden by divine edicts but is wrong whether forbidden or not. . . . The law of right is as independent of authority, human or celestial, as it is everlasting." To the same effect Bishop Brewster of Connecticut has beautifully said: "The moral has its seat not in the will of God but in the being of God." Abbott, on the other hand, insists on the "authority" of God as the source of law, and lapses into such loose statements as that "the seat of law is the bosom of Almighty God; it is the authority of the one and only lawgiver."

Such utterances have been the refuge of the quacks and the false prophets of all ages. A recent illustration is that of John Alexander Dowie declaring himself to be the third Elijah and demanding tithes of all his followers in the name of the God of Israel. Dr. Abbott does not, of course, intend to reenforce such fanaticism. We are not criticizing his purpose, but his method of treating deep and vital truths.

With the book as a whole, however, we see little reason to disagree. In the main it accords with the latest and most rational and sensible explanations of the nature and origin of the Bible. In fact, very much of the subject-matter is too obvious, too common, to demand publication at this late day. The best parts of the book are in no sense original except in the putting. As a master of style Dr. Abbott is great. He is a rhetorician, but not a profound scholar, an original thinker, or a safe logician.

ROBERT E. BISBER.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Were You Born Under a Lucky Star?" By A. Alphas. Cloth, 217 pp. Chicago and New York: Hennebury Company.

"Logic." By George H. Smith. Cloth, 266 pp. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"Love in a Mist." Poems. By Post Wheeler. Cloth, \$1.25. New York: The Camelot Company.

"From Sunlight to Shade." By Grenville Atkins. Cloth, 75 pp. Chicago: The Neely Company.

"Iturbide, a Soldier of Mexico." A romance. By John Lewin McLeish, A.M., M.D. Cloth, illustrated, 166 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Abbey Press.

"A B C of the Telephone." By James E. Homans. Cloth, illustrated, indexed, 332 pp. New York: Theo. Audel & Company.

"Politics of the Nazarene: What Jesus Said to Do." By O. D. Jones. Paper, 288 pp. Price, 50 cents. Edina, Mo.: O. D. Jones.

"Lisbeth: A Story of Two Worlds." By Carrie E. S. Twing. Cloth, stamped in gold, 354 pp. Boston: Banner of Light Publishing Company.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

IN its pointed and vigorous criticism of the theological vagaries of the day, the lecture by Prof. George D. Herron to which we give first place in this month's ARENA is in perfect alignment with the reformatory policy of this magazine. It will be noted that Dr. Herron makes no attack upon the ideal *religion* that was taught and practised by Jesus and his immediate followers: on the contrary, he takes pains to express his profound regard for its Founder, its principles and precepts, and its practical utility when woven into the fabric of human life and society. It is the ecclesiastical superstructure, based upon the pride, greed, and selfishness of the institution-builders of later centuries, that he assails—the fear-begotten mental slavery that has resulted from the degrading lust of men for power and authority. In Dr. Herron's advocacy of a return to primitive religious ideals—that communism of Truth without which even economic justice is impossible—he has the silent sympathy of multitudes who are repelled by the prevailing commercial traffic in "salvation;" and evidences are not wanting of the early emergence of an increased number of such outspoken reformers from the modern pulpit into the light of the new day.

Editor Patterson will contribute to our next issue an article on "The Spirit of Modern Christianity," which will present other phases of the condition wrought by the materialistic theology by which the instinctive religious impulses of the human heart have been seared. It will show the appalling extent to which the teachings of the Nazarene have been nullified by the crystallized officialism of the Church, and will tend to call a halt in our radical departure from the moral and ethical

standards that were the true glory of the Christianity of Christ.

The leading feature of our October number will be an address by the Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, LL.D., on "The Value of Ethical Ideals in American Politics," which was recently delivered before the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University. It has been carefully revised by the author and will attract universal attention, for it is an exceedingly timely and important contribution to the discussion of our political concepts.

Academic freedom is a burning question in the development of education in America, and it is one that will persist till the war against monopoly of all kinds has been fought to a finish. Despite the labored attempts of entrenched wealth to prove that university instruction in this country is unhampered by the opinions and prejudices of college founders, the fact remains that conscientious teachers are being coerced and their chairs declared vacant by the trustees of many of our institutions of learning. No one can doubt this, or remain ignorant of the tendency to curtail liberty of thought in the United States, who reads Prof. Thomas E. Will's paper in this issue on "The College Trust." The array of facts presented is unanswerable; yet their most discouraging aspect is not the forced resignations of teachers of independent views and principles recounted by the author, but rather the indorsement of this arbitrary policy by a subsidized press.

In Prof. Frank Parsons's illustrated review of the progress of democratic ideals during the last century in the current number, an antidote will be found to any pessimistic reflections that may result from Prof. Will's marshaling of the handicaps on educational freedom.. This third article of the most valuable series that THE ARENA has ever published is a condensed history in which no fact is abridged. The author's deductions are always luminous, and are worthy of careful study. His

subject for the October number relates to the industrial progress of the century.

Our symposium this month on the late James A. Herne is a merited appreciation of an actor whose services in the interests of a more worthy dramatic literature will have far-reaching effects. He was not a mere impersonator of character, but a student, a philosopher, a social reformer—a man interested in the progress and prosperity of his race. This feature is followed by an article from the pen of W. A. Hawley that Mr. Herne would have loved to read—"The Single Tax as a Happy Medium"—for the famous actor and playwright was a profound admirer of the late Henry George and his economic teachings.

An important symposium on "The Single Tax and the Trust" is in preparation for our next issue. Among the contributors to this discussion will be Louis F. Post, editor of the *Chicago Public*; J. H. Ralston, Esq., of Washington, D. C.; and Mr. Bolton Hall, of New York—three leading and thoroughly representative advocates of a principle of taxation in which an increasing number of social reformers are beginning to discern a solvent of our political, industrial, and economic ills.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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VALUE OF ETHICAL IDEALS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.*

THE yearly observance of academic festivals in America has always seemed to me to be one of the most gracious and the most useful of the time-honored customs of our national life. They bring us together in the full beauty of our midsummer, with its wealth of fragrance and of bloom; and while persuading us to lay aside the anxious cares, the absorbing pursuits, the engrossing ambitions which so easily beset us and fill far too large a part of our daily lives, they enable us to breathe a purer and serener air, to refresh ourselves with unaccustomed joys and a nobler reach of vision, and to live through these days of June less in the spirit of the age and more in the spirit of the ages.

Such an occasion is aspiring alike to the older alumni and to the younger. It is inspiring to those of us who in serenity of spirit bring hither a long retrospect of a life of labor passed in fairly good ways and in works which, if not filled with benediction, have been at least reasonably free from harm to our fellow-men. It is inspiring also to the ardent graduates of yesterday, who are just crossing the threshold which divides youth from manhood and have before them a long prospect of days yet to be passed, let us hope, in ways and works at least equally free from blame—a prospect now seen through

"Magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas in faëry lands."

* An address delivered before the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University, June 27, 1901, revised, corrected, and published by special arrangement with the author.

And such a festival at the seat of this ancient and honored university is necessarily fraught with the buoyant and generous hopefulness born of her splendid history. In the grateful shade of these old elms, surrounded by these noble halls dedicated to the culture alike of character and of intelligence, the history of Harvard unrolls itself as on a golden page as we follow the slow procession of the fruitful years from its small beginnings to its present measure of renown and usefulness. It is, indeed, impossible to measure the measureless bounty of this seat of liberal learning in that long interval to America. We cannot even recount the names of her illustrious dead, the priests and the poets, the scholars and the statesmen, the jurists and the soldiers, who received here for the first time the sign of the cross upon their foreheads, consecrating them as servants of mankind unto their life's end. This uplifting work for the nation has gone steadily on, with ever-widening influence to its present yearly contribution of great numbers of young men of generous training and a high sense of duty, fitted to teach by precept and by example a nobler standard of life to their less fortunate brothers; for four years spent here at that period of life when the mind is most open to elevating impressions cannot fail to imbue them with unfaltering loyalty to their *alma mater* and with a noble pride in what she has been and what she has done—in her lasting contributions to scholarship and to literature, her generous culture, her catholic toleration of all seekers after truth, and her ineffable charm for all her sons.

It seems to me there is no better work to be done at present by an American university than again to unseal those fountains of idealism, where the human spirit has so often refreshed itself when weary of a too material age, to reawaken that enthusiasm for the moral law which we have all somehow lost, and to impress upon a people, essentially noble but now too deeply absorbed in the pursuit of wealth for wealth's sake, the advantages which the cherishing of ethical ideals may bring to all of us, even to those who pride themselves above

all things upon being practical. It is for that reason that I venture to ask you to consider, during the time at our disposal, the value of such ideals in American politics.

While we must, of course, always insist upon the one vital distinction between true and false American patriotism, recognizing only as true that which possesses the ethical spirit, and rejecting as false that which does not possess it, we must also recognize that such a subject can be properly discussed only with that liberal and catholic feeling which makes the amplest allowances for difference of opinion; and upon an academic occasion like the present all discussion should be in a spirit even more liberal and more catholic than might otherwise be necessary, crediting all others with the same patriotism we claim for ourselves, and displaying a charity satisfying the apostolic definition, which vaunteth not itself, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and yet rejoiceth in the truth.

It is assuredly the part of wisdom to recognize an existing situation with equal frankness, whether it happens to meet our approval or our disapproval. Among the many wise sayings of Bishop Butler none was wiser than his declaring that "things are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be;" and his question, like that of Pilate, has never been answered, "Why, then, should we as rational creatures seek to deceive ourselves?" There is therefore no reason why we should not cheerfully admit that the controlling consideration in the immediate present is that of money, and that the controlling aspiration of the vast majority of men who have received more or less of intellectual training is to follow *Iago's* advice and put money in their purses. In thus frankly confronting existing conditions, it is not at all necessary to be depressed by them, or to acquire "a moping melancholy."

There is, indeed, a sheer delusion cherished by unintelligent people of which it is desirable that they should free their minds. They stupidly imagine that whoever finds fault with existing conditions in American society must necessarily think the past age better than the present; but the exact contrary is the

truth. It is because we know, and are glad to know, that there has been a steady progress, alike in spiritual and material blessings, since men first lived in civilized society together, that we so earnestly desire such progress to continue. We appreciate with cheerful thankfulness that the vast majority of mankind are now living in far happier conditions, possess far better guaranties of liberty and peace, and are more fully enjoying the indispensable conditions of any life worth living than ever before; but this conviction only makes us the more ardently desire that that progress should not now be stayed, but rather should be continued and with ever-accelerated speed, and our discontent is only with the unnecessary obstacles to such continuance and acceleration. The men who desire the world to be better than it is contemplate with abundant pleasure the promise of the new century, opening, in spite of all its serious drawbacks, upon a brighter prospect for that religion of humanity which Aristotle taught so long ago than any century which preceded it; and it is because they know that each succeeding century of the Christian era has been better than its predecessor that they are impatient of any apparent relaxation of that progress, and they are quite as often amused as annoyed by the very foolish and the very stupid apologies offered them for such relaxation.

The human spirit has in different ages and in different countries devoted itself to varying aims and objects—to religion, as in Palestine; to art and letters, as in Greece; to arms and law, as in Rome; to the aggrandizement of the Church, as in Italy in the Middle Ages; to maintaining the Protestant religion, as in Germany after the revolt of Luther; and in America to the doctrine of liberty and equality among men, ever since the landing at Jamestown. And it has been found entirely compatible with the divine order in the education of the world, and not at all disastrous to the welfare of the race, that different nations should cherish such wholly different aspirations, for the pursuit of each object has in almost every case been found to furnish a basis for further progress in good directions. The fact, therefore, that this age is devoted to the

making of money as its chief ambition need not disturb us, for it is not at all certain that any better ambition could have been found at this time for the class of men engaged in practical business. It may, indeed, well happen that their labors are laying enduring foundations for far nobler standards of conduct, of effort, and of life than we are now enjoying; and, while it is true that so far these results have not been manifest, it is equally true that it is far too soon to expect them. In saying this I do not forget that Cicero declared that a general desire of gain would ruin any wealthy and flourishing nation, but I do not forget either that Mr. Burke, a far safer guide in the philosophy of politics than Cicero, declared that the love of gain is a grand cause of prosperity to all States.

Assuming, therefore, that we must deal with conditions as they exist, and present considerations likely to be acceptable to those to whom they are addressed, I have thought it might be useful to call the attention of our men of business to the commercial value of ethical ideals in American politics. If it is possible to satisfy them that the cherishing of such ideals may be of pecuniary advantage—may be, in truth, treated as a commercial asset—they may appreciate the wisdom of ceasing their efforts to destroy them, and may be persuaded to help in the good work of maintaining them and of extending their beneficent influence.

It would, of course, be foolish to undervalue the animosity men of practical business and men of practical politics now cherish toward such ideals. They insist, and I have no reason to doubt they honestly believe, that neither the business of the world nor its politics can now be successfully carried on if any respect is to be paid to such ideals. A prosperous man is said to have recently declared that he had a great dislike for pessimists, and, when asked what kind of people they were, he replied: "The people who are always talking of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, when everybody of sense knows you cannot conduct business or politics with reference to them." "Anyhow," he added, "my pastor assures me they were only addressed to Jews." It is a part of the creed

of such men that the substitution of money for morals is the only wise course for practical men to pursue in these days of ardent competition and of strenuous efforts by each man to get rich faster than his fellows and at their expense; but this belief is probably in great part founded upon a total misapprehension of the character of the idealism which it is desired to recommend to their favorable consideration. They have persuaded themselves that we wish to insist upon the immediate practical application of the standards of conduct of a far-distant and imagined perfection—that if a person invades your household and takes your coat you shall now follow him upon the highways and beg him to accept your cloak also, and if a reckless assailant smites you upon one cheek you must now offer him the other for a like blow, while if you insist upon the wickedness of unnecessary or aggressive warfare you are supposed to imply that righteous warfare, animated by a noble purpose and struggling to attain a noble end, is unjustifiable.

What we ask is nothing impracticable or unreasonable. It is only that we shall return to the ancient ways of the fathers and again enjoy the elevation of spirit which was part of their daily lives. They were, as we ought to be, far from being blind to material advantages and far enough from being willing to live as idle enthusiasts. "Give me neither poverty nor riches" was their prayer, with an emphasis upon "poverty." They sought, as we do, to acquire property. They meant, as we mean, to get what comfort and enjoyment they could out of the possession of the world in which they worked and worshiped, and they felt themselves, as we ought to feel ourselves, co-workers with God when "the orchard was planted and the wild vine tamed, when the English fruits had been domesticated under the shadow of savage forests, and the maize lifted its shining ranks upon the fields which had been barren." Surely there can be nothing impracticable, nothing un-American, in striving to persuade ourselves again to cherish the lofty, inspiring, transforming ethical ideals which prevailed at the birth of our country and have illumined, as with celestial

light, the fiery ridges of every battle in which her sons have died for liberty.

Unhappily, there is no immediate danger, even of the most distant approach, to a realization of such ideals—no alarming prospect that the noble conditions of human life such ideals encourage will too soon brighten the earth. They will probably always remain unattainable; but they are none the less always worth striving for and hoping for, and it is as certain as anything can be that to keep such ethical ideals constantly before the minds of the plain people born in America, as well as before the minds of the hordes of untaught immigrants who are flocking to our shores from every quarter of the globe, will have a tendency to soften their asperities, to lessen their animosities, and to encourage them to bear with greater patience the bitter and ever-growing contrast between the lives of idleness and luxury which we and those dear to us are privileged to lead, and the lives of labor and poverty which they and those equally dear to them are condemned to endure; for there is now no longer any pathway open by which many men who live upon the labor of their own hands can hope to pass into the class of those who live upon the labor of other men's hands. The stock certificate and the corporate bond, in return for their many conveniences, have destroyed that possibility, as well as wrought other serious evils to society in divorcing the possession of wealth, not only from all moral responsibility for the ways in which it is created, but even from all knowledge of the men and women whose toil creates it.

It is not difficult to understand why the free government under which we are privileged to live especially needs the influence of ethical ideals in the conduct of life, or why we may possibly incur danger if we are without the protecting and conservative influence of such ideals in that not-distant future when we may find them indispensable; for the essential difference which separates American democracy from the governments which have preceded it, as well as from those contemporary with it, is in the last analysis an ethical difference. The three hundred Greeks who on that long summer day held the

pass by the sea against the Persian invader were seeking to hold it for Greece alone. The splendid valor of the Roman soldiers who encompassed Cæsar as with triple lines of steel on the day he overcame the Nervii was a valor displayed for Rome alone. Even the long, heroic struggle of the Netherlands against the despotism of Philip, perhaps the most heroic struggle in history, was primarily a struggle for their own liberties.

The same absence of any ethical ideal runs through all the aggressions of the great powers of Europe. In the seizure of India by the agency of Clive and Hastings and the cynical acceptance of the unutterable infamies they perpetrated, as well as in exploiting that unhappy country to-day, though decimated by famine and desolated by the plague, there is no inconsistency with any standard Great Britain has proclaimed. The same absence of inconsistency is observable in the forcible partition of Poland under the auspices of what was blasphemously called the Holy Alliance, in the annexation of Nice and Savoy by France, in the annexation by Germany of a part of Denmark and of two great provinces of France, in the steady and vast territorial aggrandizements of Russia, in the partition of Africa which has just been accomplished, or in the partition of China which is in process of accomplishment. Nothing can fairly be said to have been done, in any one of these conquests, incompatible with the avowed doctrines of those great predatory governments, for they never proclaimed an evangel of the rights of man, they never incurred any obligations to use the power they possessed for the advancement of the welfare or the promotion of the liberties of mankind. It was permitted to each, without furnishing any basis for the charge of inconsistency, to rob any weaker people of its territory, to impose its own absolute and arbitrary will upon any weaker race upon which it possessed the physical power to impose it, and to take whatever such a people had of value for themselves.

But it would be very unwise for us to forget that American democracy has had a wholly different history. Not only was its inspiring and directing force the greatest ethical movement

in the history of the human race, the struggle for civil and religious freedom, but it may be said without exaggeration to owe its very existence to it. Lord Bacon, in the true marshaling of the sovereign degrees of honor, assigns the first place to the founders of empires, and of all such founders none deserve more generous praise than those who came hither as from the fires of civil and religious persecution in the Old World to lay broad and deep the foundations of civil and religious freedom in the world just then offered to them for their new and far-reaching experiment. From almost every civilized nation some of its best citizens sought safety in exile from their old homes in the wilderness of the New World, where they were free to strive at least for the realization of their belief in a common brotherhood of man on earth and a common Fatherhood of God in heaven. No doubt with this ennobling creed there was mingled something of the dross of the weakness of human nature, but this was but as an atom in the great mass and had no shaping influence upon the fortune or the destiny of America; for the vast multitudes who came hither were actuated by the desire to secure for all other men the same measure of liberty they sought for themselves—the liberty conferred by equality of membership in a free Church and equality of citizenship in a free State.

It is not at all necessary to take an alarmist view of the problems awaiting solution here in order to insist upon the practical and commercial value of the ethical ideals which have heretofore stood the nation in such good stead. Macaulay was not a profound student of comparative politics, and his well-known prophecy of the evil days which await the Republic need not greatly disquiet us, although part of his prophecy has already been verified by the result. But Mr. Webster was a wise statesman, perhaps our wisest, and a profound student of our system of government, and he has left for our instruction this grave and weighty warning:

“The freest government would not be long acceptable if the tendency of the laws was to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the

population dependent and penniless. . . . In the nature of things, those who have not property and see their neighbors possess much more than they think them to need cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of property. When this class becomes numerous it grows clamorous. It looks upon property as its prey and plunder and is naturally ready at all times for violence and revolution."

Now, it is at least quite possible that in the not-distant future American politics may transform Mr. Webster's warning into history, for our electorate is already beginning to be divided, and must, in obedience to the law of social evolution, continue more and more to be divided, by that sharp cleavage which separates those who are contented with their lot from those who are discontented with their lot. Under whatever disguises, called by whatever names, inheriting or seizing whatever partizan organizations, the alignment of the two great political divisions of American voters, who will sooner or later struggle against each other for the possession of the Government, will inevitably be upon the basis I have named. The party of the contented will be ranged under one banner, and the party of the discontented will be ranged under the other, and that alignment will steadily develop increasing sharpness of division until the party of the discontented, being the majority, has obtained the control of the Government, to which, under our system, they are entitled; and then they will be sure to remodel the present system for the distribution of wealth, unless we have previously done so, upon bases wiser and more equitable than those now existing. The one party will be, under whatever name, the party of capital, and the other party will be, under whatever name, the party of labor. If any doubt had existed upon this subject among men accustomed seriously to reflect upon political problems, it ought to have disappeared in view of the developments of the last two Presidential elections and of the present growing tendency alike of capital more and more to consolidate itself in great masses as in preparation for the coming struggle, and of the brotherhood of American labor more and more to consolidate itself in one organization in like preparation. Ominous signs are indeed almost daily discern-

ible that those leaders of confederated labor who are really loyal to it and are not purchasable by the party of capital have discerned that the true remedy for what seems to them the present unjust inequality in the distribution of wealth is through legislation. If yesterday they foolishly resorted to attempts to overawe the nominees of the party of capital, sitting as legislators, by a display of force and threats of violence, by to-morrow they will probably have learned that the ballot in America, while not so noisy, is far more peremptory than the dynamite bomb. It does not explode, but it controls; and its control will be as resistless as fate if the party of labor decides to clothe all its demands, as it has already clothed many, in acts of legislation; for then will occur, what the Duke of Wellington foresaw, "a revolution under the forms of law."

My purpose, therefore, is to point out, without the slightest bitterness, to the members of the contented class, the commercial value of ethical ideals as the safest source of the political aspirations of the majority of our people and the most conservative influence in our national life, and also to point out to them the grave dangers from a business standpoint, in these days of possible conflict between capital and labor, of continuing to substitute money for morals as the permanent and controlling force in American politics.

In pointing out these dangers I accept to the fullest extent the proposition that this is an age of business, and I am quite willing to admit that the moral law is difficult of application to existing conditions. It is very evident that difficulty is increased by the conduct of other nations now controlled by a consideration only of their material interests, the securing by force of new markets, the expansion of trade by war, the subjection of weaker peoples to the will of the stronger, and the ultimate partition by blood and iron of the whole habitable globe. For us to enter upon a like course of expansion seems to many devout clergymen, to many successful politicians, and to many true patriots our wisest policy. The gravity and the suddenness of our change of views in these matters are fitly illustrated by the recent voyage of capitalists of New York to

England to indulge in expressions of sympathy and promises of alliance with a government which is now maintaining in the Transvaal camps of concentration as brutal and inexcusable as those of Weyler in Cuba, the detestation of whose horrors only three years ago greatly helped to drive us headlong into war with Spain. I am not aware that history offers another example of so grave a change of opinion in so short a time; but I cannot help believing that the destruction and denial of ethical ideals, so far as regards American democracy, are very poor religion, very poor business, and very poor politics.

The first ethical ideal which it seems to me it would be wise for us, even from the point of view of the stock exchanges, to guard most zealously just now is the ideal condition of society with which President McKinley closed his congratulations upon the opening of the Exposition at Buffalo—that of peace on earth and good will to men; for it may well happen that the safety of our institutions requires that the masses of our people shall continue to cherish the ethical ideals of Christianity, and that whoever lessens respect for them inevitably weakens the reverence of the majority of voters for the principles upon which our Government is founded.

I observe with especial sorrow that many Protestant clergymen mistakenly suppose that they can safely substitute at this day and in our country the teaching of Mohammed for the teaching of Christ. We all know the temptations to which such clergymen are exposed. It is so much more comfortable to "swim with the tide," and it is so much more certain that the incomes on which themselves and their families are dependent for the comforts and luxuries of life will share in the commercial prosperity of the country if the doctrines preached by them and advocated in their religious journals recognize that the making of money is the first duty of man in the new century, and that keeping one's self unspotted from the world, so far from being, as was formerly supposed, true religion and undefiled, is a foolish and sentimental expression, incapable of application to the rough world in which we live, where each man's duty is to take care of himself. Knowing the des-

potism the practical men in the pews exercise over the pulpit in such matters, we ought to think with great charity, not only of the clergymen who fail to preach Christianity and who substitute Mohammedanism in its place, but also of the missionaries who, in distant lands and surrounded by traders and soldiers, have persuaded themselves that the robbery and murder of weaker peoples, with their attendant horrors, cannot really be helped in an age so practical as ours and so determined to pursue only practical ends, and that therefore such crimes are no longer to be unsparingly condemned; but, after making all the allowance the most abundant charity can suggest, it will still remain a grave and menacing peril to American respect for the moral law if clergymen are permitted without rebuke to preach the righteousness of unnecessary or aggressive warfare, the killing of weaker peoples in order to reduce them to subjection and the robbing them of their possessions. Indeed, our silence in presence of the appalling and even unnamable atrocities recently perpetrated in China by the nations calling themselves Christian is a terrible blow dealt to the faith of common men in a religion whose professors thus allow its fundamental principles to be trampled under foot without a word of protest or of reprobation; and if the faith of our laboring people in the ethical ideals of Christianity is once destroyed by its professors here, as its professors destroyed it among the laboring people of France a hundred years ago, there will be lost one of the most valuable and conservative influences we possess—an influence which it is not too much to say may yet prove to be absolutely indispensable to the preservation of that respect for law and order upon which, in the last resort, American society must depend for its peace.

Let us therefore ardently hope that the true American ideal of peace on earth and good will to men will again take possession of our hearts and enable us, clergymen and laymen alike, to believe that it is not robbery, or conquest, or slaughter, or expansion, or even wealth, but righteousness only, which exalteth a nation; for if in a free State like ours you substitute the Mohammedan ideal, which is now so popular, of war on earth

and the subjection of the weak to the strong, you help to undermine the very ground upon which respect for private property, when gathered in great masses in few hands and often displayed in vulgar and offensive forms, must ultimately rest. If fighting and killing are to be encouraged; if those who indulge in them are to be especially honored, and if oppression of the weak is to be cherished, it will be difficult to prevent the class of the discontented from familiarizing themselves too thoroughly with fighting and killing, and from learning to cherish in their hearts a desire to oppress their weaker but more wealthy fellow-citizens. It seems to me quite too plain for dispute that no single member of a weaker race can be killed, no hut of such a race, however humble, can be burned, no one can be selected for especial honor for his part in such pitiful warfare, without its helping to light the torch which starts the fire by which some hapless negro is to be burned at the stake in our own country, not only in defiance but in contempt of law; and all such acts must be surely followed by greater insecurity for the surplus wealth which the contented class possesses.

We all read the other day that in a community almost within sight of Wall street, where the cruel plot was hatched for the killing of the King of Italy, plots as cruel are now hatching for the killing of more crowned heads of the Old World, and I beg you to believe that the insensate rage and hatred of the inequality and pretended superiority to their fellows which these maddened members of the working classes attribute to crowned heads to-day may easily be transferred to-morrow to those of our citizens whose distinction rests upon the possession of too abundant riches, and for that reason while the Moham-medan ideal of war on earth and the subjection of the weak to the strong must always lessen the security for private property in America, the Christian ideal of peace on earth and good will to men will always increase it.

It is quite possible there may also be great commercial value for us at the present time in the ethical ideal that all men are born equal and equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I fully recognize the present unpopularity of this

ideal. I know that to declare one's belief in it is to expose one's self to the dreadful charge of disloyalty; but as in matters of religion American democracy rested at its birth upon the message of the herald angels, so in politics it rested at its birth upon the doctrine of the equality of men. It is true that doctrine was not formulated in words until the necessity arose for binding the scattered colonies together in their effort to assert their right to be an independent nation; but it was an essential part of the very atmosphere which the first settlers breathed when they landed on these shores. There never was a single step taken of any enduring character toward civil government in the colonies which was not, consciously or unconsciously, based upon it. From Massachusetts Bay to Georgia many theories of government found expression, and there were "many men of many minds" engaged in the work of settling the continent; but through all instinctively ran one great underlying ethical doctrine—that of equality of political rights. Subsequently no doubt the importation of slaves from Africa, and to a much greater degree the inventions which made slave labor profitable, colored the judgments of many Southern men and induced them to believe that that doctrine was inapplicable to a weaker people of a different color and from a different clime, and that they and their descendants, even if born here, might be rightly held in slavery forever. Indeed, many of the statements we now read of the necessity of the strong and wise governing the weak and ignorant are almost literal reproductions of the arguments advanced by the slaveholders of the South in defense of slavery, just preceding the outbreak of the civil war. That divergence from our original ideal produced the pregnant saying of Mr. Lincoln, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," and its corollary, "This nation cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." He saw clearly that American democracy must rest, if it continues to exist, upon the ethical ideal which presided over its birth—that of the absolute equality of all men in political rights. I am well aware that it is supposed exigencies now exist which require us to disavow that ideal, and to abandon the doctrine of equality we

inherited, and to which Mr. Lincoln so frequently expressed his devotion. We are asked to take a new departure, to turn our backs upon the old doctrine, and to declare that our fathers were mistaken when they brought forth a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to so impracticable a proposition as the equality of all men before the law. We are told that the exigencies of modern business and modern trade require a wholly different ideal to be set before the new century; that our present duty is to conquer any weaker people whose territory we covet, and to subject them to such government as in our opinion will best promote our profit and their welfare. Of course, many of the Southern people, brought up in the belief that the subjection of the weak to the will of the strong was a divine institution, eagerly welcome our apparent conversion to their creed; and, while I do not question the excellence of the motives of these new guides in American patriotism, I venture to warn you that if you follow them you abandon your best heritage—that of being a beacon light and a blessing to all the oppressed of the earth. Great popularity no doubt just now attaches to money and great unpopularity to morals, on the ground that money is modern and practical while morals are antiquated and impracticable; and as conclusive arguments they tell us that England has destroyed two republics in the interest of the capitalists who own the gold and diamond mines of South Africa; that Germany has seized a vast territory in China; that France has appropriated Madagascar; that Russia is benevolently assimilating Finland and absorbing Manchuria, and that Japan is casting longing eyes upon Korea; and they insist that, unless we bestir ourselves to like measures, we will be found to be laggards in the race of to-day, which is a race for new markets won by war, for the exploiting of weaker peoples, for larger armies, for ever-increasing navies, for expanding trade, and for greater wealth. I confess I would have thought the growth of our own beloved country in material wealth and prosperity in the last thirty years of unbroken peace and of amity with all mankind had more than satisfied any avarice which could have found a place even in the dreams of

civilized men. The marvelous story of that material progress is still dazzling the imaginations of all serious economists, and it is literally true of it, "State the figures however high, while the dispute exists the exaggeration ends." The results of the thirty years from 1870 to 1900 prove beyond all question, and even beyond all cavil, that in order far to excel, not only all nations of the past but also all nations of the present, in growth of agriculture, of manufactures, of commerce, of exports, and of imports, and, above all, in population, it is not necessary to step beyond our own great, rich, and powerful country to subdue any weaker people, of whatever color, in any quarter of the globe; so that we are urged to betray the loftiest and noblest traditions of our history without even the poor excuse of needing the money we hope to make by such betrayal of the inspiring doctrine which Jefferson formulated and for which Washington fought. Those thirty years demonstrated that in order to be a world power we need not be a robber nation.

There is still another ethical ideal which may soon prove to be of very great commercial value in American politics—the ideal of the citizen, whether in or out of office, exhibiting moral courage in dealing with important public questions. However much we may differ on other subjects, I cannot doubt we all recognize and regret that we are just now exhibiting a very pitiful moral cowardice in shirking such questions—a cowardice which may be fraught with great evils, for it is still true that unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations.

It is somewhat trying to the patience of the most patient to listen to the noisy and senseless rhetoric which seeks to hide our lack of moral courage by extolling that mere physical courage which all men of the fighting races and many brutes possess, and which flamed just as high in the breasts of the conscript youth of France, fighting to subdue other kingdoms to be trodden under foot by their imperial master, as it flamed in the breasts of their fathers, rushing to fling themselves upon embattled Europe in defense of the liberties of France. The physical courage in both cases was just the same, and will never be excelled. The only difference was an ethical difference—

the fathers were fighting in a just cause and the sons were fighting in an unjust cause. The truth is that physical courage has always been the most commonplace of virtues, and could always be bought at a very cheap price, so that it has become an unfailing proof of decadence for any people to become hysterical over exhibitions of animal courage without regard to the moral quality of the service in which it was displayed or of the comparative weakness of the adversary.

Just the contrary is true of moral courage. It is among the rarest of virtues, and its services are of far greater value in the democratic ages than ever before. Indeed, the days may not be distant when the existence of law and order in America may depend upon it, for it may be found that it and it alone can protect us from the dangers which Mr. Webster believed would follow our present condition, "a rapid accumulation of property in few hands." For that reason the commercial value of such courage in a government by the majority can hardly be overestimated; and surely, if we are to find it a bulwark of defense in our day of need, we ought to be now commending it by our example, showing how really brave men face grave problems of government and set themselves, as brave men should, to finding the best possible solution of them. It is perhaps inevitable, but it is none the less to be regretted, that a distinct lowering of moral standards should follow a state of war, inducing us to cherish the delusion that if we talk loudly enough and boast foolishly enough of our physical prowess by sea and land and give our time and thought only to warlike actions and preparations, as we have been doing for the last three years, all serious moral and domestic questions will somehow settle themselves. Such a delusion is equally childish and cowardly, and it is only necessary to glance at such questions to discover that instead of settling themselves they are daily growing in gravity, and how unwise it is, instead of facing them, to be actually running away from them. It is certainly in no spirit of criticism and with no feeling of censoriousness that I thus call your attention to the corroding influence of war and commercialism upon moral courage, but simply be-

cause a recrudescence of moral courage in dealing with these problems closely concerns the present peace and the future welfare of our beloved country.

As one example, take our attitude toward the corrupt use of money in our elections and in our representative bodies. Even the dullest intelligence must see that if we continue to destroy, as for some time past we have been destroying, the belief of the majority of our fellow-citizens that elections are honestly conducted and laws are honestly made, we are destroying the best possible basis for the security of private property; for there can be no reverence for law where laws and lawmakers are bought with money, and I fear we are rapidly destroying the possibility of such reverence in the minds of the masses of our countrymen. We ought never to forget that in democratic governments the black flag of corruption is very likely to be followed by the red flag of anarchy. Yet we close our eyes in sheer cowardice to this evil and the danger it is creating, and we gravely pretend to one another that it does not exist, while we all well know that it does exist. Representatives of vast accumulations of property, guardians of great trusts, individuals profiting by the opportunity offered here for suddenly acquiring colossal fortunes, and even those of us who have no fortunes, have not hesitated to give whatever money is needed to be applied to the purchase of the electorate and, when necessary, of the representative bodies elected by them. Our municipal governments have long been a byword of hissing and of shame, and they have been so because we decided we could make money by corrupting them. We have given freely to assist in electing persons known to be ready at the first opportunity to betray the sacred trust of the people committed to their keeping, in order to put the spoils of such betrayal in our own pockets. Many State legislatures have become equally objects of contempt and derision for the same reason. Then these corrupting influences have not hesitated to advance a step farther and to lay their hand upon members of both branches of the national legislature until at last, so callous have we become upon the subject, that if the case I am about to

imagine occurred I venture to assert that no earnest protest would be made by men of our class against its consummation.

Suppose an ambitious man, desiring to obtain the only success now deemed important in American life, should set himself to the work of making a large sum of money, and, having in any one of the ways now open to such efforts succeeded beyond his hopes, he looked around to see what other distinction was open to him wherein he could use a portion of his gains so as to bring to himself the most gratification; and that he should decide that he would give himself most pleasure by debauching the electorate of a State and thereby securing for himself a seat in the Senate of the United States. Suppose also that he had so far imbibed the present American spirit as to feel quite sure that there was no need for secrecy in these operations, but that they were rather a subject of legitimate pride, and that in the course of time he had so far succeeded that only a minority of citizens and legislators of his own party stood between him and the realization of his desire, but that the members of that minority proved to be incorruptible, either by the baser temptation of money or in the more plausible form of public office, and that, continuing bravely to stand for the purity of American politics and the honor of their native State, they succeeded in defeating the success of such debauchery, would their conduct be received with the applause it deserved? If not, I venture to say that it is very poor politics for the party of capital thus openly and cynically to notify the party of labor that no respect is due to law or to the makers of law; that it is wholly a question of money and not at all a question of morals; that the right to make laws is now as legitimate a subject of bargain and sale as that of any merchandise, and that therefore nobody ought to pay any respect to law except where it happens to comport with his pecuniary advantage to do so. I may be needlessly concerned about the matter, but I confess, in spite of my ardent Americanism and my confidence in the law-abiding spirit of my countrymen, I am disturbed when I see what I regard as one of the best protections of the future thus openly undermined and destroyed, while the

moral cowardice of those of us who do not ourselves corrupt anybody prevents our uttering a word of protest against it. Upon the ground of expediency alone, regarding it only as an element in our commercial expansion, in our growth of trade, in our increase of wealth, in the prosperity of our stock exchanges—even from this standpoint, it is assuredly great practical folly to destroy the ethical ideal of law, as we are striving so earnestly to do.

There is another very grave problem which we are also refusing to consider, and by which refusal the ethical ideal of law is also being destroyed. It is the problem presented by our negro population, now approaching ten millions of souls. We gave them the suffrage and we have allowed some of them to be killed for possessing it. We appointed some of them to office, and have stood meekly by when they were shot for having our commission in their hands. They are being burnt before our eyes without even a pretense of trial. We are allowing State after State openly, even contemptuously, to nullify a solemn amendment of the Constitution enacted for their protection, to secure which we poured out our treasure without limit and shed the blood of our sons like water. All of us, whether in public office or in private station, now concur in trying to ignore the existence of any such problem at our doors while, laughing like the Roman augurs in each other's faces, we indulge in self-congratulations about the blessings we are carrying to another ten millions of dark-skinned races in far-distant lands. I appreciate the difficulty in finding the best solution of this awful problem, but I do insist that our evasion of it is utterly unworthy of American manhood. It is not fair to the men and women of the South to leave them to settle it as they please, so long as we have duties connected with it; and it is useless to suppose that a problem involving ten millions of people is being solved by a few industrial schools fitting an inconsiderable fraction of the youth of both sexes for occupations most of which they will not be allowed to follow, and thereby unfitting them for the only occupations in which they will be at liberty to earn their bread; and it is equally useless

for us to pretend that by making contributions to such institutions we have done our whole duty in meeting the test this problem presents of our courage alike as citizens and as men. We ought in the North as in the South to face our responsibilities toward these descendants of a people we brought here against their will and solely for our own profit, and we ought seriously to discuss and determine, in Congress and out of it, what is the best possible relation to be established between them and us; and then we ought to have the courage to give that relation the sanction of law, and to see that such law is respected and obeyed. Such treatment of this problem would be a far greater security for our future peace than many new regiments and many new ships of war. At present the condition of the whole subject is lawlessness, and such a condition is disgraceful to us all and is fraught with the serious dangers which lawlessness always brings in its train—as the exact opposite of the ethical ideal of law.

Indeed, the ethical ideal of the legislator and the citizen, as men zealous to know their public duty and brave enough to do it, is also rapidly being destroyed by our failing even to attempt to deal seriously and adequately with many other problems now imperatively demanding our attention. Among these problems are the reform of our present shameless and corrupt pension legislation, costing us over a hundred and fifty millions of dollars a year, although a quarter of a century ago it was demonstrated by the tables of mortality that thirty-five millions was the maximum sum which could be properly expended for legitimate pensions; the reform of much other equally shameless and corrupt legislation, of which a fair specimen is that known as the River and Harbor bill; the courageous maintenance and extension of the merit system in appointments to subordinate positions under the Government; the reform of the present system of taxation, so as to make wealth bear its proper share of the cost of government; the subjecting of the great monopolies which now control so much of the business of the country and so many of the necessities of life to inspection and control by public authority; the devising of some just

system of preventing the rapidly increasing conflicts between employers and employed; and the establishing of just and proper qualifications alike for immigrants and for electors.

It certainly would tend to make private property far more secure in America if the less fortunate majority of our population saw us of the more fortunate minority giving courage and time and thought to efforts to solve these problems and others like them, and thereby to lessen some of the evils which in many cases bear so heavily and so unjustly upon the poor. Indeed, the influence of ethical ideals upon American democracy ought to be considered of value if only because the cultivation of such ideals will inevitably tend to make more really patriotic all classes of our countrymen, for such ideals lift us all above the unsatisfied standards of public duty with which we are vainly trying to content ourselves. They bring us into the air of a higher and purer love of country, and they set us face to face with the early American spirit in its best estate. In such communion a sordid and selfish public opinion, with low methods to mean ends, tends to disappear, and a cowardly and corrupt public life becomes less possible.

You may not agree with me, but I am sure you will pardon me for speaking of what seem to me to be the grave evils of the present tendencies of our national life and the serious dangers which, because of them, threaten the future of this government of ours, which our fathers sought to rest upon the enduring basis of liberty regulated by law—a government which has the devotion of all our hearts to such degree that to keep it strong and pure and free we would all gladly lay down our lives; and while we must never despair of the Republic we must never cease our efforts to make it more worthy of the greatness of the opportunity offered it—that of the leadership of the nations toward a civilization more peaceful, more serene, and more humane than the world has ever known.

Meanwhile it is consoling to know that notwithstanding our failure to discharge our civic duties many of the currents of our national life flow smoothly on, for the daily and obscure labors of the vast majority of our fellow-citizens continue year

after year in all the different phases of our national existence. and the laborers themselves have been sowing and reaping, working steadily at the tasks appointed them, taking the sunshine and the rain, mutely enduring the sufferings and the burdens given them to bear, and quitting themselves worthily as good men and women ought to do, and that daily confronting of the daily task and doing it with patience, contentment, and courage is as true to-day as ever, while it is also true that the recompense of such deserving labors, while less proportionately, is actually far greater in all measures, material and spiritual, than ever before, so that after all abatement we may regard the past with abundant gratitude and the future with absolute confidence, while on the threshold of the new century it is still true that the happiest of political fortunes is to be an American citizen, and that fortune is sure to grow happier "with the process of the suns." The present paralysis of our moral courage, our present cowardly tolerance of loathsome corruption and its kindred evils, which seem seriously to threaten our peace; our present animal lust for blood, and the general degradation of the national spirit we are here considering will prove to be only temporary evils and will soon pass away, for the American conscience is not dead, but sleepeth, and even if we do not our children will return to the old ways and the old faith. Let me repeat once more for your encouragement and my own those inspired words of the first great American: "The nation shall under God have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I am very grateful to this learned society for the repeated expression of its desire that I should address it. This year your invitation overtook me in the South, where—

"By the beachéd margent of the sea,"

I had just been reading a tale, the scene of which was laid in Italy, and cherishing the illusion that I was again standing for a moment on "the parapet of an old villa built on the Alban hills." Below I seemed to see "olive vineyards and pine plantations sink slope after slope, fold after fold, to the Cam-

pagna, and beyond the Campagna along the whole shining land of the west the sea met the sunset, while to the north a dim and scattered whiteness, rising from the plain, was—Rome." And then, turning the leaves in the hope of finding another familiar scene, I was surprised to read these words: "There are symbols and symbols. That dome of St. Peter's yonder makes my heart beat, because it speaks so much—half of the history of our race. But I remember another symbol, those tablets in Memorial hall to the Harvard men that fell in the war—that wall, those names, that youth and death, they remain as the symbol of the other great majesty in the world—one is religion and the other is country." Reading those words I seemed to hear again the illustrious laureate of your illustrious dead, who gave their youth for liberty, and standing here they seem, indeed, to—

"Come transfigured back,
Secure from change in their high-hearted ways,
Beautiful evermore, and with the rays
Of morn on their white shields of expectation."

In the spirit of their great sacrifice let us all cherish in cheerfulness and in hopefulness an abiding devotion to both symbols—that of religion, and that of country—and let us labor together to the end that all the elevating influences which wait upon civilization may be more widely and generally diffused among all classes of our countrymen, and that we may all more ardently cherish the ethical idealism which seeks after peace and liberty, after equality and fraternity, and after respect and reverence for law.

In these ways, and in others we know not of, our American system of social and political life, by far the best ever yet enjoyed upon earth, may be placed upon the broad and enduring basis of true religion and true patriotism, and then at last the nation long foretold may appear, whose foundations are laid in fair colors and whose borders are of pleasant stones, and to it the promise of the prophet may be redeemed: "All their children shall be taught of the Lord and great shall be the peace of their children."

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THE TRUST AND THE SINGLE TAX.

I. THE VITAL ELEMENT IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE.

THE evil of the trust depends not upon the mere fact of a consolidation of business interests, but upon the nature of the business interests consolidated. An illustration may be found in the hack service at any country railway station. I select a particular one for the sake of being definite. Hackettstown is a New Jersey station on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway, where the station yard is large enough to accommodate many more hacks than are needed. Several hacks carry passengers between this station yard and any desired place in the town at the uniform charge of a dime. Were more exacted, competition would be stimulated. Realizing this possibility, the hack-owners conform voluntarily to what is generally regarded as a fair toll. The business, therefore, is regulated by competition—if not actual, yet potential.

Consolidation of these interests might effect economies. If so, the consolidation would be beneficial to all concerned. Patrons would get better service and pay lower fares; and if displaced employees were hurt by it, their misfortune would be due, not to the labor-saving consolidation of Hackettstown hack interests, but, as is the case with labor-saving machines, to fundamental legal obstructions to business in general. The consolidation would be nothing but a union of interests in hacks and horses, a kind of property that is too easily produced in abundant quantities to be monopolized. Such unions are not in themselves harmful. If they were, all economizing devices would be harmful, and we should have to adopt Tolstoi's conceit and return to primitive methods of production.

But note the effect were the railroad company to confer upon those hack-owners exclusive rights to enter the station yard with hacks. As the station building is so situated with reference to the public highway that competing hackmen could

not satisfy the needs of their passengers without access to the yard, the privileged hack-owners would control the business as a monopoly. Though they still competed with one another, outsiders could not compete with them. What if they consolidate now? How radical the difference! The consolidated interests would be more than interests in hacks and horses. They would now comprise exclusive rights of entry into the station yard. And therein would lie the power of this local hack trust. Freed from all fear of competition, it could make a standard of service to suit itself, and regulate fares upon the basis of extorting "all that the traffic would bear."

This illustration is so far typical of business in general as to indicate the point at which the evil of the trust comes in to bedevil modern industry. That point is not where competitive businesses combine: it is where competing monopolies come into the combination.

Several examples of the weakness of trusts that do not possess privileges might be cited. A recent one of importance was the dissolution of the wall paper trust. That organization had been triumphantly pointed to as a striking instance of powerful trusts without a monopoly basis. But it was forced to dissolve by the pressure of competition. When really powerful trusts are analyzed, their power is found to rest in some form of monopoly—in some species of privilege. Somewhere in every evil trust, though not always obvious, there is a consolidation of exclusive interests analogous to the station yard monopoly of our illustration. Mr. Charles M. Schwab recognized this when in his testimony recently before the Industrial Commission he affirmed that the billion dollar steel trust, of which he is manager, absolutely controls 80 per cent. of the iron ore deposits in this country.

Specifically, these monopoly interests are numerous and various. They consist of such monopolies as railroad rights of way, of pipe-line rights of way, of patented inventions, of water privileges, of street franchises, of mining rights, of terminal sites, and so on into a long catalogue. But most of them may be properly classified as monopolies of *land*.

Mining rights are plainly land rights. Railroad and pipe-line rights of way, terminal sites, and the like, are essentially so. It is not necessary, however, to trace to land monopoly every special privilege that may not obviously spring from that source. The important consideration is that all monopolies which do not spring from are necessarily subordinate to monopolies of land.

A monopoly of iron mines, for instance, confers control over the iron industry in all its ramifications. That control may be limited by a monopoly of rights of way, and especially of necessary terminal points for the shipment or delivery of products of the iron industry. But this makes no difference to the argument, for both monopolies are monopolies of land. And, if these two land monopolies be united in one trust, that trust is unconquerable, except by a trust that monopolizes still more important natural sources of supply or still more commanding terminal sites.

In yet another, a more subtle, and therefore more effective way, evil trusts are fostered by land monopoly. This is through general speculation in land. In the hope of profiting by increase in land prices, every one who can afford to invest buys land where he thinks it may become more valuable. Most of the land so bought is either not used at all or only partly used. It cannot be easily obtained for use, because it is held upon speculation at excessive prices. In consequence of this difficulty, the industrial classes are forced like cattle into a corral. For all the processes of industry depend upon land. Workers of all grades are huddled together, begging for some kind of job. Those that are not actually in the corral are in mortal fear of getting into it. In these circumstances, the industrial classes are an easy prey to owners of great land monopolies. To escape the corral, they accept any terms they can get. They cannot contract in freedom, for they must buy a chance to live. The question with them is not one of more or less income, but of life or death. Thus the monopoly power that trusts acquire from ownership of land is multiplied by the relative weakness of their landless victims. "The destruc-

tion of the poor is their poverty." And their poverty, as well as the original power of the trusts, is rooted in, springs from, and is strengthened by land monopoly. The abolition of land monopoly, therefore, is the only radical remedy for the evil of the trust.

Now, land monopoly would be abolished by the Single Tax. It would be abolished by it in the only way in which land monopoly can be abolished, without reviving it in new forms by turning the State into a monster of unlimited and virtually irresponsible power. While abolishing the monopoly, it would preserve private possession under individual occupancy. To make this adjustment, it would take for public or common funds the annual ground rent of valuable lands, securing peaceable private tenure in return, and would leave non-valuable land freely accessible to individuals to occupy such parts of it as they might wish, without let or hindrance, and free of all obligation to pay for the possession so long as their holdings would yield no ground rent in the open market. If this principle, the principle of the Single Tax, were fully applied, land monopoly would evidently be impossible.

Different cases might require different modes of applying the principle. With reference to transportation when right of way and mode of operation were inseparable, and even with reference to some kinds of mines, as gold or silver mines, it may be necessary, in order to destroy land monopoly as to them, to place them directly under public management. Where that is true, I should advocate special modes of applying the Single Tax principle. But in my judgment little more would be found necessary, in actual experience, than the fiscal method of application proposed by Henry George, which, like the Single Tax principle, is also known as the "single tax." At all events this method would be effectual in most cases and in the most vital elements of the problem.

Pursuant to that fiscal method, all present taxes except one would be abolished. We should retain none but the tax now known as the real estate tax, and only so much of that as rests upon the value of sites. Taxes upon improvements would be

abolished, along with all other taxes upon industry. As a result of these exemptions, site value taxes would necessarily rise. They could not exceed the full value of sites, but they would rise to that point. We should find, therefore, when this simple fiscal reform was complete, that no one could hold any kind of land out of use without suffering serious and continual loss. Land would have to be used, and be well used, or be abandoned. There would be no profit in mere ownership. That goal being reached—indeed, long before it had been fully reached—trade having meanwhile been freed by the abolition of all commercial and industrial taxes, the evil of the trust would be exorcised. With the annual value of special landed advantages applied to common use and no longer retained by private owners, with unused land everywhere freely accessible and the barriers of the industrial corral thus broken down, with demand for productive work thereby made to exceed supply, and through the free interplay of all the natural forces of consumption and production perpetually to maintain that excess—with these demonstrable effects of the Single Tax realized, there would be no more possibility of monopolizing business with paper agreements than of holding back the waters of Niagara with a paper dam.

LOUIS F. POST.

Chicago, Ill.



II. THE EVIL OF EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.

“DO you believe that the Single Tax would destroy the trust evil, and, if it would not in your judgment completely destroy it, how would it mitigate the evil?”

The form of the question relieves us from all consideration as to whether trusts are good or evil, assuming, as it does, their evil character and rendering unnecessary a detailed consideration of the respects in which they are mischievous. We must, however, settle what we mean by the word “Trust,” for an eminent Republican authority in the last campaign declared that there were no such things in this country as trusts:

Technically, he was correct. When large aggregations of capital first sought to control various fields of industry, they tried to reach this end by placing in the hands of trustees the capital stock of the corporations entering into the combination, with full authority in such trustees to control the operations of the several corporations for the benefit of the depositors of stock. For a variety of reasons—some legal, others of a business nature—this expedient, to which the appellation “trust” properly applied, was abandoned, and of late the word has appeared as a survival, being now given to large combinations represented by a single corporation, controlling, or intended to control, business within definite ranges, but so operated as to be capable of indefinite expansion, and possessing certain monopolistic tendencies.

Analysis of the situation will show that the successful trust, the trust that is dangerous to the public welfare, is one not confined to business in its nature competitive, but one representing business plus some sort of monopoly; and the incidental monopoly we will discover to relate to land simply, transportation (one form of land monopoly, but coupled with a franchise), or patents.

A further understanding of the question before us will be facilitated by bearing in mind that by the term “Single Tax” we mean a tax upon the value of land, exclusive of improvements, and the abolition of all forms of personal tax, including the tariff: the necessary effect being, as contended by Single Taxers, to destroy monopoly in land and wipe out all the evils incident thereto.

I think we may assume that the Single Tax will not prove in any considerable degree remedial so far as monopolies based upon patents are concerned. For instance, corporations controlling patents, and not interested in any other form of monopoly (such a corporation, for example, as the Mergenthaler Linotype Company), are not likely to find themselves embarrassed by the adoption of the Single Tax system of taxation; and, so far as the exclusive monopoly granted by the patent law is oppressive and tends to the creation and preserva-

tion of trusts, the remedy must be sought through other instrumentalities than the Single Tax.

It is to be noted, however, that many monopolies apparently based upon patents are nevertheless coupled with other forms of exclusive privilege, involving a monopolization of land, and as a method of relief against their oppressions a proper system of taxation becomes important. We may illustrate by reference to the Bell Telephone Company. This corporation, constituting in the most modern sense of the term a trust, owns important patents, but in addition it either directly or through its lessees or subordinate companies controls privileges in the use of streets of infinitely greater value than are the patents, and if its franchises in various cities were taxed (such franchise tax being merely a development of a special application of the Single Tax) the power of the Bell Telephone Company would be materially lessened, and at the same moment the company would be spurred up to a better and more complete performance of its public duties.

I am not now discussing as to whether it would be more in accord with just principles of government to meet this particular form of evil through an exercise of the taxing power or through governmental management, but confine myself to pointing out that at least a proper exercise of the right of taxation would prove of material public benefit. In the broadest sense we may say that the particular monopoly now referred to finds its power in the fact that it is a combination of three species of monopoly—patent, land, and transportation; the last in that it often has the exclusive right of using the streets for the purpose of carrying messages.

But would our transportation monopolies, enjoying exclusive privileges in the carrying of freight and passengers and not owning patents or other privileges, be affected by the Single Tax? Assuredly, yes. Such companies require for their existence possession of land, coupled with a franchise permitting them to perform public functions to a degree not permissible to the generality of citizens.


Many years ago Vanderbilt pointed out that the New York

Central Railroad was protected against competition in that it owned immense tracts of valuable land in most of the considerable cities of the State of New York, and, arguing the practical impossibility of any other company buying land equally well located, insisted that successful competition was impossible. He was right, but if, as would be the case under the Single Tax, the entire rental value of land were taken for public uses, destroying the special profit and advantage railroads possess as landholders, then only a franchise would be required by another company to offer successful competition.

There is a certain class of trusts, most dangerous in character, now coming to recognize that the foundation of their strength lies in the ownership of land. The recent testimony of President Schwab, of the Carnegie Company, before the Industrial Commission showed that he considered the power of his company to lie in its vast and increasing ownership of beds of ore. He was, of course, right, and until the Single Tax makes all of our mineral resources equally available to all the community, thus destroying the special profits now accruing to those able to hold land out of use, the most oppressive trusts in existence will find their way clear to retain their power, despite anti-trust laws, interstate commerce laws, and all the publicity we may by law give their operations.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

Washington, D. C.



III. THE ULTIMATE BASIS OF ALL MONOPOLY.

IF the Single Tax would destroy the trusts themselves it would be a serious obstacle and a serious objection to the Single Tax. In spite of all abuse, the trusts are here to stay—and to make a political issue. Unless we find out what we really condemn in trusts, they will make a confusing issue.

Every trust is essentially a coöperative machine. It is a human machine, an arrangement of materials and parts to get the largest result for the least effort; that is, to save labor. Accordingly, a department store is a trust, and is recognized and

even legislated against as a trust in some of our States. In some, the legislatures are beginning to threaten such stores with the tempting and terrible weapon of taxation, on the ground that they so economize labor as to throw many clerks and small merchants out of employment.

But all that the manager of the department store has done, as a promoter, is to organize workers, so dividing the labor, in order to save waste of effort and consequent expense, as to serve the public demand for goods at the least possible cost. That is a benefit, because although the organization does not increase the wages of its employees and does build up dangerous fortunes for its owners, it increases the power of mankind and cheapens the things that mankind uses.

Were that a type of the only kind of trust, no trust could ever be abolished, except by a return to primitive methods of production; but there is another element in many trusts that makes them evil—the element which, when we perceive it, we can destroy: *monopoly*.

All that men need in order to live (which we call wealth) is drawn from land by labor; part of this is used to produce more wealth, and that part we call capital. The material is dug or cut or hunted or transported out of the earth or on the earth and is made ready for use by the work of men's brains and hands, with the tools and machines that man has made. Steel, for instance, comes from the iron mine; in order to dig ore, to ship it, to melt it, and to mix and mold it into the finished steel, land must be used. Men do all this in works and railroads and boats, by the aid of all sorts of tools and other capital—from a penny to a blast furnace. Land is the source of all these things. Labor and the product of land and labor—capital—are but the active agents applied to the land. Steel, like all other goods, is very easily produced to-day, for coöperation, organization, and invention enable a few to make wealth faster than armies can destroy it.

Accordingly, if the source of wealth is sufficient and were open to men, it would not be possible to limit or monopolize the product. If one man or set of men should try to corner

any product, the heightened price would at once set labor and capital to work to produce more of it. No one can monopolize wealth or capital by itself, because it is a product easily duplicated; nor can any one monopolize labor, except by paying higher wages than the laborers could make working for themselves or for others. The only thing left to monopolize is the source of wealth—the land. Such monopoly is an evil, the only evil of trusts; for it leaves labor and capital helpless, with nothing to work upon.

For capital to combine, or for labor to combine or coöperate, is not an evil, but a good, for such combinations can succeed only by giving better or cheaper service than any other combinations of labor, or of capital, or of labor with capital, can give. If they fail to do that, other combinations will take away their business; but if they control the foundation of the business, the grazing or coal or oil fields, or the mines or roads and harbors by which things must be shipped, then they can prevent competition and are able to charge "all that the traffic will bear," no matter who is robbed thereby.

We have learned to work together on the earth, and there is enough earth for all. The single State of Texas could take in all the people of the United States, leaving the rest of the country vacant and empty, and still be less thickly settled than agricultural Holland. All that is needed for the support of all the people is that they should be allowed to get at this earth; then the divine law of competition would prevent men from taking advantage of one another.

But, now that tyranny and slavery have gone, monopoly has taken their places, strangling competition; and men have to struggle, not to produce the most wealth for the benefit of themselves and others, but to get a chance to produce at all.

The evil of the Trust, then, may be summed up in these words—that it does not give the workers the benefit of the increased efficiency of their own work. Monopoly, principally of the source of the materials for work and the place for work, is the cause of this. The workers, shut out from the opportunity of employing themselves, individually or coöperatively, have to

accept what terms the monopolizers offer or starve. The workers find employment harder to get, and the savings of labor go to the monopolists through rent and what is known as "exploitation of labor."

The remedy is as clear as the evil. It is to destroy all monopolies, and especially the mother of monopoly—monopoly of the sources of supply: and so to give men equal opportunity for profitable employment.

At present those who own the valuable lands have all available opportunities in their control and are able to charge prices that are often prohibitive for the use of these opportunities of work and for the products of work. Those who wish to understand all that Single Taxers claim for their method of securing such liberty will find it and all that can be urged against it clearly set forth in the little book written by Louis F. Post, editor of the *Chicago Public*, called "The Single Tax." It is therefore enough for the present to say that the Single Tax proposes to take the whole value of land for the public benefit by taxation, so that it will be impossible, because unprofitable, to hold any land that is not used to its full capacity, and thereby to open to labor the boundless resources of the earth, to raise wages, and reduce rents.

If we were to tax Mr. Rockefeller up to the full value of the oil wells, iron mines, and rights of way that his company holds, the prices of oil and the value of Standard Oil stock would fall as fast as wages of Standard Oil workers would rise, and the fangs of that trust would be drawn.

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New York.

THE WHITE LIGHT OF CIVILIZED DEMOCRACY.

WE have seen that some primitive peoples possessed democracy, and that the growth of civilization swept it away. It must not be thought, however, that civilization opposes democracy. On the contrary, after the first misunderstanding, they go hand in hand, with an ever-deepening sympathy and union. The primitive democracy was rude, unstable, without firm basis or intelligent comprehension. The early developments of civilization, with its organization of ignorant masses under vigorous and ambitious leaders, naturally carried the unthinking peoples into despotism. But as civilization rose to nobler heights and the people became intelligent their governments became more democratic, till at last the civilization of England transplanted to the virgin soil of America bloomed into government by and for the people.

The highest civilization and mature democracy are mutually interdependent, each creating the other and unable to exist without it. Throughout the history of the world the essential relation between higher civilization and the development of democracy is evident. Athens attained the highest civilization of the ancient world, and her government was the most democratic. Her civilization reached its summit in the age of Pericles, and that was the time of her nearest approach to political equality. Rome was the next in civilization and the next in liberty also. Her days of development were the days when she came so near to political justice that in contrast with a world full of concentrated despotisms she was called a "Republic." The free cities of the Middle Ages were the most civilized communities of the times, far ahead of the rest of Europe in commerce, literature, and art as well as in freedom—shining like stars from the depths of those dark centuries. And Florence, the freest of all, was also the foremost in science, literature, and art. England and France and Germany to-day are far more civilized than Russia and Turkey,

and far more democratic. The Swiss are the best educated people in Europe, and the most democratic. The United States and New Zealand are the most progressive countries in the world, both physically and intellectually, and, with Switzerland, they lead the world in the development of political equality.

The nineteenth century has attained a civilization infinitely surpassing any former age, and it has developed democracy to an extent undreamed of in any former time. It is the Century of Democracy and the Century of Civilization. The relation rests on the deepest laws. Democracy educates, aids justice, wards off aggression, favors equality of opportunity, stimulates invention and discovery, develops industry, evolves civilization. Civilization awakens energy, lifts education, increases intercourse, gives vigor to the pen and the press, develops and diffuses thought, and leads to democracy by the path of knowledge. An intelligent people will demand political equality. "A thinking peasant means a tottering throne."

Keeping in mind the close connection of civilization and democracy as interacting causes, let us sum up the nineteenth-century movement toward political equality, expressing the net results at first in words and then in terms of light and shade.

Condensing the principal facts evoked in the preceding paper, we have the following generalizations:

IN 1800.

Only one country, the United States, with less than one-hundredth ($\frac{1}{100}$) of the population of the globe, and less than one-fiftieth of its land area (or about 880,000 square miles, and 5,308,000 people), enjoyed the blessings of popular government, free of despotic control. Throughout the rest of the world, with varying forms of government, the actual rule, internal and external, was despotic.

IN 1900.

About fifty countries, with more than a quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of the population of the world, and over $\frac{1}{6}$ of its land area (or 20,000,000 square miles, and 465,000,000 people), possessed constitutional governments with the fundamental powers of legislation and taxation in the hands of the people, or their representatives: more than 80-fold growth of freedom as to population and 30-fold as to population ratios, 50-fold as to countries and over 20-fold as to areas.

A hundred years ago, less than two-thousandths of the land and people of the globe were controlled by free governments, and clear of the taint of slavery—one-650th of the people to be exact, and one-830th of the land, comprising the States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts (which included Maine), with a total area of 61,000 square miles, and a population of 920,000 persons.

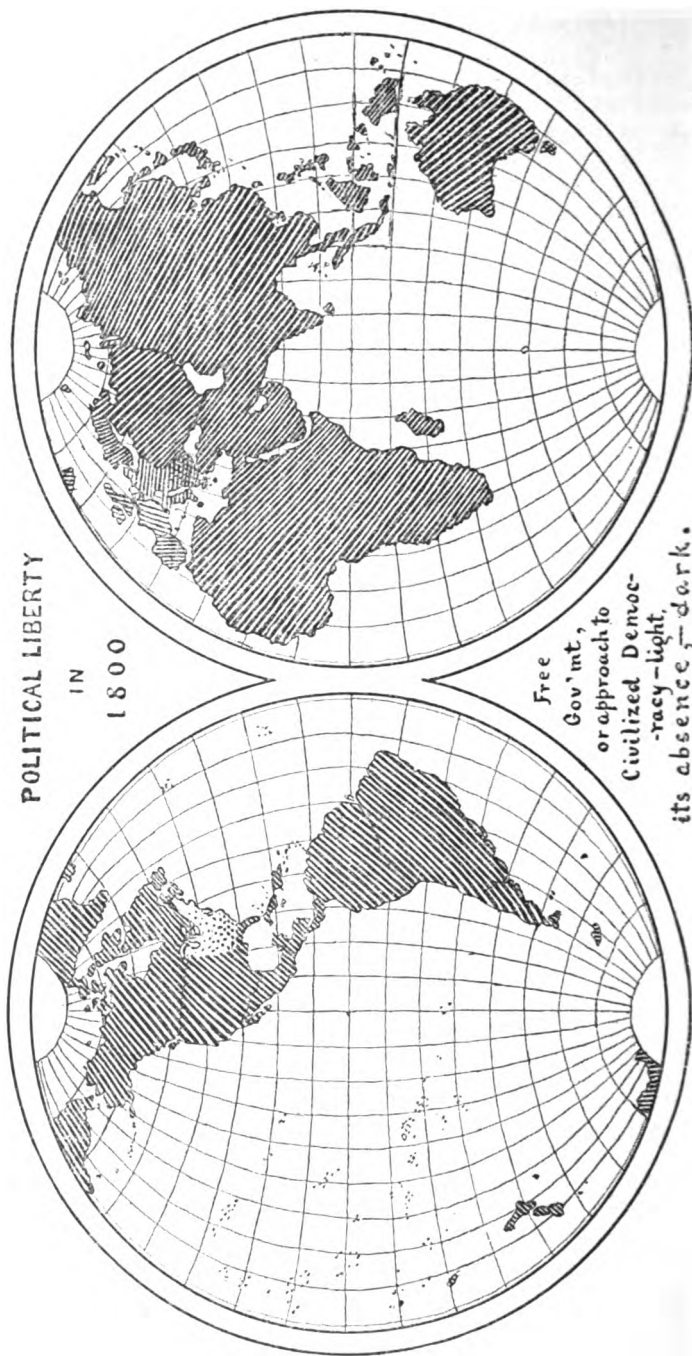
Now, more than half ($\frac{11}{20}$) of the people in the world, with nearly two-thirds ($\frac{11}{17}$) of its land area, and almost the whole water surface of the globe are included in, or controlled by, countries having constitutional governments and laws prohibiting slavery and serfdom. The dominance of free institutions has grown 540-fold in respect to land, and 350-fold in respect to population—a gain 140 times as great as the growth of the world's population in the same period.

Now, let us sum the century in terms of light and shade. I will take two maps and shade them broadly, according to the tabulated facts referred to in the preceding chapter—two maps of the world with the light in proportion to civilization and democracy, while the heavy shadows picture the depths of barbarism and despotism. See how the light has spread since 1800! All the continents were dark a hundred years ago, with only a patch of light in America and a glimmer of the dawn in Europe. To-day three continents are in the light, with portions of two others; and even the Asiatic nations have been reached, for constitutional government is established in Japan. Another century of such glorious advance and freedom will enfold the world. Another age of such beneficent expansion, and the territory of free government will include all lands and all the nations will rest beneath the guaranties of constitutional liberty.

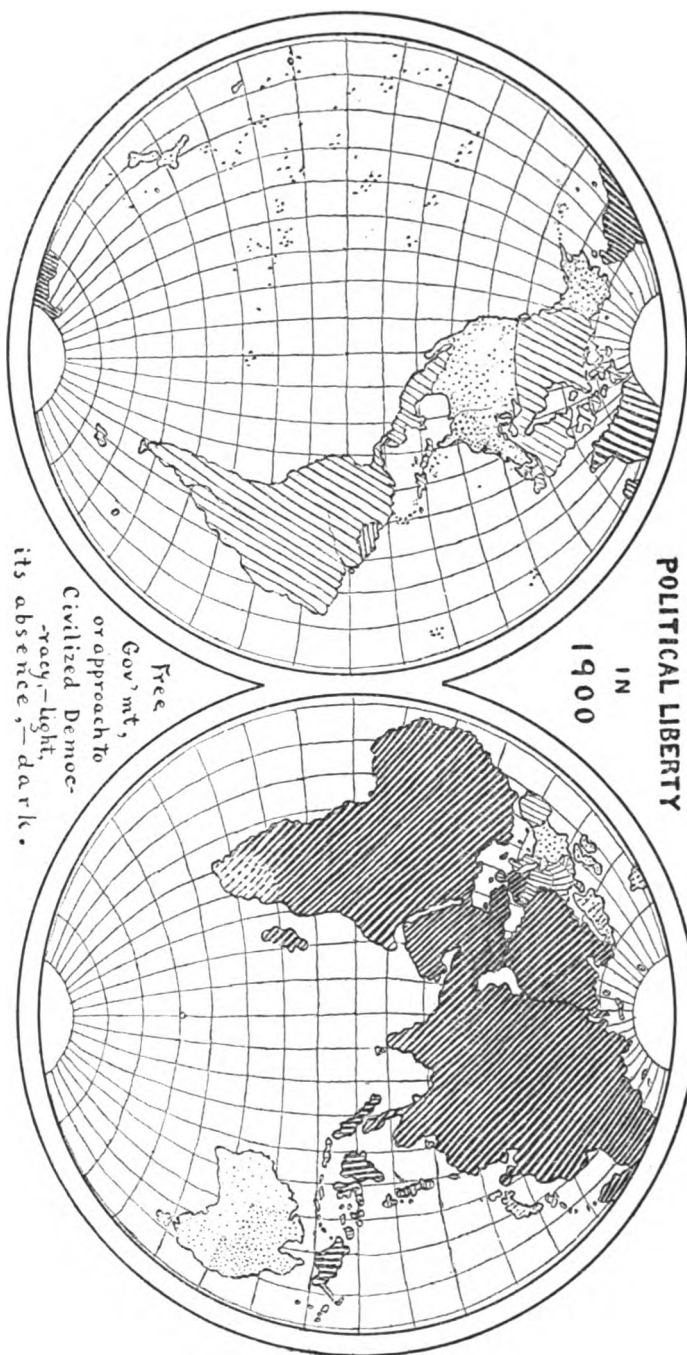
In medical records we find now and then a case occurs in which some tiny white spots have appeared on a negro's body and have grown larger and larger till the whole man became white. A little more than a hundred years ago, the world was black with oppression and absolute government; but one who could have followed it from some companion planet with a telescope sensitive to political changes would have seen a little spot of white, and then another and another, expanding and growing more luminous till nearly the whole civilized

POLITICAL LIBERTY

IN
1800



Free
Gov't,
or approach to
civilized democ-
-racy - light,
its absence, - dark.



world is redeemed from the darkness of despotism. The speck of white has become the controlling color.

The political sky has cleared, as when the rising sun pours through a rift in the clouded morning and the patch of blue grows into a beaming day.

Yet we must not forget that much of the world is still in the dark, and that the light is not pure white in any land. No country has yet perfected popular government. Manhood suffrage is very democratic compared with the past, but is only an aristocracy of men compared with the full ideal. Government by half the people of age and discretion is not government by the people. Government by office-holders is not even government by half the people. If candidates are selected by party "bosses" and "machines," and elected by minorities; if the local affairs of a city are controlled by the electors of other cities and towns; if representation is not fairly apportioned, and laws are made by final vote of elected delegates, who may pass measures the people do not want, and refuse to pass measures the people do want—we have no complete democracy, but a mess of aristocracies. He is sovereign whose will is in control. So far as the elected persons serve their private interests, or the interests of their corporate over-lords, and defy the people till their terms expire, to that extent we lack democracy and submit to an elective aristocracy. Democracy means something more than the periodic election of a new set of masters. Democracy in perfect and reliable form demands not only equal suffrage but municipal home rule, direct nominations, proportional representation, preferential voting, and direct legislation. Equal suffrage on moderate conditions, with education well diffused, direct nominations, and direct legislation, guaranteed in the Constitution along with the secret ballot, would place the effective power in the hands of the mass of people, enabling them to adopt and enforce all other needful measures at their will. A country with these basic institutions might therefore be regarded as a true democracy in reference even to the final standard, but no country has as yet combined these fundamental

elements. Parts of America have equal suffrage, and other parts have full use of direct legislation, but no State has both; and both are essential to anything like a complete and trustworthy establishment of government by the people. Switzerland has direct legislation, but not equal suffrage. New Zealand has equal suffrage and direct nominations, but very inadequate means of direct legislation; and, though her representatives now appear to carry out the popular will, the representative system *cannot be relied on* as the expression of popular sovereignty unless guarded and controlled by the check of the referendum and the spur of the initiative.

Another principle of vital moment must be noted here. *The true democracy demands for others the rights it claims for itself.* This spirit has already shown decided strength, and no doubt will manifest increasing vigor in the future. The democrats of France declared their intent to carry liberty to other nations. In England the wide extension of the suffrage was not due in the main to any agitation or effective demand among the disfranchised masses, but to the growing sense of justice and true public policy on the part of the ruling classes. The liberty-lovers of America demanded civic equality for the blacks, and put it in the Constitution by an overwhelming vote. They now demand full suffrage for women on the same essential terms as for men. Sympathy with the Cubans in their struggle for independence was a leading factor in the hearty support the people gave the recent war with Spain; and though sad blunders have been made, and party allegiance has dragged the people for a moment from full adherence to the principles on which our government is based, yet the heart of America is true to liberty, and will compel the government to accord self-government to the Filipinos, as well as to the Cubans, by the same all-moving moral force and sense of right that make Great Britain give substantial liberty to Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, except in moments of misunderstanding and industrial aggression.

The altruistic element of democracy is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the political development of our

time. Modern democracy is civilized, not merely because it pertains to civilized societies and is able to grapple with the problems and conditions of complex and highly evolved communities, but because in growing recognition of the fundamental postulate of democracy that the world and all the opportunities of life belong to humanity, it claims for others the rights it demands for itself—not perfectly as yet (for the civic conscience is not fully developed, nor the fact fully recognized that the liberty of one involves the liberty of all), but with such vigor of liberal feeling that this fine spirit of uplifting, all-enfolding freedom so strongly manifested by French and Anglo-Saxon republics affords one of the most striking contrasts between the modern democracies and the pseudo-democracies of former times. The “free cities” of Germany and Italy were set in the midst of feudal estates, small clearings in a wilderness of servitude, and only partly free themselves—mere fly-specks on the globe, with a needle-point of light in each. Their freedom meant release from feudal burdens, but not from the rule of a privileged class; and the burgher aristocracy *made no effort to lift the workers to equality with themselves, and the workers in the cities though struggling for their own advancement did not strive to liberate their brothers in the agricultural districts.* Every class devoted itself to maintaining or securing its own supremacy and was ready to use whatever power it might obtain, not to liberate but to dominate other classes. The stronger cities made war on the weaker ones, and reduced them to subjection. Florence conquered and held as subjects half a dozen sister “republics.” The democratic aristocracies of former times were like the trusts of to-day—limited combinations, internally coöperative but externally aristocratic and aggressive. The great democracies and continental republics of our time, including every class and interest from the city to the forest and the farm in one political coöperation under the control of the whole body of the people, disclose the unexampled progress of free institutions in the nineteenth century, and with enormous emphasis

predict the future growth of industrial democracy out of the commercial feudalism of our time.

This brings us to the last defect of freedom that we shall mention here—the oppressive power of industrial inequality. The man who owns nothing is not the equal of one who owns a hundred millions, either before the law, or at the ballot box, or in the halls of legislation. Political democracy at the full requires industrial democracy as its base.

The grand movement toward democracy that has filled the nineteenth century to the brim pours upon the twentieth in the full tide of acquisition. It is no nearer its objective than the movement toward political union and federation of the nations, or the spread of civilization round the world. At the limit, these three movements mean a world united, civilized, and free; a world full of popular government, culture, and cohesion; a world without barbarism, war, or despotism. All these movements are strong to-day. Will they hold their vigor till their work is done?

The pessimist may say:

“The trusts and monopolies are concentrating wealth in fewer and fewer hands. A little body of billionaires will own the United States, run the government to suit themselves, and rule with absolute power, though under republican forms for a time, as did the Cæsars in ancient Rome. This danger is familiar thought, but another important peril is not so generally recognized. Look at the map of Europe. See how vast and dark imperial Russia towers above the constitutional States of Western Europe. When that barbarous despotism feels its growing power sufficient, will it not sweep the whole of Europe within its grasp and put the clock back half a century, or another long dark age perhaps? The hordes of Africa and Asia will melt before the advance of civilization, but can it subdue the wild vigor of Russia? Education and commerce might civilize her, but she resists education and commerce. Enlightened and unselfish rule would civilize her, but she is not likely to have such rule continuously. Even the present exceptional government has expelled the noblest man the em-

pire has produced, and expelled him because of his nobility. Her government is building its own power, and its forces may be grasped some time by a Cæsar or Napoleon of the East, who, taking advantage of some dissension or wealth-born weakness of the West, will lay the continent at his feet. With Europe and Asia under control, Africa may fall to the same dominion, and the Old World be submerged once more in despotism for a new long evolution toward democracy. A combination of other nations might conquer Russia now and control her till she could be trained in civilization and self-government, but other nations have advanced too far in their thought of national right to combine for conquest without a motive more in harmony with current ideas of just attack than the vague possibility of indefinite danger in the distant future. Progressive nations might endeavor to colonize Russia, or fill her with travelers and temporary residents fostering the spirit of liberty that threatens the crown; but they would very likely succeed chiefly in adding to the population of Siberia. A military despotism, with the press and the school in its grasp and Asia at its back, is a difficult thing to deal with. Russia in the Old World, and industrial combinations of aggressive capital in the New, are gigantic obstacles in freedom's path."

The optimist replies:

"The trusts are steps toward the full coöperation that will change the chaos of cut-throat competition into the harmony of united effort for the benefit of all concerned. A tooth coming through the gum is painful, and the trusts are causing trouble because the organization of industry in which they are taking part is not yet complete. No despots can hold America, with her free schools and free press. Despotism cannot live with popular intelligence. The forces are already in motion that are to take the monopolies for public use and demolish the thrones of industrial monarchs. And as for Russia, remember that her people are trained in local self-government, and are longing for national liberty for themselves, not for the conquest of Western Europe. Her Czar has called the

nations to agree to gradual disarmament, and, even if some future emperor should desire to capture Europe, Russian power to do it could only come with civilization, and long before it came the civilization that brought it would paralyze the wish for conquest. Even if Russia could capture the German Empire and France, it would be like the dough that captured the yeast—the whole lump would rise.”

Before we attempt to decide between these views, or judge the political future, let us examine the *source* of the movements toward democracy, union, and civilization. In this and preceding numbers we have noted the facts of swift and wide development that show the vigor of these movements and prove their great vitality. It is needful now to investigate their *causes*, to ascertain if possible the lasting power of their vitality—the longevity of their vigor.

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THE SPIRIT OF MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

THERE is not a more thankless task in life than that of pointing out existing wrongs in so-called spiritual high places. In so doing, one usually incurs the enmity of the high priests without getting the good will of those they would serve. It might reasonably be asked, therefore, Why pursue a course that is not popular with any class—why not write on subjects that have more general approval? Yet, if one would be true to his own convictions of truth, he must follow where truth leads; and when subjects that are vital to the well-being of all the people are presented to the mind they must be dealt with as their importance demands.

The writer has no desire to make assertions that are not warranted by the strictest truth. He has no wish to exaggerate facts or to make things appear worse than they really are, but in these paragraphs begs leave to substantiate the following proposition: *It is not fair nor just to the Founder of the Christian faith for any organized body of people to claim to represent His views of life when it has almost nothing in common with them—when everything He taught and lived for is cast ruthlessly aside and pagan idolatry is allowed to masquerade under the name of Christianity.*

It is with no expectation of reaching or influencing the chief priests or the Pharisees that this article is written, for such a task would be not only thankless but hopeless. But an ever-increasing number of people are inquiring the way of life, and are seemingly averse to accepting Christianity, even as taught by the lowly Nazarene himself. Believing the Church to be the exponent of his religion, and knowing that many things are taught and practised by its leaders that people who do not belong to any church at all would scarcely be guilty of, they question the very truth of Christ's teaching and are ready to turn to almost any other school of religion for light on the

problem of man's growth. It is with the hope, therefore, of reaching some in this class, and of bringing them to a study of what Jesus really taught, that I present herewith the contrast between this system of doctrine and what the spirit of Christianity stands for to-day—for they have scarcely a point in common.

The Christianity taught and exemplified by the orthodox Christian Church would never be recognized by its Founder. No greater menace to the real religion of Jesus exists to-day—call it by whatever name you choose—than the so-called theology of the modern pulpit, notwithstanding the fact that in the ranks of the organized Christian body are to be found many good and true men and women, and some clergymen who are honest and sincere but who seldom think for themselves. Minds that are put through the theological mill of the Dark Ages seem painfully alike when they emerge; indeed, it is impossible to tell one from another. Nine-tenths of them are nonentities as far as individual thought and reason are concerned—mere repeaters of things they have been told. Such minds and such men have no living message for any one; they are merely speaking-tubes through which the history of the past comes down to us. God help those who have to rely on what they have to give!

Yet these so-called religious teachers are not half as great a detriment to real Christianity as a much smaller but more active and unscrupulous class of men in the ministry who have some brains but no religion. These are the overeducated ones who love to pose as broad-minded, liberal men; who seem to talk and write with great fearlessness about their disbelief concerning Gideon and the sun standing still, Jonah and the whale, and other incredible Bible stories, but who always dodge when a really vital issue is under discussion. When a question cannot be evaded they are usually found on the wrong side of it. Such men preach peace in times of peace but stand ready to preach war in times of war; they are generally found on the side of the strong, especially when it pays.

We could wish for the multiplication of such men as Henry

Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, John Hall, or Howard Crosby—for no matter how we might differ with them in opinion we could not question their honor or integrity. But the men who try to hoodwink the public by posing as the successors of the departed great manifest none of the qualities of mind or soul that contributed to their greatness. The power to string words together that have no soul back of them does not make a man great even if he stands in the pulpit of a former great man or is editor-in-chief of a religio-political journal that favors war as a promoter of civilization.

Every tree must be judged by its fruit. The Christ spirit must be judged by what it calls forth when really *lived*, and the spirit of the Church by its own outer expression—as manifested by its leading exponents. Jesus taught a gospel of peace and good will to *all* men; a gospel of healing for the sick; a gospel of forgiveness—of loving-kindness even to one's enemies. "Whatsoever," said he, "ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." To a woman detected in an act that was punishable by death according to the laws of her people he said, "Neither do I condemn thee." In his final agony on the cross, referring to the people who had condemned and were crucifying him, he said, "Father, forgive them." He never coveted the approval of the high and the mighty; he went to those to whom he could do the most good—to the publicans, the sinners, the harlots. He did not find fault with those working toward the same end, even if they did not follow him. He was kind, tolerant, and forgiving to all—save to the spiritual teachers of his day, who blinded the people with cunning sophistry and the dead letter of the law and connived at all kinds of wickedness in high places. No word of scorn or condemnation was too great to be hurled at them, because they interposed between man and God and made a mockery of the holy things of life, and because their very lives of seeming righteousness and morality were living lies.

He could look with pity and sympathy on the thief or the harlot, but not on the alleged religious leaders who while ostensibly showing the way of life were leading the souls of men

to the gates of perdition. This was the sin against the Holy Spirit for which there was no forgiveness—openly to proclaim a gospel of righteousness while living a lie, and to teach a gospel of dead doctrine and salvation through conformity to it, thus leading men astray. He warned the people repeatedly against the false teachers of his day,—the orthodox priests and interpreters of the law of his time,—not because they were his enemies, but because while professedly servants of God and teachers of men they were inwardly enemies to both God and man, and were largely responsible for the prevailing lack of true religion. They were the men who thanked God that they were better than the publicans and sinners; and if there had been a public press in those days they would doubtless have advertised the wickedness of some one else in order to reveal their own goodness by contrast. But that way of expressing spiritual pride was postponed to a future day—for the benefit of the Pharisees of the present—for at that time the self-righteous had to content themselves with standing in the high places of the synagogues and on the street-corners, thanking God that they were not as certain other men. Now, it costs the modern Pharisee far less effort to tell how good he is by telling how evil some one else is in the daily papers; besides, he reaches a far larger congregation.

The spirit of true Christianity breathes forth love, mercy, and justice. The spirit of modern Christianity, as lived and taught by its leading exponents, is filled with hate and is both merciless and unjust. If war is desired by the great moneyed interests of the country, in order to increase their unrighteous gains, then the pulpit—hand-in-hand with their other hirelings—declares it to be a good Christian proceeding, and one that will bring the greatest possible good to those whose lives we would take and whose property we would steal in the name of Christ. Of course, it must have some sanction from Jesus for doing this, and a solitary passage in the New Testament is referred to to justify both bloodshed and pillage. Our spiritual advisers urge that Jesus said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword;" but why did he say this? For two very

good reasons. First, the lack of discernment as to the real spiritual truth of what Jesus taught would cause heated controversies among many of his hearers; and second, he knew that the nature of the Pharisee was always the same and that his interpretation of the gospel of peace and good will and love to all men could mean anything—war, hatred, or persecution—and doubtless was able to foresee the time when the Pharisee would become the official expounder of his gospel and would lend his voice and countenance to deceive the people.

If the mission of Jesus was to bring a "sword," why did he not give some evidence of that mission in his own career? We do not find him availing himself of that weapon even to save his own life. A single Scriptural passage is not enough to strengthen the cause of legalized murder, even if the whole Christian Church is back of it, especially when, if taken as the Church explains it, it flatly contradicts all that Jesus believed, taught, and lived throughout his ministry. There are no *Christian* wars save the overcoming of evil with good, and he who teaches differently is false to the Christ gospel of peace and good will.

The radical difference that exists between what Jesus really taught and what the modern Church teaches should be made plain, so that no one could be deceived by what is at best a mockery of Christ's doctrine. His command to his disciples was to preach the gospel *and heal the sick*. The Church of to-day does neither, and it is apparently unwilling to let any other body of people accomplish what it leaves undone. The writer is not a Christian Scientist; but he is a believer in fair play, and he knows many persons that have been greatly benefited, both spiritually and physically, and many whose lives have been made happier by Christian Science: and to this degree the cult founded by Mrs. Eddy has his approval. But what is the position of the orthodox Church on this question? Hostility like that of the dog in the manger. Its usual method of opposition is persecution through pulpit, magazine, or newspaper attack by persons knowing little or nothing about the subject; for nine-tenths of what is said and written against the science

of spiritual healing is utterly false, as any one who cares to look into the matter may prove for himself.

Why is this concerted attack made on Christian Science? The principal reason is the *love of money*, which may be said to be the ruling spirit in the orthodox Church of our time. Thousands of people, not content with the material husks on which they had been fed, are leaving the institution to which they had been in the habit of making liberal donations, and are swelling the ranks of Christian Science. This tends to disturb the chief priests and the lesser lights in the modern Church because its mainspring is composed of two parts of commercialism and one part of self-righteousness. The latter is the lesser ingredient, because even if it is not so aggressive as the former it realizes that it has sold its influence to the financial interests of a morbidly utilitarian age.

The dominant note sounded by the Church of to-day is *commercialism*, with all that that term implies. Well said the wise Teacher, "The love of money is the root of all evil." A house founded on such golden sand cannot last—the days of the Church as now constituted are numbered. When the heart ceases to beat the life fluid cannot long be transmitted to the rest of the body by artificial means, and people are beginning to learn that the Church of to-day is a lifeless organization. "If the salt has lost its savor wherewith shall it be salted?"

A clergyman who is spiritually minded, and who desires to preach the gospel of the Master as he apprehends it—in its spiritual as well as its economic application—will soon find himself out of favor with his brethren of the cloth. The writer has in mind a clergyman who is spiritually and intellectually a giant, but who nevertheless is seldom if ever asked to officiate in other churches; indeed far more malicious and uncharitable remarks are made about him by his brother clergymen than by any other detractors. There is no room to-day in the pulpit for men who are spiritually and intellectually free—men who believe in the cause of righteousness, and who believe that the Golden Rule is something more than a dead letter. Some of them remain in the Church with the expectation of saving it,

but it is as hopeless as was Lot's effort to save Sodom by remaining within its gates; and they will yet hear the voice of the Lord, saying, "Come out; touch not the unclean thing!"

The orthodox Church is no more Christian to-day than it was in the days of Jesus, and the Master would not be accepted by the chief priests of our time any more hospitably than he was by the scribes and Pharisees of old. They would crucify him to-day, or at least get an injunction from an obliging magistrate prohibiting his utterances in public. They probably would not lay violent hands on him, for they are too cowardly and solicitous as to their own well-being.

The fact is, instead of having a Christian organization promulgating the spirit of real Christianity, we have an organization designed ostensibly for that service but whose spirit is directly antagonistic. The spirit of the Nazarene's gospel could not live in an organization that has no soul and only a lifeless body; hence, the real Christian religion will find its most faithful adherents, not in places of "honor" nor in costly churches, but among the so-called publicans and sinners, as of old, who were without the spirit of self-righteousness, and who, realizing their need, will gladly embrace a religion that will make them whole in both mind and body.

CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON.

New York.

A NEW ENGLAND POET OF THE COMMON LIFE.

"To work for the people,—this is the great and august need. It is important at the present time to bear in mind that the human soul has still greater need of the ideal than the real. It is by the real that we exist; it is by the ideal that we live. Would you realize the difference? Animals exist; man lives."—"WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE," *by Victor Hugo.*

AMONG the poets of the common life whose words are ever read with delight in tens of thousands of American homes, because of their simple, direct, and genuine appeal to the sympathies of the masses, perhaps none stand nearer to the multitude at the present time than James Whitcomb Riley. A few years ago Will Carleton shared with Mr. Riley the favor of the great rank and file of America's toilers, to whom the poems of the common life are ever dear, in a larger degree than any other of our popular singers; but of late the New England poet, Sam Walter Foss, has steadily risen in favor among the thoughtful bread-winners. He has, I think, less imagination than Mr. Riley, and his touch is not quite so subtle, nor are his poems nearly as finished literary creations as those of the Hoosier singer. But on the other hand he is more philosophic; he is more the teacher, more the helper of the common life on its ethical side, because his poems as a rule carry some wholesome lesson. He has very clear ideas regarding the proper attitude of the poet toward the toilers of earth. On one occasion he thus referred to this important subject:

"Poetry has alienated itself from the sympathies of men by its patronizing air toward the workers of the world. The poet who regards a farmer simply as picturesque, and only cares for him artistically, will never get at the heart of him and comprehend his significance. The farmer, the fisherman, the woodman have been exploited sufficiently for their literary values. 'Ah, little recks the laborer how near his work is holding him to God,' sings Whitman. He is the truest poet who sees that all workers are working out with God the develop-

ment of the universe, the building of the worlds. It is such a view of labor that glorifies it and makes it sublime and epical. It is the business of the poet to see this. But yet, while work is divine, drudgery is devilish and the most hell-like thing in the universe. The poet should work toward that consummation when work shall increase and drudgery diminish. I do not believe a time will ever come when man will cease to work, for work is the one thing that man supremely loves. But there will come a time when man will cease to drudge, for that is the one thing that man supremely hates. There seems to be a psychic wave of universal sympathy sweeping over the world for the drudges and the industrial slaves of mankind. It is well to sing of the 'nobility of labor, the long pedigree of toil;' but there is no nobility in drudgery. It is brutalizing, soddening, degrading. The being of whom Mr. Markham's 'Man with the Hoe' is a type is one of the most melancholy sights the world affords; and Mr. Markham did a real poet's work to paint him in strong colors. How to get our arms around these hopeless drudges and lift them into the plane of workmen is one of the major problems of the present century. 'Let no man drudge, and all men work,' is a creed grand enough to inspire any poet."

Not infrequently our poet, through the medium of homely humor or fine sarcasm, unmasks ancient error, exposes a popular or conventional wrong, or points out a weakness that the normal mind should avoid. Artlessly, after the manner of the true poet and twentieth-century teacher, he usually impresses his lessons without apparently having other aim than to entertain or amuse. An excellent example of this character is found in the following poem, entitled "The Tomb of the Prophet," which recently appeared in the New York *Independent* and is one of Mr. Foss's latest creations:

The exalted hero of my rime
Lived back in the abysm of time.
In those far days was none so wise,
So sound and sane beneath the skies;
And I am proud, you may divine,
Of this transcendent sage of mine;
For all the lore the young world prized
Within his brain was focalized;
In his distended skull was curled

For all that earlier men had known
The gathered wisdom of the world;
He learned himself and made his own
Until no more his wit could grow—
For he knew all there was to know.

This lore he taught his children then,
The wisest of the sons of men;
He taught it all that they might be
As wise and full of lore as he;
And when he'd taught them, satisfied,
Serene and full of years, he died.

His sons then builded him a tomb
To last until the day of doom,
And henceforth tried to learn no more
(For he had learned all truth before),
But spent their lives to laud his name
And spread and magnify his fame.
They taught their sons what he had taught,
The very letter of his thought,
And emphasized with zealous care
There was no other truth elsewhere:
And they transmitted all he knew,
There was no more that they could do,
There was no more to give beside,
And when they'd given this they died,
And rested in the shadowed gloom
Around their father's towered tomb.

Their sons in turn received this lore,
Just as their fathers had before,
And taught 'twas sin to add one new
Auxiliary thought thereto.
So thoughts were strangled at their birth
That should have lived and cheered the earth.
No flower of human thought could bloom
Whose roots sprang not from that old tomb;
So all their minds in one mold ran
Of just one mind of just one man:
And so they fed their children naught
But just the lore his father taught.
And so the shadow of his tomb
Did darken all their land with gloom.

And so one tribe, age after age,
Learned but one wisdom of one sage;
And far these feeble echoes spread,

The children of a Voice long dead;
They spread o'er many vales and hills,
A growing race of imbeciles;
A people mindless as their herds,
Babbling traditionary words;
Slight men and weak in heart and hand,
Weak men who tilled a blighted land,—
A land long blighted by the gloom
And shadow of an ancient tomb.

And now a race of men came forth
From out the mountains of the North.
A race of rude, half-savage braves,
A race whose sires had dwelt in caves;
Down on this mindless nation came,
With barbarous shouts, with sword and flame.
These men, whose sires had dwelt in caves,
Made our wise sage's children slaves;
And from the site where rose in gloom
Their great ancestor's ancient tomb
This conquering people razed each stone
And built their capitol thereon.

Mr. Foss was a child of the country. He first saw this world at or near Candia, New Hampshire, on June 19, 1858. On one occasion, while reverting to his childhood, the poet said:

"I was born on a farm and passed the most susceptible years of my life there. Those years were happy and miserable ones,—just as most boys' lives are happy and miserable,—but the memory of them as a whole is very beautiful. A babe born in a farmhouse has in reality a more royal birth than a babe born in a king's palace. He is born to a heritage of humble and homely memories that will grow more and more dear and beautiful to him every year with the glamour of added distance. At the same time, I do not believe that life in the country is the ideal life, any more than life in the city. The symmetrical life would be a mixture of both; and I believe that the inventive skill of the twentieth century will make it possible for the poorest man and his family to live half their time in the country and half their time in the town."

Though the country holds for our singer that wonderful mystic charm that I imagine most of us feel who were born amid rural scenes and whose earlier recollections are asso-

ciated with the somber murmuring forests, the babbling streams, the waving fields and flower-decked meadows and woodlands, yet he is above all a lover of his fellow-men. He lacks the intensity of Burns, but he possesses the same passion for freedom, justice, and right, the same reaching out for brother love, that did so much toward immortalizing the great Scot. He is one of the people, and as such his heart goes out to the toiling, struggling, simple, genuine millions who make nations great by faithfully doing the duty that lieth nearest them.

When quite young the future poet evinced great taste for books. Fortunately, good works fell into his hands. On this point he says:

“When quite young I secured a copy of Longfellow’s poems, and unconsciously committed many of them to memory. Whittier afterward moved me powerfully, but Emerson a little later became an overmastering literary passion; and then Carlyle and Wordsworth and Shakespeare. I used to scribble many things in those days, always in imitation of my last literary favorite. Of course, I soon learned that it is not easy for one to make himself into a *fac-simile* of Shakespeare. I suppose, however, all the time I was gathering material for literary purposes from things around me, rather than from books; although I was profoundly unconscious, at the time, that my environment had any literary interest whatever.”

Not satisfied with the meager advantages of near-by schools, the youth set his heart on securing a college education, and with true Yankee pluck labored with that object in view until his dream became a fact. He graduated from Brown University, Providence, R. I., the *alma mater* of Horace Mann and scores of other men distinguished among the scholars and the conscience element of our land. For a time he engaged in newspaper work, in addition to his other literary labors, but later he accepted the position of librarian of the Somerville public library, a position he has filled with great satisfaction to the community for several years. In addition to the performance of his duties the poet finds time to weave many a story, sermon, or incident into sweet and simple rhyme. Indeed, he

is already the author of the following very popular volumes of verse: "Whiffs from Wild Meadows," "Back Country Poems," "Dreams in Homespun," and "Songs of War and Peace." The poems in these works are instinct with moral virility and a deep and beautiful love for humanity. He appreciates the high mission of enlightened manhood of our time, which, as Victor Hugo well observes, is "to construct the people,—to construct it according to the law of progress,—to construct it by means of light." The welfare of the people lies very near to the heart of the true poet of progress. He recognizes that his holiest work is to dignify, elevate, and enrich life; and this great truth has ever been prominent in Mr. Foss's thought. "I believe," he says, "in communion with Nature, and am almost persuaded that there is a soul in the trees, and in the streams, and in the very rocks, that responds to the soul in man. But I believe in man, whether he is found in the fields or in the slums; and it is the first business of the poet to love man with a love greater than the love of trees or oceans or stars. This is his first and great commandment."

And in the opening lines of his volume entitled "Songs of War and Peace," he thus beautifully clothes this thought in the witchery of rhyme:

Who will write the best song, who will paint the best picture,
Whose music is best?
He who understands man, knows the heart of him, loves him
Above all the rest.

Put stars in your song and put skies in your picture,
Put mountains and seas;
But one heart-throb that's tuned to the heart of a brother
Is greater than these.

Man first in your song; man first, and then mountains,
And the woods and the seas;
And know, while you picture the star groups of midnight,
He is greater than these.

What is art, what is art and the artist's achievement,
Its purpose and plan?
'Tis the message that's sent from the heart of the artist
To the heart of a man.

The poets of olden days chiefly loved to sing of ancient mythical demigods, or of heroes, knights, and titled ladies. Not so the poet of the New Time. He recognizes the beauty of the far-away past, but he also knows that that beauty was clouded by savage barbarities and a contempt for the millions of earth not known in our age. He knows that humanity has the sweet consolation that it is moving toward the sunrise—that it is the glory of the dawn and not the dying glow of a flaming but fading sunset that is purpling the heights and mantling the peaks with robings of glory. William Morris, once “the idle singer of an empty day,” awakens to the august demands of the present and turns from singing of Jason’s search and the Earthly Paradise, peopled by the heroes of bygone ages, to sing songs of democracy; and Whittier sought to draw the attention of the people from rapt and absorbed contemplation of the remote past to the glory and the worth of the now and here.

Mr. Foss joins the chorus of the New Time in these stanzas, entitled “Ah, Let Us Rest”:

Ah, let us rest beneath the trees,
 Nor seek with an adventurous prow
 The magic isles of distant seas,
 But sing the songs of Here and Now.
 The world has long been sailed around,
 And El Dorado’s still unfound;
 The quest is vain on many seas
 For apples of Hesperides;
 And in no land of woods and flowers
 Doth Norumbega lift its towers;
 And in the sunset-mantled west
 There are no Islands of the Blest.
 But there is magic in the near,
 And beauty blooms on every bough;
 And there are Hesper islands here,
 And there are El Dorados now.

The seas are wide the swift ships plow,
 And long is the Platonic year.
 But all the best of time is now,
 And all the best of space is here.
 A trace of Eden still must be

Where blooms a rose or grows a tree;
And Paphian glories wander by
The man who gazes on the sky;
The Isles of Peace, the Seats of Rest,
Are not in islands of the west;
The Golden Age that knew no tears
Is not within the vanished years;
Not far the Golden Age, but near;
Fate's fruit is on the nearest bough,—
So sing the songs of Now and Here,
The brave, glad songs of Here and Now.

One of the saddest facts that the traveler encounters in rural New England is the number of abandoned farms; and even where the old home is still inhabited many of the merry voices that were wont to make the rafters ring with the music of sunny childhood have gone forth, not to neighboring farms or nearby settlements, but, lured on by the wonder tales of the great city, they have wandered forth—boys and girls with high hopes, pure hearts, and noble dreams. Some have realized something of what they had dreamed of attaining; but ah! how many—how very many—have fallen by the wayside! They left the old roof-tree, joyous as spring with its caroling birds, its wealth of flowers, its breezes laden with the perfume of the wild grape and the wayside rose. Now all is changed. The prize sought and the joys hoped for have turned to ashes in the hand. Failure has dogged the youthful footsteps, and in her wake came Temptation, till the gladness is turned to gloom and winter reigns in the heart. This common tragedy has not escaped our poet; but he is sufficiently philosophic to know that it is useless to argue or appeal to the young person who has set his or her heart on entering that strange, wonderful, and romantic world with its bustle and roar and excitement.

But he also knows that perhaps a word or a thought thrown out impersonally and artlessly may effect much more than a labored personal appeal; and I think it was with some such thought as this in mind that he penned "The Road to Boston":

The little road goes past my house, goes winding like a snake,
Climbs up the hills of hemlock, and winds through swamps of brake,
It leaps the sweeping river, and climbs the mountain height,
Bends down into the valley, and goes glimmering out of sight.

But there are travelers tell me that the little road grows wide,
And leads through many villages down to the ocean side,
And still keeps stretching onward,—they have followed day by day,—
Until it reaches Boston town, two hundred miles away.

.

My boys and girls, when they grew up, they felt the heavy load
Of this quietude and dullness,—and they traveled down the road,
And they wound across the rivers, and far o'er the mountains gray,
To the biggest street in Boston, two hundred miles away.

.

But my boys they write from Boston that, for feet that waded through
The early fields of clover and the daisies and the dew,
The stones are hard and cruel there on Boston's biggest street,
And are pressed each day and hour by a horde of tired feet.

And that men are cold and selfish, each one busy with his plan
To climb to wealth and power o'er his prostrate fellow-man;
That the few have ease and comfort, and the many toil and die,
Shut in by brick and granite from the sunlight and the sky.

And I write my children letters; tell them that their father still,
Still is toiling by the roadside on the green and quiet hill,
And to come away from Boston, with its cruel noise and roar,
For the biggest street in Boston passes by their father's door!

Many of Mr. Foss's verses depict scenes of the country or emotions experienced by the farmers. An excellent example of this character is found in the following indignant lament of a simple-hearted child of the field over the desecration of the old and cherished farm by the coming of the railroad:

There's thet black abomernation, thet big locomotive there,
Its smoke-tail like a pirut flag, a-wavin' through the air;
An' I must set, twelve times a day, an' never raise my arm,
An' see thet gret black monster go a-snortin' through my farm.

My father's farm, my grandsir's farm,—I come of Pilgrim stock,—
My great-great-great-great-grandsir's farm, way back to Plymouth
Rock;

Way back in sixteen hundreds it was in our family name,
An' no man dared to trespass till thet tootin' railroad came.

I sez, "You can't go through this farm, you hear it flat an' plain!"
An' then they blabbed about the right of "eminunt domain."
"Who's Eminunt Domain?" sez I; "I want you folks to see
Thet on this farm there ain't no man so eminunt ez me."

An' w'en their gangs begun to dig I went out with a gun,
And they rushed me off to prison till their wretched work wuz done.
"If I can't purtect my farm," sez I, "w'y, then it's my idee
You better shet off callin' this 'the country of the free.'"

Mr. Foss is a twentieth century type of manhood. In common with all the finer and nobler spirits of our time, his mind is haunted with the dream of the coming civilization, in which man shall count for more than money, and in which the ideal of the Golden Rule shall supplant the rule of gold. This thought is brought out in many of his poems, an example of which is found in the "Dialogue of the Spirits," which raises one of the most momentous questions for the twentieth century to settle—a question on the solution of which the weal or woe of civilization depends:

Says the Spirit of To-day to the Spirit of All Time:

"Have you seen my big machines?

My fire steeds, thunder-shuttlecocks that dart from clime to clime?
Hear the lyrics of their driving-rods, the modern chant sublime."

Says the Spirit of To-day to the Spirit of All Time,

"Have you seen my big machines?"

"Hear the thunder of my mills," says the Spirit of To-day.

"Hear my harnessed rivers pant.

Men are jockeys with the lightnings, and they drive them where they
may,

They are bridlers of the cataracts that dare not say them nay,

And the rivers are their drudges," says the Spirit of To-day.

"Hear my harnessed rivers pant."

Says the Spirit of All Time to the Spirit of To-day:

"Haste and let your work go on.

Tap the fires of the underworld to bake your bread, I say;

Belt the tides to sew your garments, hitch the suns to draw your
sleigh."

Says the Spirit of All Time to the Spirit of To-day:

"Haste and let your work go on."

"But," says the Spirit of All Time to the Spirit of To-day,

"Tell us, how about your men?

Shall they, like live automaton, still drudge their lives away,
When the rivers, tides, and lightnings join to help them on their Way?"

Says the Spirit of All Time to the Spirit of To-day,

"Tell us, how about your men?"

"Yes, harness every river above the cataract's brink,

And then unharness man.

To earth's reservoirs of fire let your giant shaftings sink,

And scourge your drudging thunder-bolts,—but give man time to
think;

Throw your bridles on the rivers, curb them at the cataract's brink,—

And then unharness man."

Says the Spirit of All Time: "In this climax of the years

Make no machine of man.

Your harnessed rivers panting are as lyrics in my ears,

And your jockeyed lightnings clattering are as music of the spheres,

But 'tis well that you remember, in this climax of the years,—

Make no machine of man."

Our poet has little of the narrow religious prejudice of the Puritan fathers. Indeed, he has not only come under the influence of the broader, saner, and sweeter religious ideals of our time, but he has contributed some excellent verses in harmony with the nobler and I think truer concepts of God, man, and life that are more and more obtaining throughout Western civilization. This thought is emphasized in the following poem, entitled "The Infidel":

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who deems man's thought should not be free,
Who'd veil truth's faintest ray of light
From breaking on the human sight;
'Tis he who purposes to bind
The slightest fetter on the mind,
Who fears lest wreck and wrong be wrought
To leave man loose with his own thought;
Who, in the clash of brain with brain,
Is fearful lest the truth be slain,
That wrong may win and right may flee,—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who put a bound on what may be;

Who fears time's upward slope shall end
On some far summit—and descend;
Who trembles lest the long-borne light,
Far seen, shall lose itself in night;
Who doubts that life shall rise from death
When the old order perisheth;
That all God's spaces may be cross't
And not a single soul be lost,—
Who doubts all this, whoe'er he be,
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who from his soul's own light would flee;
Who drowns with creeds of noise and din
The still small voice that speaks within;
'Tis he whose jangled soul has leaned
To that bad lesson of the fiend,
That worlds roll on in lawless dance,
Now hither through the gulfs of chance;
And that some feet may never press
A pathway through the wilderness
From midnight to the morn to be,—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who sees no beauty in a tree;
For whom no world-deep music hides
In the wide anthem of the tides;
For whom no glad bird-carol thrills
From off the million-throated hills;
Who sees no order in the high
Procession of the star-sown sky;
Who never feels his heart beguiled
By the glad prattle of a child;
Who has no dreams of things to be,—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

It is a sad fact that that very religion which claims to exalt and enthrone love, and which preaches the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, has throughout the ages proved one of the most fruitful causes of anger, hate, persecution, and death. Men who do not lose their tempers or act irrationally when considering other subjects frequently find it apparently impossible to argue with one whose religious views are different without losing all that sanity and reasonableness that

make discussion dignified, helpful, and wholesome. In these lines, entitled "Odium Theologicum," this thought is happily brought out:

I.

They met and they talked where the cross-roads meet,
 Four men from the four winds come,
 And they talked of the horse, for they loved the theme,
 And never a man was dumb.
 And the man from the North loved the strength of the horse,
 And the man from the East his pace,
 And the man from the South loved the speed of the horse,
 And the man from the West his grace.

So these four men from the four winds come,
 Each paused a space in his course
 And smiled in the face of his fellow-man
 And lovingly talked of the horse.
 Then each man parted and went his way
 As their different courses ran;
 And each man journeyed with peace in his heart
 And loving his fellow-man.

II.

They met the next year where the cross-roads meet,
 Four men from the four winds come;
 And it chanced as they met that they talked of God,
 And never a man was dumb.
 One imaged God in the shape of a man,
 A spirit did one insist;
 One said that Nature itself was God,
 One said that He didn't exist.

But they lashed each other with tongues that stung,
 That smote as with a rod:
 Each glared in the face of his fellow-man,
 And wrathfully talked of God.
 Then each man parted and went his way,
 As their different courses ran:
 And each man journeyed with war in his heart,
 And hating his fellow-man.

Here is a charming companion to the above, entitled "Work for Small Men," which is very rich in valuable and suggestive teaching:

Don't hate your neighbor if his creed
With your own doctrine fails to fit;
The chances that you both are wrong,
You know, are well-nigh infinite.
Don't fancy mid a million worlds
That fill the silent dome of night,
The gleams of all pure truth converge
Within the focus of your sight;
For this, my friend, is not the work for you:
So leave all this for smaller men to do.

Don't hate men when their hands are hard,
And patches make their garments whole;
A man whose clothes are spick and span
May wear big patches on his soul.
Don't hate a man because his coat
Does not conform to fashion's art;
A man may wear a full-dress suit,
And have a ragamuffin heart.
This, my good friend, is not the work for you:
So leave all this for smaller men to do.

Hate not the men of narrow scope,
Of senses dull, whose brows recede,
Whose hearts are embryos; for you spring,
My dainty friend, from just this breed.
Be sure the years will lift them up;
They'll toil beneath the patient sky,
And through the vista of long days
Will all come forward by and by.
Hate not these men; this is no work for you:
So leave all this for smaller men to do.

Despise not any man that lives,
Alien or neighbor, near or far;
Go out beneath the scornful stars,
And see how very small you are.
The world is large, and space is high
That sweeps around our little ken;
But there's no space or time to spare
In which to hate our fellow-men.
And this, my friend, is not the work for you:
Then leave all this for smaller men to do.

Excepting the spirit of selfishness and possibly unreasoning religious dogmatism, there is no greater bar to progress, enlightenment, and the happiness of all than is found in the

thralldom of precedent and blind worship of the past. The world's advance-guards in every age, who have blazed the pathway of progress, have been assailed, persecuted, and not infrequently slain by those who insisted on doing what their fathers had done and thinking what their fathers had thought. Every step along the upward path of life has been taken only after a determined struggle against senseless precedents, the thralldom of conservatism and conventionalism, and the slavery of ancient thought. Mr. Foss in the following didactic but mildly humorous verses, entitled "The Calf-Path," illustrates the absurdity of this progress-retarding influence in a homely but effective manner:

I.

One day through the primeval wood
A calf walked home as good calves should;

But made a trail all bent askew,
A crooked trail as all calves do.

Since then three hundred years have fled,
And I infer the calf is dead.

II.

But still he left behind his trail,
And thereby hangs my moral tale.

The trail was taken up next day
By a lone dog that passed that way;

And then a wise bell-wether sheep
Pursued the trail o'er vale and steep,

And drew the flock behind him, too,
As good bell-wethers always do.

And from that day, o'er hill and glade,
Through those old woods a path was made.

III.

And many men wound in and out,
And dodged and turned and bent about,

THE ARENA.

And uttered words of righteous wrath
Because 'twas such a crooked path;

But still they followed—do not laugh—
The first migrations of that calf,

And through this winding wood-way stalked
Because he wobbled when he walked.

IV.

This forest path became a lane,
That bent and turned and turned again;

This crooked lane became a road,
Where many a poor horse with his load

Toiled on beneath the burning sun,
And traveled some three miles in one.

And thus a century and a half
They trod the footsteps of that calf.

V.

The years passed on in swiftmess fleet,
The road became a village street;

And this, before men were aware,
A city's crowded thoroughfare.

And soon the central street was this
Of a renowned metropolis;

And men two centuries and a half
Trod in the footsteps of that calf.

VI.

Each day a hundred thousand rout
Followed this zigzag calf about

And o'er his crooked journey went
The traffic of a continent.

A hundred thousand men were led
By one calf near three centuries dead.

They followed still his crooked way
And lost one hundred years a day;

For thus such reverence is lent
To well-established precedent.

VII.

A moral lesson this might teach
Were I ordained and called to preach;

For men are prone to go it blind
Along the calf-paths of the mind,

And work away from sun to sun
To do what other men have done.

They follow in the beaten track,
And out and in, and forth and back,

And still their devious course pursue,
To keep the path that others do.

They keep the path a sacred groove,
Along which all their lives they move;

And how the wise old wood-gods laugh,
Who saw the first primeval calf.

Ah, many things this tale might teach—
But I am not ordained to preach.

Our poet is seldom more felicitous than when with charming humor he good-naturedly hits off the weaknesses and foibles of men and women. One of the finest examples of this kind is found in the following little poem, entitled "A Modern Martyrdom":

The Weverwend Awthur Murway Green,
They say is verwy clevah;
And Sister Wuth could hear him pweach,
Fohevah and fohevah.
And I went down to heah him pweach,
With Wuth and my Annette,
Upon the bwave, hewoic deaths
The ancient mawtahs met;

And as he wepwesented them,
In all their acts and feachaws,
The ancient mawtahs, dontcherknow?
Were doocid clevah cweachaws.

But, aw deah me! They don't compah
In twue hewoic bwavewy,
To a bwave hewo fwiend of mine,
Young Montmowenci Averwy.
He earned foah dollahs everwy week,
And not another coppah;
But this bwave soul wesolved to dwess
Pwe-eminently pwoppah.
So this was all the food each day,
The bwave young cweachaw had,—
One glass of milk, a cigawette,
Foah cwackers, and some bwead.

He lived on foahteen cents a day,
And cherwished one gweat passion;
The pwecious pwoject of his soul,
Of being dwessed in fashion.
But when he'd earned a suit entiah,
To his supweme chagwin,
Just then did shawt-tailed coats go out,
And long-tailed coats come in;
But naught could bwreak his wigid will,
And now, I pway you, note,
That he gave up his glaws of milk
And bought a long-tailed coat.

But then the fashion changed once moah
And bwought a gwievous plight;
It changed from twousers that are loose
To twousers that are tight.
Then his foah cwackers he gave up,
He just wenounced their use;
And changed to twousers that are tight
Fwom twousers that are loose.
And then the narrow-toed style shoes
To bwoad-toed changed instead;
Then he pwocured a bwoad-toed paih,
And gave up eating bwead.

Just then the bwoad-bwimmed style of hat
To narrow bwims gave way;

And so his twibulations gwew,
 Incweasing everwy day.
 But he pwocured a narwow bwim,
 Of verwy stylish set;
 But, bwave, bwave soul! he had to dwop
 His pwecious cigawette.
 But now, when his whole suit confohmed
 To fashion's wegulation,
 For lack of cwackers, milk, and bwead,
 He perwished of stahvation.

Thus in his owah of victory,
 He passed on to his west;
 I weally nevah saw a cawpse
 So fashionably dwessed.
 My teahs above his well-dwessed clay
 Fell like the spwingtime wains;
 My eyes had nevah wested on
 Such pwoppah dwessed wemains.
 The ancient mawtahs,—they were gwand
 And glowious in their day;
 But this bwave Montmowenci was
 As gweat and gwand as they.

We close these extracts from the verse of our New England singer of the common life with a fine little gem, entitled "The Word":

The Word Divine vouchsafed by God to man
 Is uttered through the years of many an age;
 And there are lips touched with the prophet's rage
 To-day, as there have been since time began:
 Not to a far-off patriarchal clan,
 To Idumean or Judean sage,
 Did God alone indite a sacred page
 In narrow lands, 'twixt Beersheba and Dan.
 God's voice is wandering now on every wind,
 And speaks its message to the tuned ear;
 And here are holy groves and sacred streams;
 On every hill are sacred altars shrined;
 And prophets tell their message now and here;
 Young men see visions and old men dream dreams.

Mr. Foss belongs to the twentieth-century choir of progress.
 He possesses a broad vision, a large soul, and a sweet spirit.

He is one of the rapidly increasing number of earnest men who quietly and unostentatiously consecrate their best gifts to the cause of progress and the elevation of mankind.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

ELECTRICITY AND LITERATURE.

IS it printing or book-making that is the "art preservative of arts?" Do type or covers play the part of amber in our modern existence, and save the life of the present for the study of future ages—much as living organisms of by-gone eons are embalmed in transparent exudations of the long-perished forests of the Baltic coasts? When any attempt is made to weigh or measure the enormous masses of printed paper daily and hourly going into rubbish heaps and junk shops because newspapers, and more leisurely made periodicals also, cannot even preserve themselves, it must be admitted by the most zealous champion of the press that periodicals seem merely the forests, destined to decay and obliteration; and the amber that holds fast the living thought of the day appears to be found in books alone.

But if the preservative office of literature be narrowed to duly bound and fully developed books, and printing be limited to its more conservative and slow-moving forms, as a means of embalming the life of any age or country, it must be expected that new forces and conditions will find their way only by slow degrees into the enduring records of the times. The vast mass of printed matter that sweeps along like a flood, day and night, must be looked upon as only a source of present power, immediate interest, transitory effects. It is passing on to the ocean of oblivion, changing and enriching the world through which it flows but leaving no part of its own tremendous bulk behind, unless altered wellnigh beyond recognition.

So it happens that the stock phrases or circulating medium of literature are filled with evidence of the remarkable persistence of old forms derived from outgrown customs, instruments, and beliefs. The wars of the last few years have shown how obsolete the sword and the bayonet have become in actual fighting. The Boers have used rifles with not a bayonet to

every thousand. Even their officers have no swords. Not one American soldier was hurt in the brief struggle with Spain by either sword or bayonet. This change from the warfare of the eighteenth century is nothing new. In the Franco-German war of 1870-'71 only about 300 German soldiers were injured by sword thrusts or cuts. Nearly 100,000 were killed or wounded by bullets and other projectiles. That was thirty years ago; yet in literature the "sword," now a mere ornament or badge of rank, still stands, in many instances, for all weapons and for war itself. With Chinese-like conservatism of ancient error we write of the "heart" as the seat of the emotions and the affections. "Sails" have an importance in books and in the current coin of literature which has long been lost in navigation and international commerce. A floating fort of steel, as devoid of canvas as a whale, is said to "sail" from port to port. Instances of this sort might be multiplied to almost any extent.

It is not strange, therefore, that the place which *electricity*, in its varied manifestations, has won in literature is exceedingly small in comparison with the part it plays in the life of civilized nations. As yet we have little of it in books that are not too technical to be literature at all. The telegram arrives in the nick of time, it is true, in certain novels, as well as in the melodramas that are apt to be more "mellow" than anything else. The newspapers tell how campaign orators "electrify" their audiences and dilate upon the "magnetic" presence of candidates; but it has been shown that the daily press is not literature, if for no other reason than its inability to make enduring records of the times. Now and then a play that comes near the border of true literature may use the stock "ticker" and the electric light, and the extreme picturesqueness and charm of the searchlights on ships have won recognition in writings that may endure. One of Mr. Howells's dainty heroes of some years ago was put in peril of swooning into his soup by the whirring of an electric fan in a hotel dining-room, and Kipling, born into the rising tide of a new age of electricity, has been showing

the world with what ease and power modern forces and conditions can be handled. His "dour Scots engineer" speaks of the "purring dynamos" of an up-to-date steamship as freely as any captain of old ever sang of his sails and spars. In "The Deep-Sea Cables" this same young Anglo-Indian genius, with his contempt for all barriers between his pen and the outposts of modern progress, makes splendid verse of a very new form of that imperial development which is the pride and soul of his "Song of the English."

Only here and there, it is true, does any wonder of electric science flash out in literature, but in the light of such suggestions as Kipling has given the world of the possibilities of the near future it is quite safe to predict the splendid enrichment, strengthening, and development of the materials used by artificers in language. As yet the new wonder-working force is touched cautiously and with uncertain hands, but the next generation will regard much that is still strange and bewildering to us as the men of this day think and speak of the railroad and the rifle. Since literature, however slow to adopt the new and the little known, must nevertheless follow the movement of civilization, if it is to be vital and enduring, it is certain that its pictures of life will soon glitter with the electric light of science grown into the subconsciousness of perfect understanding.

In a widely different way the effect of electricity upon letters is sure to be very great. It will render the distribution and use of books and periodicals easy and general to a degree never yet known. Modern newspapers are virtually the creation of electricity, and without it they could not exist in their present form. The more highly systems of instantaneous transmission of intelligence can be developed the more newspapers will flourish. They are not literature, and they never will be more than a means of spreading the love of reading and quickening intelligence; but in that manner their effect upon the demand for books and the opportunities enjoyed by authors will be very important. Only a superficial view of existing conditions leads to the common assertion that the habit of reading the ephemeral publications of the day has lessened the use of

books. The records of the book trade do not justify that conclusion, and it would be fairer to say that the enormous growth of newspaper patronage has taken the place of old-time tavern gossip rather than supplanted literature. It has done away, to a great extent, with the circulation of news by letter, and it has made much "small talk" seem a waste of time to busy persons. They read instead of conversing. But it is more conducive to the use of books to read papers than to talk, matching the daily press against common gossip, and therefore the influence of electricity upon newspapers tends, in the long run and the large view, to promote the growth and prosperity of literature.

Consider what electric science may do for the circulation of books and magazines from public or subscription libraries. Already, in an experimental way, we have seen single-rail electric roads built that seem to offer fair promise of a speed of two hundred miles an hour, perhaps for passengers and almost surely for small packages. Here is a hint of such improvements in the express and mail service of the country that no great stretch of the imagination is required to picture millions of families living outside of cities and towns enjoying the privilege of sending a request for a certain book to a library fifty miles away, using the telephone at three in the afternoon and receiving the volume wanted, by electric mail, so to speak, an hour later. Any such extension of city advantages in the dissemination of intelligence could not fail to quicken the mental life of the world. It would mean that many million fingers that now feel the pulse of the great arteries of civilization only faintly and seldom would become more and more sensible of its heart throbs. Such new knowledge implies the sowing of wider fields and the reaping of richer and greater harvests than have yet been garnered in the storehouses of wisdom, which are chiefly books. So electricity is very likely to prove one of the best handmaidens literature has ever known.

In the more remote and vague day-dreaming of electric science there is a promise of wonder-working, in a wider and greater field, that would touch books and letters and all the

intellectual life of mankind in a most deep and subtle way. Conceive such perfection of the storage battery that the power of the winds could be made available, cheaply and effectively, through calms, and equalized in storms and gentle breezes. Or imagine the direct conversion of the ether waves that beat upon our planet into a form of electric energy that would permit its use to illuminate and heat the world and furnish power for all purposes. In either case the tide of population might be expected to flow into new channels. Then the parts of the world that are most beautiful, pleasant, and salubrious would have more potent attractions than some of the ugly and unhealthful places that now flourish because of their cheap coal. Let the tides of the sea or its waves be economically used to generate power, to be transmitted in the form of electric energy to all parts of the coast cities, and the ocean margins of the continents must feel a new impulse of life and growth. Then a larger part of mankind would dwell where international commerce is most active and the imagination is most stimulated by the presence of men of many lands and shipping laden with the treasures of remote parts of the world. Who shall estimate the effect upon literature of a change that might move even ten per cent. (or more than 40,000,000 in Europe and the United States) of the whole population into homes more open to wide and inspiring influences, such as foreign commerce, beauty of scenery, and purity of atmosphere?

The charms of Nature alone do not avail as a source of literature. Neither does travel in distant lands. Sailors and mountaineers are not notable as makers of books. But man has not yet found conditions so favorable to the rapid growth and development of civilization, with literature as its finest expression, as those that would exist in clean and stately cities that were great modern seaports and centers of trade and industry, without being grimy with smoke or foul with fuel gases. Electricity promises to make London, Chicago, and Pittsburg smokeless and brilliant by day and night. For literature, that means more leisure, more patrons, and more inspiration to joyous and charming creation.

One of the underrated conditions affecting human life and progress is climate. Another is the environment that concerns the eye and through it influences the mind. Greece boasts entire freedom from melancholia and suicide. That implies clear skies and a brilliant atmosphere as well as temperate national habits. Women notoriously live less than men in the open air and sunshine. They have less opportunity to feel the stimulus of a wide outlook, physical or mental. This difference between the sexes is not merely coincident with the tendency of feminine literature to the minor key. An American woman, well known in the world of books, has said that whenever Pegasus feels a side-saddle on his back he canters straight to the nearest graveyard. Let electric science give to mankind half of what it seems to promise in the way of light and brightness, freedom of movement, and immunity from ills now suffered by women in the dirt and smoke of coal fires and gas and lamps; let it make suburbs more equal to the centers of great cities in social, artistic, and educational opportunities, and surround rural life with conditions far more cheery and inspiring than they have ever been—and then, perhaps, even female poets will look out upon a clean and radiant world through eyes no longer misty with the wistful tears of imperfect digestion and overstrung nerves. Then literature will be uplifted and widened and made glorious by new light and hope, new knowledge, and new beauty and charm in this old world of ours. Then they who love letters can rejoice, wherever they live, in books as clean without as they are brilliant within. That will be the electric age of the world and the golden prime of literature.

BENJAMIN KARR.

Cleveland, O.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

POWER OF THE IDEAL OVER INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL LIFE.

I.

Individuals, nations, and civilizations are the children of their controlling ideals. The dominating aspiration or dream gauges their influence for weal or woe and determines their course, whether it be upward or downward.

Such is the unity of life, such the mutual dependence of the human atoms, that the philosophic student who is able to determine the master influence or directing force in the life of an individual or of a society is able broadly to forecast the future with almost scientific precision.

He whose governing ideal is altruistic rather than egoistic, he to whom the eternal ethical or spiritual verities are of first importance, is nourishing the germ of permanent greatness. He is facing the morning, and, like the sun, is radiating life-giving light, warmth, and vitality upon all who come within the sphere of his influence; while on the other hand the life that is dominated by sensuous passions, desires, appetites, greed for gain, or anything that has for its first or primary aim a narrow self-interest, is day by day moving away from the light, away from enduring success, away from deep and abiding happiness, peace, and victory. The egoistic or selfish ideal ever acts as an insidious poison on the conscience—the higher self, or what the Stoics used to denominate the right reason of man. Its effect on the ethical nature is not unlike the subtle influence of a continued use of morphine over the human will. It dulls the moral perception; it first dims and later obliterates those divine visions that move as Bethlehem's star before the aspiring and truth-seeking soul of youth.

Perhaps nothing in present-day existence is more disquieting to the thoughtful student of human progress than the ten-

dency on the part of many youths to dismiss their higher and truer ideals, or rather to exchange them for lower concepts, such as the acquiring of gold as the master object or aim in life. A short time ago a young man whose mind was once aflame with a passion for the cause of justice and fraternity said to me: "I have given up all that—at least for the present, for a man cannot do anything in this life without money; so I have made up my mind to become rich and am bending all my energies in that direction." That youth represents a large number of our young men who have come under the baleful influence of the modern materialistic commercialism that is degrading the Church, the school, the press, and society.

The popular cry that a man can do little without money, that he must be rich or able to command large sums if he is to amount to anything in life, is essentially false, as history and experience amply prove, if by the term "success" or "amounting to anything" we mean that which furthers civilization, exalts, dignifies, and ennobles life, and contributes materially to the happiness and the well-being of humanity. The men who have most effectively furthered enduring civilization through the development and the awakening of the moral, spiritual, intellectual, and artistic sides of life have as a rule wrought their great works without the aid of wealth or any great sums of money, and often they have struggled and died in poverty.

II.

Humanity has been carried upward by men of high ideals. In some cases the divine vision that haunts youth has not left the prophet of progress, while with other individuals, at some moment in life, like Paul on the way to Damascus, they have been overpowered by the glory of the eternal truth. Always and at all times progress has waited upon the footsteps of those who have been overmastered by that light which never shone on land or sea, but which fills with radiance the holiest of holies in the human soul. This fact will become perfectly evident if we call the roll of the apostles of progress and enduring civilization throughout the ages.

Savonarola was a poor, obscure priest when he entered Florence. He found Lorenzo di Medici at the height of his power. In the city abject want and indescribable misery existed by the side of great wealth and wicked extravagance. Among the

rich and the ruling class, from the prince down, he found cynical contempt for morality and heartless indifference for the unfortunate ones, while luxury and unutterable immorality sickened his soul. Had he been a weak man he might have accepted conditions as he found them and have imitated the sleek clergy who basked in the favor of Lorenzo; but Savonarola had caught a glimpse of the august form of Justice. His ideal was lofty, his mission sacred. He did not say, "A man can do nothing without money." Indeed, nothing was further from his mind as he beheld on every side men with great fortunes degrading others and surrendering themselves the bond-servants of ignoble passions and desires. The simple-hearted and austere priest, aflame with high and holy thoughts, appealed to the conscience of Florence with that power and conviction which are only found among those who unselfishly dedicate their lives to a holy cause. For a time he battled almost alone, for the most secular of all the popes, Alexander VI., was then at the head of the Church and was in strong sympathy with the rich and the powerful; while the Florentine clergy, which for long years had been given over to prophesying smooth things, became alarmed and indignant at the austere message of the righteous man. And yet Savonarola overthrew the di Medici despotism and established a republic that guaranteed to the citizens a larger degree of justice than they had known for generations—a republic that required the overwhelming force of foreign power to overthrow it. And, beyond and above all, his life and teachings stirred and moved the nobler and more deeply religious natures throughout western Europe. The once poor and obscure priest became in a real way the precursor of the great Protestant Reformation, and, though at length his enemies within Church and State were able cruelly to destroy his body, the martyr's death, like the splendid life and noble message that had preceded it, appealed to the divine in the hearts of thousands, making Savonarola one of the great positive moral forces of his age who called the Church and the world to come up higher. This poor priest is a fair type of the great religious prophets who from time to time have awakened the sleeping conscience of millions and have infused into society a moral and religious enthusiasm regenerating and uplifting in its influence.

The spectacle of the exiled Mazzini pawning his clothes to save himself from starvation was more pathetic than inspiring; yet that seemingly forsaken apostle of freedom had so per-

sistently and effectively championed the cause of republican government that he, more than perhaps any other man of his time, was dreaded by the despots of western Europe, while his life and words are to-day wielding a far greater influence for good than the lives and deeds of all the princes of the Italy of his time. Mazzini lives in the love of every noble-hearted man and woman who is *en rapport* with social and economic progress.

John Bright, turning from a prosperous business career to espouse a despised cause, and dedicating his life to what he believed to be right, is another illustration in point.

Passing from the field of social, political, and economic progress into the domain of philanthropy, we pause before the name of Philippe Pinel. This distinguished young physician entered Paris in 1778. He was but thirty-three years of age at that time, but he had received the best medical education that the colleges of the age afforded, and in spite of his comparative youth his abilities were recognized by the leading authorities in his profession. Pinel, however, was not satisfied to move along conventional grooves and repeat the errors of centuries. He was a man of human feeling—an idealist in the truest sense of the term. Red blood flowed through his veins, and love burned brightly on the altar of his heart. He had come under the wonderful wave of altruistic and humanistic thought that swept over France after the birth of our own Republic and that seemed to weave a mystic spell over the heart and brain of the best thinkers of the nation. High dreams haunted the minds of philosophers, economists, statesmen, philanthropists, and the broadest representatives of religion. Lofty visions floated before the awakened imagination. The spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the ideal of the Golden Rule had enthralled thousands of scholarly Frenchmen, and among the foremost of this number was Philippe Pinel. He was not content with making an illustrious name for himself in the medical profession. He aspired to help the unfortunate, and in looking over the field to find where he might be most useful his attention was attracted to the stupendous work waiting to be wrought for the insane, at that time the most cruelly treated and shamefully outraged class of unfortunates in Christian Europe. Indeed, one of the darkest pages in the history of our civilization is that which deals with the treatment of those bereft of reason.

The Greeks and other pagan nations were wont to show

great tenderness and consideration to their insane; for the conversations that the unfortunates persisted in carrying on with invisible personages—most frequently their parents and ancestors, though at times the heroes of the nation—led men to believe that the insane were especially beloved of the gods, who vouchsafed to them vision and hearing—aye, and communion with the invisibles.

But the Christian Church held a view diametrically opposed to this. The insane, according to the Christian world, was possessed by devils; and inasmuch as Deity was supposed to reserve chains, darkness, and torture for Satan and his angels, the Church, and later the physicians of Christendom, insisted on treating the insane much as it was believed that God proposed to treat the devil in the nether world. The poor creatures were chained hard and fast in dismal cells, which were strewn with straw and oftentimes filthy beyond description, and here, in darkness, loneliness, cold, and hunger they dragged away their awful lives, save when they were submitted to diabolical torture, such as the famous “surprise” system of treatment, long in vogue, which was calculated to excite nameless horror in the poor unbalanced mind.

Pinel was too much under the high ideals of the new time to incline toward the horrible superstition that prevailed throughout the religious and medical worlds. His fine nature cried out against the outrages being perpetrated upon the helpless insane; and the great political revolutions of the time favored his humane and revolutionary method of treatment. He had acquired a high position as an authority in mental diseases, and in 1793 received the appointment as chief medical director at Bicêtre. Yet even at this time, after years of agitation, the great savants of France coldly received his impassioned plea for a radical change in the treatment of maniacs, and so deep-rooted was the popular prejudice that the noble doctor was mobbed by the populace of Paris. Nothing daunted, he pursued the line marked out, and at length received permission to liberate patients. Very suggestive and pathetic was one of his first experiences. His attention was drawn to an English captain who had been chained in his cell for forty years. The man was considered one of the most dangerous inmates of the hospital. Approaching the pitiable victim of an unhappy fate, Pinel said, “Captain, if you will promise me to behave well and injure no one, I will order your chains taken off and permit you to walk in the court.” Naturally

enough the poor man thought the doctor was making sport of him, but Pinel assured him that, while he had ample help who would compel him to do right, he would give him the freedom of the court if he would promise not to abuse his trust. The promise was quickly given, and the overjoyed victim found himself free for the first time in forty years. It required some time, however, before he could rise and regain the use of his limbs; but at length he hobbled up the stairs into the court, where he beheld the blue sky. "Oh, how beautiful!" he exclaimed, and long his gaze was riveted on the ether. Then for hours he slowly moved about the court, manifesting by numerous signs the delight he could frame no words adequately to express. He showed no signs of irritability, and as night approached he voluntarily descended to his cell, where another pleasant surprise awaited him, for, instead of his ill-smelling bed of straw on the floor, he found his apartments cleansed and a comfortable bed provided. He soon fell into a profound and tranquil sleep. A few days later Pinel had the manacles stricken from more than fifty patients, who were also given the freedom of the court; and then a touching and remarkable thing happened. The old English captain, who for years had been regarded as the most violent and dangerous inmate, proved the most valuable aid to Pinel by going from one to another of his fellow-unfortunates and urging them to conduct themselves quietly and well that they might gain more and more freedom. Doctors and the public alike were amazed, first at the daring of the humane physician, and later at the marvelous success attending the introduction of love and humanity in the stead of barbarity and folly prompted by bigotry and superstition; and, though for a time he was savagely assailed by the upholders of ancient and inhuman ideals, his success was so decisive that he was appointed to the Salpetrie and given important chairs in the Paris school of medicine; while—of still more moment—his victory inaugurated a great reformatory revolution in the treatment of the insane throughout western Europe: a humane revolution that has steadily increased from that day; and no man can measure the service to civilization rendered by this light-bearer of the eighteenth century.

In America Dorothy Dix, haunted by a sublime dream and oblivious to all thought of self, wrought a work very similar to that inaugurated and carried forward by Pinel in Europe.

Horace Mann in the educational world is another typical

servant of the higher ideals who materially broadened, enriched, and elevated the common life. Perhaps no American of the nineteenth century did more to foster a wider diffusion of knowledge, and especially to further and build up our magnificent public-school system, than did this remarkable man. He was a poor New England lad who for years battled against almost insurmountable obstacles to gain an education. Few books were within his reach, and he was compelled to work so long and laboriously each day that the only time he was able to study was during hours that should have been given to sleep. It was not until he was twenty years of age that he was able to devote much time to systematic study, but in a few months he had prepared himself to enter Brown University, Providence, R. I., from which institution he graduated with the highest honors in 1819. He determined to follow law as a profession, and after four years' study was admitted to the bar. On entering his profession he made the determination to accept no case that he could not conscientiously defend and to advocate no cause that he deemed to be unjust or prejudicial to the best interests of society. This determination was strictly adhered to during his whole professional career, which was phenomenally successful. In 1827 he entered the Massachusetts legislature, and for many years he was one of the master spirits of that body, ever seeking to further the cause of popular education and other measures looking toward the elevation and development of the people. For eleven years he served with untiring fidelity as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and through his indefatigable labor the whole public-school system of the State was immensely improved—almost, indeed, made over; while by masterly lectures and strong and convincing papers he greatly stimulated and fostered the cause of education throughout America, rousing a public interest and enthusiasm in popular education that have since lived in the thought of the nation. He succeeded John Quincy Adams in Congress, serving two terms, and was later elected Governor of Massachusetts. The latter honor, however, he declined, in order that he might give his whole time to the building up of the Antioch College, in the State of Ohio. Here he enthusiastically labored for seven years, attempting to carry forward far more work than his health would permit. He died with his armor on, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three, having, however, achieved for civilization a greater service than thousands of his fellow-men who courted and received

the ephemeral applause of the multitude, but who left no beneficent and enduring work behind them.

These names are typical of the galaxy of the truly great of the ages—the light-bearers of the human race who in religious, political, economic, humanistic, philosophic, and educational spheres of activity have carried civilization forward. These immortal servants of humanity and apostles of progress have in every instance been overmastered by unselfish or altruistic ideals. They were willing to consecrate, and if need be to lose, their own little lives that other men and unborn ages might enjoy a happier, nobler, and more abundant life. They are the truly successful ones of earth. They blessed their own time and have brightened and gladdened the pathway for all future generations.

III.

Not one of the truly great ones whose lives like splendid stars stud the historic past and light up the ages with unwaning glory dreamed for a moment that nothing could be done without money, or that wealth was essential to success. They were loyal to the divine voice implanted within the soul of man; they followed the promptings of their higher selves; they were faithful to the ideal of truth, justice, and love; their lives illustrate the profound meaning of Jesus' teachings—that he who would gain life must lose it; that he who would be greatest must be the servant of the least.

It is the ideal—the overmastering and guiding ideal—that exalts or debases a man, a nation, or a civilization. Never before in the history of our Republic has it been so imperative that this solemn truth should be impressed upon the conscience of men and women as to-day. The money-god idea is fascinating and anesthetizing the minds of youth and age alike, and, as is ever the case when the egoistic ideal overshadows the altruistic, there is a gradual debasing or lowering of the standard of life in government, in Church, and in society. It would be difficult to overestimate the peril that confronts the United States through this ascendancy of the worship of gold over the ideal of right. Perhaps nowhere is the danger more evident than in public life, from the judiciary down through all the ramifications of government. Yet the evil is by no means confined to politics. Indeed, the alarming manifestation of the power of wealth that appears from time to time in the action of

public men and bodies indicates all too plainly the prevalence of the materialistic ideal in the conscience of the common life. This solemn fact is beginning to be appreciated by the more clear-seeing of our leading thinkers. No truer or braver characterization of the nation's danger, through the supplanting of the high ideals that governed the founders of the Republic and have been the guiding influence of all the noblest lives of the ages, by short-sighted materialistic conceptions of life and success, has been uttered than that recently spoken by Bishop Henry C. Potter in the following lines:

"Divorce, crime, corruption in all our cities, have one root—the lust of money. The one eager, dominant hunger that salutes us from one end to the other of our broad land is the passion, the hunger, the greed for gain. Go where you may, talk with whom you will—with clergymen estimating the promise of fields for spiritual labor, with women rating the claims of women upon their social recognition, with the heads of great universities paralyzed with fright lest the indiscretions of some plain-spoken professor who tells his age the truth in an hour when it sorely needs to hear it shall cut down the revenues of the college—it is no matter; the commercial question is at the bottom of it and decides usually all the others."

This timely utterance is as true as it is disquieting. It should fall on the ears of American parents, teachers, and thought-molders as the ominous tones of an alarm-bell at midnight. It should arouse every young man to a high resolve and a fixed determination that, regardless of what others may or may not do, he or she will follow the true ideal of progress and right and will consecrate every remaining hour to the service of civilization and the upliftment and enrichment of human life.

* * *

THE IMPERATIVE NEED OF THE REFERENDUM EMPHASIZED BY RECENT ATTEMPTED LEGISLATION.

I. WHY THE SUCCESSFUL SWISS INNOVATIONS ARE URGENTLY DEMANDED.

No questions before the American people are more entitled to a paramount place than those relating to the establishment of the initiative, the referendum, and the imperative mandate;

not only because their general introduction would do more than any other single political reform firmly to establish a truly democratic or republican form of government adapted to present-day conditions, but that they are, in our judgment, the only peaceable measures that, while fundamental in character, can be made winning issues in the near future. They have been amply tested and have proved thoroughly practical and effective. They are the most sweeping measures immediately obtainable for the destruction of corrupt ring rule and corporate domination—the supreme perils of our time. They are in perfect alignment with the tradition, spirit, and peculiar character of free government as opposed to all forms of despotic or autocratic rule, and they would do more than aught else to deliver the American people from the effect of the deadly opiate being administered by a corporation-controlled press and corrupt boss and ring influences.

The political boss, the partizan machine, and the powerful monopolies and trusts are a unit in opposition to these measures, because they know full well that they would do more than anything else to check the onward march of corruption and despotism, and that they would go far toward restoring the Republic to its rightful position as a leader in the procession of progress, giving to the world again a free government—of the people, by the people, and for the people.

II. WITH THE REFERENDUM IN FORCE THE CITIES OF PENNSYLVANIA WOULD HAVE ESCAPED BEING PLUNDERED AND DISHONORED.

Under these sane, practical, and progressive republican measures, such shameful political debauchery as that recently witnessed in the ill-famed legislature of Pennsylvania and in the municipal government of Philadelphia would be impossible. No thoughtful man imagines for a moment that the infamous legislation enacted relative to street-car franchises by the Pennsylvania legislators would have been ratified by the electorate of that State, nor would it have been possible for a band of politico-commercial brigands to have plundered the city of Philadelphia had the voters of that great municipality been allowed to pass on the question involving untold millions of dollars to the taxpayers. The referendum would have prevented the disgraceful statute from ever passing; for, no matter how corrupt or venal the legislators of the commonwealth

might have been, had they known that the measure would have been submitted to the people before it became a law a large majority of them would have shrunk from committing political hari-kari, for they would have known full well that the agitation preceding a referendum vote would have blasted and destroyed forever their political future. But, admitting for the sake of argument that by some chance such a measure passed a legislature, it would be promptly negatived by the popular vote; for corrupt corporations may control a legislature, they may elect a governor, and they may by devious means influence a public press, but they have not the money or the power at their command to control the electorate while the rostrum is free to public speakers.

III. A TYPICAL VICTORY UNDER THE REFERENDUM.

A striking illustration of this character was seen in the case of the bill permitting the street-railway monopoly to relay the tracks on Tremont and Boylston streets in Boston. It was during the last term of Governor Wolcott's administration that the measure was presented to the Massachusetts legislature. The daily press of Boston, with one or two honorable exceptions, promptly fell in with the views of the greedy and over-rich corporation in whose interest the bill was pushed forward; and the legislature of Massachusetts, which for subserviency to certain great corporations is worthy to stand bonneted in the presence of the Keystone lawmakers, was soon found to be overwhelmingly in favor of the street-railway corporation. Governor Wolcott, however—a brave man who was about to retire from the seat he had honorably filled—created consternation among the minions of the railway monopoly by declaring that the people of Boston had a right to vote on a question that so intimately affected the well-being of the city, and that unless the referendum were attached to the bill he would veto it. No pressure or pleading from the attorneys and friends of the corporation was able to move the Governor; consequently, the referendum was attached to the bill before it was sent for his signature. The street-railway company, however, felt comparatively secure, inasmuch as they had the press overwhelmingly on their side, and through its columns a vigorous campaign was carried on with a view to convincing the electorate of the feasibility of presenting the enormously rich corporation with a franchise worth millions of dollars. No stone was left

unturnd in order to make sure the victory; but at the same time a little band of patriotic citizens began an agitation in the interest of public honesty and municipal welfare. They were greatly handicapped on account of the attitude of the leading opinion-forming journals and the great wealth and influence which the railway company had at their command. All the clever shibboleths, pleas, and arguments that skilful attorneys could devise were employed in the interests of the corporation. The opposition, however, adopted the Socratic method in its attempt to reach the people. Postal cards and circulars containing questions and answers that punctured the sophistical bubbles of the special pleaders were scattered broadcast over the city, and on the eve of the election Boston was literally sown with an able and important Socratic circular containing over forty questions and answers that completely covered the point at issue, revealing at once the iniquity of the proposed measure and the falsity of the pleas that were being advanced in its interests. The railway company, however, had little fear as to their success. They believed that the systematic campaign that had been carried on for months in their interest had rendered their cause safe, and one of the leading city papers on the morning of the election predicted an enormous majority for the private monopoly. The voters, however, had been informed in regard to the true status of the case, and they were not slow in acting in the interests of the community, as was seen when the ballots were counted, which showed that 51,585 voters opposed the relaying of the tracks, while only 26,254 favored the railway corporation. Thus almost two to one voted against the action of the subservient legislature, the press, and the corporation.

IV. RECENT OPPOSITION OF THE BOSTON STREET-RAILWAY CORPORATION TO THE REFERENDUM.

Last winter another conflict occurred in the legislature between the friends of municipal ownership of natural monopolies and the street-railway corporation. When it is remembered that more than one million dollars in dividends were earned last year and paid as a result of private ownership of street-railway franchises in Boston, it will be easy to imagine that the rich corporation was determined to leave no stone unturnd in further relieving the municipality of the enormous revenue that should belong to the city. As heretofore, the majority of

the daily papers—especially the Republican press—were clamorous for a favorable consideration of the corporation's bill. No one could read these papers without being impressed with the fact that in the eyes of the majority of the daily press of Boston the good of the city and the interests of the citizens were of small account compared with the interests of the private monopoly, which through the special privilege enjoyed is taking from the city more than one million dollars every year that should be applied to improving the street-car service, reducing fares, and the reduction of taxes. The legislature also seemed desirous of outstripping the most complacent of its predecessors in subserviency to corporate greed. The friends of the city's interests were in a hopeless minority, and all propositions to allow the citizens of Boston to pass on whether the city or the corporation should build the new subway was bitterly opposed by the corporation and its numerous allies in the legislature. The company's bill, though apparently liberal, was in fact, as might be expected, excellent for the corporation and thoroughly bad for the city—so bad, indeed, that the company was willing to risk the defeat of the measure in the legislature rather than allow the referendum clause to be attached to the bill. Before the passage of the bill the Governor signified his desire that the referendum should be attached, and unless his wish in this respect were regarded the bill would certainly be vetoed. This called forth the most savage criticisms on the part of several Boston papers, especially from those belonging to the Governor's own party, and there was much talk about passing the measure over the proposed veto. Governor Crane, however, refused to recede from his position, and after the bill was passed he promptly returned his refusal to sign the same, with a veto message that so unmercifully riddled the bill that a large number of the legislators who had voted for it became alarmed and attempted to get to cover by promptly voting to sustain the Governor. Hence, for a year at least, the corporation was baffled. The desperate manner in which the corporation fought all attempts to allow the people to pass on the immensely important measure showed how clearly the monopoly appreciated the fact that even with the favorable action of the legislature and the support of the majority of the press, their unjust, unrepublian, and extortionate demands could not be safely intrusted to the electorate; and their action in this respect, as well as the previous vote of the people on the Tremont street tracks, illustrates the vital im-

portance of the general introduction of the referendum into our political system for the conservation of free institutions and for the protection of the people against predatory bands under present social and economic conditions.

Agitate for the referendum.

* * *

UNION OF SOCIALISTIC FORCES.

The Unity Conference of Socialists recently held in Indianapolis did far more than was generally expected toward unifying the warring factions among those who believe in Socialism and Socialistic measures. It also brought into one compact organization groups that have been struggling for practically the same general object under different organizations. The discussions, though vigorous and earnest, were free from the bitterness that has too frequently marked the opposing factions, and in the end the Social Democratic party whose headquarters had been at Springfield, Mass., the Social Democratic party with headquarters at Chicago, the Socialist party of the State of Texas, and the Socialist party of the States of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, were consolidated into one harmonious body, under the new name of "Socialist party," with national headquarters at St. Louis, Mo.

The principal immediate demands of the party will we believe meet with the favor of a large and constantly increasing number of the most thoughtful American voters who have never before affiliated with the Socialistic movement. These demands may be briefly summarized as follows: Governmental ownership of railways, telegraphs, and industries now controlled by trusts; reduction in the hours of labor; education of the young by the government at the public expense; public works for the unemployed; the initiative and referendum, and State or national insurance for workingmen. The prevalent employment of injunctions in labor disputes was vigorously denounced. Professor George D. Herron was chairman of the convention.

If the capitalistic or reactionary element of the Democratic party continues to gain ascendancy, as now seems probable, in that organization, and is thus able to carry out the wishes of certain Wall street manipulators who are determined to bring

the Democratic party back to where it was during the time of the Cleveland-Carlisle-Morgan bond scandal, and thus make it the Tweedle-dum to the Republican party's Tweedle-dee, millions of voters who have during recent years become more and more aroused to the importance of positive and fundamental political reforms will be driven into the Socialist party; and in this event Social Democracy will become an overmastering issue in the United States at an early date.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

TWO VOLUMES OF FUGITIVE VERSE.

NOW-A-DAY POEMS. By Philander Chase Johnson. Illustrated.
128 pp. Price, \$1.25. Washington: The Neale Company.

LOVE-IN-A-MIST. Poems by Post Wheeler. Cloth, 216 pp. New
York: The Camelot Company.

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In "Now-a-Day Poems" and "Love-in-a-Mist" we have two volumes of fugitive rhyme originally written for the columns of the daily and weekly press. Each work carries the dominant note of present-day newspaper verse—a note of profound sadness, which speaks of unsatisfied desires and unfulfilled ideals, of lives that are moving in grooves that fetter the free, soaring imagination and that bear in an irksome way upon the larger hopes and nobler aspirations of being, rendering impossible the full and complete expression of the soul and changing what might be inspiring songs of triumph, freedom, and progress into sad, melancholy, and sometimes cynical musings, reveries, or dirges.

The predominance of the minor key in the more thoughtful and worthy newspaper verse, and also in the editorial utterances of many of our finest and most idealistic writers, is as suggestive as it is sad. The true poet, like the artist, sculptor, and musician, instinctively yearns to express that which is highest and best in his nature; and he must be perfectly free and unhampered, else we find the *Hamlet* type of character, which consciously or unconsciously expresses itself in all the author's work, and which shadows forth the deep melancholy of a life unsuited to the groove in which it is expected to move and which speaks in unmistakable tones of doubt, sadness, pessimism, and sometimes cynicism, of the chained spirit. True, in every age there are always a few men of great genius and will-power who aspire, "break bounds," and through persecution, poverty, and adversity rise to the serene heights from which their work shines down upon the world as the light of undying stars. Such a man was Richard Wagner, who endured poverty and exile and bore the scoffs, ridicule, and taunting of the world for many years, electing to

* Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

pass a quarter of a century in the shadow rather than conform to the low ideals of materialistic commercialism and superficial and soulless conventionalism. Such a one was Victor Hugo, who chose nineteen years of exile rather than crook the knee to arbitrary power and become false even in appearance to the ideal of liberty and freedom in government. And such a one also was William Morris, who chose to sacrifice popularity and the applause of the dilettante, the probability of receiving the laureate's chaplet, and the wealth and ease that conservatism delights to bestow upon the slaves of her slothful desire, that he might cease to be "the idle singer of an empty day" and become a living voice of God—an apostle of progress, whose songs, writings, addresses, and life should contribute in an important degree toward breaking the bonds that custom, prejudice, arbitrary power, personal ambition, brutal selfishness, and soul-deadening materialism have subtly woven around millions of lives. But these great heroes of civilization, who break the shackles that bind them, are as Blanc, Washington, Hood, Tacoma, St. Elias, and other lofty peaks whose glittering summits rise as mighty sentinels among the mountains of earth.

The vast majority, however, among the finer and more sensitive of our poets and writers sooner or later fall into the iron grooves that seem to hedge them in, and with daily wearing friction live through fleeting years uttering songs or writing leaders that suggest the plaintive notes of the caged bird with wings ever wounded by fruitless beating against the iron bars.

The prevalence of sordid and low commercial ideals in modern life accounts in a large degree for the note of sadness and almost despair that is frequently heard in present-day verse and story. And perhaps nowhere in the literary world is the repressing influence of conventionalism and commercialism so pronounced as in the daily press; for here in many ways the power of capitalism dominates. Either stockholders are interested in great corporations that are plundering the people and preventing society from enjoying its own; or advertisers threaten to withdraw necessary patronage; or owners place profit and personal ambition above the higher ideals of life; or the lash of party, boss, or machine is brought to bear upon those who would be true to humanity and to progress: so that the press to-day is no longer the herald of civilization's advance, whose trumpet voice is a powerful inspiration to those who seek to realize the highest and holiest ideals. Now, the failure of the press to express the nobler aspirations of the age compels the poets and idealists on its staff to conform to policy, expediency, and the commercial ideals that govern the journal; and this changes the hymn of progress, the "chant democratic," the chorus of justice and freedom, that would leap from the unhampered brain into plaintive songs and rhymes in which even efforts at humor and mirth appear strained, when, indeed, they do not take on a distinctly somber aspect.

In Mr. Johnson's "Now-a-Day Poems" we have a compilation of verse that has proved very popular and is in some respects superior to many of the frequently copied current waifs. The author is often very

happy in his dialect verse, weaving much homely truth into easy rhyme; but I think his best work is to be found in the division of the book that deals with Now-a-Day Moods and Sentiments. Here, for example, are three poems in which the reminiscent and idealistic musings of the poet are so well expressed that they will serve to give the reader a fair idea of the volume:

ONCE IN A WHILE.

Once in a while, like the sun that streams
Through the breaking clouds on a day of showers,
The light of happiness gaily gleams
On this wistful wearisome world of ours.
And the sands of the hour-glass turn to gold,
And the melodies faint and far unfold,
And they lightly clink and our thoughts beguile
With mystical music—once in a while.

Once in a while, through the battling crowd,
The face of an honest friend will pass
Or a voice will silence the tumult loud—
The tender voice of a loving lass.
But the throng grows fierce and the din grows high
As hope and hatred renew the cry,
And a frown effaces the careless smile
That comes to cheer us—once in a while.

Once in a while comes the day that's "best,"
After days of waiting through "worse" and "bad;"
The day that is radiant and sweet with rest,
The day that we long for when life is sad.
How well 'twould be if the tide of years
Could be, somehow, turned from the flood of tears;
If the hours of darkness and doubt were drained
And only the "Once-in-a-while's" remained!

THE LILACS.

The sun hotly blazed on the long, dusty street
That leads to the hurrying mart,
And the wearisome spell of the languorous heat
Seemed to penetrate e'en to the heart.
And yet, like a memory, distant and dim,
There came through the foliage dense
A perfume—it banished the frowning so grim—
Of lilacs from over the fence.

The wayfarer paused, and there came to his mind
The old-fashioned place of his birth;
Illumed by a face that was gentle and kind,
The gentlest and kindest on earth;
The big, rambling garden, the nook where a boy
Dreamed of a future immense;
Where the sunbeams would linger in laziest joy,
And the lilacs hung over the fence.

Again to the journey, again to the strife,
And yet, 'mid the toil of the day,

A faint, subtle odor, with memories rife,
 Full oft through the air seemed to stray.
 The smile had a meaning which no one could learn,
 That lightened his features so tense,
 As the perfume, in fancy, would sweetly return
 Of lilacs from over the fence.

EXPECTANCY.

Some day, some day 'twill all come right;
 The tangled skeins will all unwind
 And we will grasp the colors bright
 And leave the somber threads behind.
 The sun is low and rest is sweet,
 Yet fears draw round us when it sets;
 And sorrow comes with winged feet
 And joy but heralds new regrets.

E'en while we taste, sweet draughts will turn
 To bitterness that hurts us sore;
 We learn to love and, loving, learn
 To feel the loved one's loss the more.
 And yet, when "reason's" light grows pale,
 There shines through darkness still a ray
 Of faith untaught which cannot fail,
 And leads us onward to some day.

There are flashes of poetic expression in this volume that hint at what the present-day newspaper poet might do for progress had he sufficient courage to express the more vital thought that comes to him and the opportunity which the Corn Law agitation and Chartism afforded Dr. Charles Mackay, Gerald Massey, and Thomas Hood during the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign. This thought is suggested by the following poem, which seems to me by far the best thing in the book:

THE GOD OF PROGRESS.

"Behold the God of Progress!"
 The trumpet of conquest brays,
 And the banners shine o'er the battle line,
 And the wondering nations gaze.
 "Behold the god who triumphs!"
 In tumult and smoke and flame!
 The god up-raised to be feared and praised
 And called by a sacred name.

His creed is the creed of liars,
 And wherever he sets a shrine,
 The helpless kneel 'neath a yoke of steel,
 While his ministers jest and dine;
 Their vestments of tyrant purple
 Are washed with the tears of need;
 They spurn the poor from the temple door
 And cringe at the call of Greed.

Look on the scenes of sorrow!
 The fires of conquest show

The Afric slave, the red man's grave,
 And our own good sons laid low;
 The Orient's yellow giant
 Lies drugged at the gates of Doom
 Where souls were paid in the course of trade
 As the price of a poppy bloom.

The simple faith of the savage
 Is changed to a poisoned hate;
 The wise and strong with a silken thong
 Lie bound in the halls of State;
 The truths which our fathers gave us
 Are mouthed till we yield and trust;
 They are warped anew till they seem to do
 The bidding of shame and lust.

Who is this "God of Progress"
 Who maddens the babbling throng,
 And slakes his pride in a crimson tide
 While we bellow a battle song;
 Whose hymns are the cries of children—
 Of children who seek the dead;
 Whose voice is the roar from the cannon's bore
 And whose heart is a heart of lead?

Like the faith of the tribes who journeyed
 To freedom, from Egypt's king,
 Our faith is slight and we shun the light
 And we worship a Gilded Thing:
 A thing to be smote and shattered
 While the knaves and the fools atone
 And forget their arts and incline their hearts
 To the words that were writ in stone.

How long, O God of "Progress,"
 Will you mask in a pleasant phrase
 And bid men seek to destroy the weak
 And to surfeit the proud with praise!
 How long shall we grope and wander,
 And gibber and dance and laugh,
 And forget the Law as we bend in awe
 To our idol—the Golden Calf!

The present, with the ascendancy in government and society of the spirit of greed and self-seeking, is unfavorable to the true poet; and so long as the spirit of commercialism shall hypnotize the public conscience, making people follow sound rather than sense and enslaving them by fallacious or meaningless slogans, like "Four more years of a full dinner-pail," we can expect little poetry of true progress, and our newspaper verse-makers will continue to give us, in lieu of clarion notes that would startle and enthuse the soul, such songs as the following:

THE DAY.

A few brief hours of waking; that is all.
 A few brief hours, and then the shadows fall
 And quell the tumult and the glaring light.
 A golden dream of morning, mounting high;

A twilight purple in the Western sky.
Only a little while, and then, good-night.

A wish is verified. Perhaps a fear
In stern reality's dread shape draws near.
You've labored wrong—perchance you've toiled aright.
It matters not when all is dark and done
If you be he who lost or he who won.
'Tis but a little while, and then, good-night.

And hope shall whisper sweet and pride relent
As o'er the world the hastening hours are sent
That men may measure striving by their flight.
The tiny present with its joy or pain
Shall fade. And day shall fade and shine again.
'Tis but a little while, and then, good-night.

In his character and negro-dialect poems Mr. Johnson is often quite philosophic and suggestive, a fact illustrated in the following three poems:

A HUMBLE SERMON.

Dar nebber wa'nt no one who couldn't fin' out
Sumpin' clus to his home to git busy about.
It may be de work doesn' pay as it should,
But it's better dan loafin' an' bein' no good.
So I mixes de whitewash or pushes de spade
'Thout talkin' too much 'bout de money dat's paid.
Don' was'e all yoh time countin' up de reward,
Jes' ten' to yoh bus'ness an' trus' in de Lord.

When Moses, de prophet, led Israel's band,
He didn' start axin' de price of de land
He was leadin' 'em to. Ef dey followed de light
He knowed dat de future wah boun' to come right.
De onlies' way to succeed is to staht
A-goin' yoh bes' wid yoh han's an' yoh heart.
So don' git contrairy an' sing off de chord,
Jes' ten' to yoh bus'ness an' trus' in de Lord.

DOUBT.

I've never been right positive. It allus was my way
To hesitate about most everything I do or say,
An' so I wouldn't like to lift my voice above the throng,
An' say that fightin's brutal an' that war is downright wrong.
War is something, so they say,
That we can not clear away.
Cries must sound an' blood must flow.
Mebbe so. But I dunno.

When people won't be civilized an' clever an' astute,
It seems right tough; hard luck enough, 'thout lickin' 'em to boot.
I wish we could go slower when we lead 'em to the light,
'Stead o' blowin' 'em to glory with a chunk o' dynamite.
But war has got to be unless
You want to quit an' not progress.
It's business. Mercy has no show.
Mebbe so. But I dunno.

THE JOURNEY.

You's gotter hab some trouble in dis rough ol' world ob ours.
 You's gotter fight de bumbly bee, sometimes, to pick de flowers.
 You's gwine to fin' a heap o' roughness in de rocky road
 Befo' you gits wha' you kin res' an' lay aside de load.
 But be humble an' don't grumble,
 'Case you sometimes slip and stumble,
 An' seems to drap behin' de res' o' all de hustlin' throng.
 Don't stop an' staht a-whinin'
 An' a-whimperin' an' a-pinin'
 But pick yoh feet up, honey, an' go travelin' along.

You may hab fears o' troubles dat'll hit you hahd some day,
 But dar's wusser boun' to ketch you if you halts along de way.
 You's gotter keep a-movin'. Some is fas' an' some is slow,
 But all dat's looked foh from you is to do de bes' you know.
 So don't you wait an' worry
 Ef you falls down in yoh hurry,
 Jes' pull yohse'f together as you hums a little song,
 An' never min' de chaffin'
 An' de hollerin' an' de laughin',
 But pick yoh feet up, honey, an' go travelin' along.

From the above selections it will be seen that our poet is quite versatile within certain limitations. Many of his character poems remind one of Mr. Sam Walter Foss's verse, though he is not so much of a philosopher as is the New England poet, nor is his work as intensely human or as optimistic as that of Mr. Foss.

II.

The author of "Love-in-a-Mist" possesses considerable poetic ability. He is an idealistic dreamer, whose imagination, however, runs in a narrow groove. Love, disappointment, and death are the major themes that challenge his muse, and unhappily gloom, misery, unfulfilled yearnings, and sadness form the prevailing notes in the volume. It is said that Mr. Wheeler's creations have been immensely popular with scrap-book lovers, who have for years been on the look-out for his verse, and this is quite probable; yet when his fugitive verse is collected in a single volume the omnipresence of the minor key becomes oppressive. There is so much excellent work in the book that one cannot help regretting that the author has not allowed more sunshine to sift through the cypress gloom that pervades his lines. Thus, for example, we have here three charming sonnets of love that in sentiment, and for the most part in form and expression, are admirable:

Let her but love me, Lord, and loving, stay
 Near, ever nearer where my bare heart is,
 Deeming at length that naught can count save this—
 The touch of loved lips' meeting in love's May.
 So shall my bitterness pass quite away,
 And I, who have done many things amiss,
 Shall feel Thy loving kindness in her kiss,
 And, knowing heaven here, shall learn to pray.

Let this but be for me! Lord, I will hark
 To her soul's whispers, guide her slender feet,
 Hold up her hands and fold her at the last,
 When, for our rest, life's little leagues are passed,
 And, looking further, skies shall ope more sweet,
 While the dead world sinks into dreaming dark.

"God's Child" we called her, knowing not if He
 Had shaped her frailty to require her soon
 (So delicate sweet she seemed for life's bluff dune
 Putting on grace like a pale, little tree);
 And when she passed, through girlish May, to be
 Rarer, more womanly from noon to noon,
 "God's Child" we called her still. So her ripe June
 Looked level love from her deep eyes to me.

God's Child! May she lie ever in His sight,
 Folded and guarded by His loving smile.
 Only—the while she loves this Earth of Thine,
 Give me to hold and comfort as I might.
 Let me look to her, God, this little while!
 Let me but dream Thy little child is mine!

If Night should take you from me, little one,
 And the grave's ice should turn your red to gray,
 While I, unsummoned, lonely, still must stay
 Within the faded summer and sad sun—
 I would not long to die, but, just begun,
 I would live out my love. I would not pray
 Forgetfulness, but light each difficult day
 Remembering all the dear days that were done.

If it were well, you would be near me yet.
 If ill—if I could never, never touch
 Your soul with fire—if love dies with the breath,
 Why—till my full fate's stars were sunk and set,
 I'd hug my little hope and, glorying much,
 Would cheat the dearest pang of coming death!

Here, too, is a delightful little waif that will live in the reader's mind
 and call up many memories of other days:

A little ring of gold—a battered shoe—
 A faded, curling wisp of yellow hair—
 Some penciled pictures—playthings one or two—
 A corner and a chest to hold them there.

Many a woman's fondest hoard is this,
 Among her dearest treasures none so dear,
 Though bearded lips are often hers to kiss
 That once made only prattle in her ear.

The sturdy arm, the seasoned form, the brow
 That arches over eyes of manly blue
 Mean all joy to her living memory now,
 And yet—and yet—she hugs the other too!

With that rare love, mysterious and deep,
 Down in a mother-heart thro' all the years,
 That placid age can never lull to sleep
 And is not grief, yet oft brings foolish tears.

She often goes those hoarded things to view
 And finger the wee treasures hidden there—
 To touch the little ring and battered shoe
 And kiss the curling wisp of yellow hair.

And here are three more little gems that will be treasured by many of our readers, and which I think we may say fairly reflect the spirit of the book :

TRUST.

She could not trust my hand when, in the street,
 We threaded devious ways amid the press;
 But dread of wheel and hoof-beat led her feet
 This way, then that, in turnings purposeless.
 And when, so speeding, she escaped my arm
 To miss, by but a hair, the pounding dray,
 Why, when I saw how intimate the harm,
 I chided and was angry, in man's way.

But when, one night, the King of Terrors spurred
 His ghastly steed across my treasure-land,
 Those who watched nearest, hardly breathing, heard
 Her sob, "If he could only hold my hand!
 O God, dear God!—I would not be afraid!"
 And I, quick summoned, hasting from the deep,
 Saw but her smile as, sobbing o'er, she laid
 Her hand in mine, and trusting, fell asleep.

THE PATH.

Sobbing a little, holding tight my hand,
 She slipped away into the lampless land,
 Half fearing, half content to see the smile
 My poor lips tried to comfort her awhile.
 So out into the ever dark. Ah, me!
 It was so dark for such dear eyes to see!
 Not mine to know the touch of her God's love,
 Or the kind face she sometimes babbled of.
 Mine but to sit and wait the opened door
 And the long path she trod along before.
 (I said she would not weary, then) but oh,
 It was so far for such small feet to go!

THE WAYFARERS.

A little way, my dear, a little way
 Along rough roads, in valleys gloomiest—
 A little way of storm and bitter day,
 And then the sweet home-harbour and the rest.

A little way, my dear, a little way
 Of wish deferred and hope grown tremulous—
 A little way of doubt and wanting grey,
 And then the fireside and the kiss for us.

A little way, my dear, a little way
 Sown with life's tears, with all love's flowers blown old—
 A little way—and then the opening May,
 The further vision, and the Gate of Gold.

CHRISTUS VICTOR: A STUDENT'S REVERIE. By Henry N.

Dodge. 186 pp. Bound in flexible leather, gilt top. Price, \$1.25.
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a long poem, noble in conception and finished in form and style. It is a religious and ethical message to the Christian world by an orthodox scholar, who, however, represents the broad, new religious ideals that are so rapidly taking the place of the narrow and gloomy dogmas of Calvinism. The key-note of the work is love—the father love of God and the brother love of man; and the noble theme is worthily handled by Dr. Dodge, who, instead of closing his eyes to the great truths that modern physical science has revealed, has accepted the larger vision and attuned his song to the broader conception. We question, however, whether this poem will prove very popular, not because it is unworthy of wide reading, but owing to the distaste that most people entertain toward long poems, especially when they are made the vehicle for a religious or ethical message. When John Milton penned “Paradise Lost,” and later when Alexander Pope wrote his “Essay on Man,” the reading world inclined much more favorably to long religious and didactic poems than at the present time; hence, though “Christus Victor” has called forth very high encomiums from such liberal leaders as the late Professor John Fiske, the Rev. Orelle Cone, and Mary A. Livermore on the one hand, and from Monsignor Doan and other Roman prelates, as well as from many of the great orthodox Protestant divines, we doubt the wisdom of putting the thought in the form of rhyme.

The poem has commanded ten years of loving labor from a ripe, scholarly mind. It deals with Christ's life and mission as conceived by one who profoundly believes in the divinity of the great Galilean, but who holds that ultimately all souls will be saved. In reading this poem and remembering that it has called forth the highest commendation from the foremost Presbyterian divines, we realize how very great have been the change and modification in the religious belief of Protestantism during recent decades. What, for example, would Calvin, Knox, the Mathers, or any of the great orthodox dignitaries prior to the last century, have thought of the following?—

Though man forget from whence he came,
Or with neglect his birthright scorn,
He cannot change his rank and name,
For he a child of God was born;
Of royal lineage he, and princely birth;
His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Though peace and joy of life be gone,
Though brought by sin to mortal pain,
The far-off goal shall yet be won,
The truth unchanged will yet remain;
Of royal lineage he, and princely birth;
His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

The Lord of life who brought him forth,
 Undaunted by the sin of man,
 Ingratitude and folly's froth,
 In triumph will fulfil His plan;
 We are of royal lineage and birth;
 Sons of the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Dr. Dodge, unlike the popular dilettante rhymsters, realizes the great fact that the supreme peril of modern civilization lies in brutal, soul-deadening greed for gain—the materialism of the market, which pushes aside the fundamentals of justice for expediency, and which says to conscience, "Peace; be still!" Here are some lines that breathe the human spirit, which, alas! is too little in evidence throughout our boastful and self-satisfied nation to-day:

Ye winds of heaven, your wings are faint
 With bearing cries of the oppressed;
 The ages weary of their plaint—
 Ah! who will hear and give them rest?

Forgotten of their fellowmen,
 They find no helper in their need;
 Their life a waste, their home a den—
 Victims of tyranny and greed.

.
 In the Titanic struggle yet to be,
 When right and light and human liberty
 With powers of greed and tyranny engage
 In mortal combat, final war to wage—
 My country, do thou make a gallant fight,
 And for the people's cause put forth thy might,
 And may the Lord of Hosts, who made thee free,
 Make thee great guardian of liberty,
 To lead the nations, marching in the van,
 The fearless champion of the rights of man;
 Arm thee with light and with immortal fire
 Thine altars keep aflame, thy heart inspire,
 Lest commonweal be counted little worth
 And freedom, throttled, perish from the earth.

If this message of love, with its warning note, could be carried into the consciousness of the Church of to-day, it could not fail to do much toward awakening Christians to the dangers of the present and the duty that devolves upon every man who would be guided by the Golden Rule and be true to all the promptings of his higher self.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL METAPHYSICAL
 LEAGUE. With Addresses. 226 pp. Paper, 50 cents. International Metaphysical League: 200 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass.

Those interested in the practical idealism of the present day, which is in so real a way influencing for good the thought of the age, will find in the recently published "Proceedings of the Second Annual Con-

vention of the International Metaphysical League" a volume of interest and value, containing as it does twenty-eight carefully prepared papers on various phases of the New Thought movement and their bearings on the life of the individual and the elevation of society. The following is a list of the subjects discussed, with the names of the speakers:

- "The Psychic Powers of Jesus," *Rev. R. Heber Newton*
 "Mental Healing," *Charles Brodie Patterson*
 "A People in Search of a Soul," *Lewis G. Jones, A.M.*
 "Universality of Vedanta," *Swami Abhedananda*
 "The Attitude of the Church Toward Things Not Seen," *John Brooks Leavitt*
 "Non-Resistance," *John Jay Chapman*
 "The Relation of the New Thought to Social and Economic Progress," *B. O. Flower*
 "The Serene vs. the Strenuous Life," *Warren A. Rodman*
 "The Love-Nature of Power," *Prof. George D. Herron*
 "Our Social Problem in the Light of Certain Spiritual Truths," *Ralph Waldo Trine*
 "Man's Divine Inheritance and the Use He is Making of It," *Henry S. Taft*
 "The Universal Christ," *Annie Ritz Mills*
 "The Possibilities of Man," *Francis Edgar Mason*
 "Man's Powers and Possibilities," *Rev. J. W. Winkley, M.D.*
 "Musical Vibrations in the Healing of the Sick," *Eva Vescelius*
 "The Conditions of Power for the Individual," *Mary E. T. Chapin*
 "The Search After God," *Aaron M. Crane*
 "The Relation of the Physician to Mental Therapeutics," *James Arthur Jackson, M.D.*
 "Cause and Cure of Disease," *Emma Gray*
 "A Metaphysical Club, Known as 'The Circle of Divine Ministry,'" *Margaret Custer Calhoun*
 "The True Healer," *Susie C. Clark*
 "The Good of Evil," *Bolton Hall*
 "The New Education," *Rev. Helen Van-Anderson*
 "Peace," *Georgina I. S. Andrews*
 "The Secret of Growth," *Ellen M. Dyer*
 "The Lock and Key, or Reincarnation," *C. George Currie, D.D.*
 "Render Unto Cæsar," *Paul Tyner*
 "The Science of Character Building," *Adella R. MacArthur*

This is a volume that should have the widest possible circulation. Men and women of means who believe in the New Thought movement could not do better than to circulate it freely.

'LIBSBETH: A STORY OF TWO WORLDS. By Carrie E. S. Twing. Cloth, 354 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Banner of Light Publishing Company.

This a simple, unpretentious story that might be the plain narrative of real happenings, in that so many actual occurrences of the last fifty years parallel the incidents of the book, and I doubt not that very much here woven into romance has come under the author's observation.

The heroine of the story is a young girl who, in the opening chapter, is on the threshold of joyous maidenhood. She is full of life, sunshine, and happiness, but shortly a baleful influence comes athwart her pathway in the form of a long-visaged Calvinistic clergyman, in search of a young wife. The Rev. Mr. Doolittle is highly sanctimonious, and claims to do nothing save "in His name." He holds a revival meeting and hypnotizes a number of persons by his vivid pictures of the eternal torture of the damned, until they flee into the church to escape the wrath of an angry God; and among those who come under the influence of the revivalist is 'Lisbeth, the heroine of the story. Terrified at the thought of eternal fire awaiting her, she asks for prayers, and soon comes completely under the influence of the preacher, who successfully presses his suit, having first won over the aunt with whom she makes her home. The tragic marriage is at length consummated. The child wife is taken to a home of harshness, the minister and his mother making life a hell on earth for the highly sensitive young creature. A few months before the story opens, the Rochester knockings have appalled the religious world and have led the Church to denounce the "messages," which purported to come from the spirit world, as inventions of the devil to deceive and lead astray the elect. 'Lisbeth, and later her idolized little son, come under psychic influences, and then comes the saddest experience of the young wife. The little child dies through blows inflicted by the enraged father, and the child wife flees from the home to her aunt's. During the brief remainder of her life, the psychic manifestations continue through her and serve to awaken the deeper and holier side of many who have hitherto been drifting away from the eternal verities upon which civilization's progress depends.

The story makes no pretensions to special literary merit. It is a plain narration, a leaf from the day-book of certain lives. I have known of more than one case that in many respects almost paralleled the sad experience of 'Lisbeth. The atmosphere of the volume is pure and uplifting. It breathes the spirit of love and of brotherhood.

FREE AMERICA. By Ellen F. Wetherell. Illustrated. Paper, 123 pp. Boston: The Colored Coöperative Publishing Company.

This little volume consists of twelve sketches, which bring before the reader with startling distinctness the appalling injustice and cruelty to which the negro is to-day subjected in many parts of the South—notably in Florida and Alabama. Miss Wetherell possesses a clear and simple style, together with the ability to present in a few words a vivid and impressive picture that will remain in the mind long after the volume has been laid aside. The unjust and frequently inhuman treatment accorded a Southern negro who is even *suspected* of having committed any crime, the condition of convicts in the Florida prisons, and the social ostracism suffered by the negro in the North, have all

"Music of the Future." A philosophical magazine for artists and artistic teachers. 25 cents a copy. Edited by Frederic Horace Clark, Steinway Hall, Chicago.

"The Imperial Raid in South Africa." By George Hannah. Paper, 28 pp. New York: Geo. Hannah, 52 West 68th St.

"Some Questions of Larger Politics." By Edwin Maxey, D.C.L., LL.D. Cloth, 134 pp. Price, \$1. New York: The Abbey Press.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, whose recent address on "The Value of Ethical Ideals in American Politics" occupies a considerable portion of our space this month, is one of the few American statesmen who regard ethics of any kind as a factor in the development of our civilization. He was graduated at Yale in 1853, and holds the degree of LL.D. from Amherst College (1881) and the University of Pennsylvania (1897). He served in the civil war as captain of infantry in 1862 and of cavalry a year later. In 1870-'71 he was United States Minister to Turkey, and in 1872-'74 was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania. He was head of the commission sent to Louisiana by President Hayes to settle disputes of contending parties. He served as Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Garfield, and was chairman of the Civil Service Reform Association of Philadelphia and of the Indian Rights Association. From 1893 to 1897 he was American Ambassador to Italy. Mr. MacVeagh's public career has been strikingly pure—not assailed even by the breath of scandal—and his eloquent advocacy of a higher political standard in this country is both timely and powerful.

The three articles in this issue of THE ARENA that we have grouped in a symposium under the general title of "The Trust and the Single Tax" are written by men whose qualifications for the discussion of this topic are beyond dispute. Their arguments seem conclusive; yet the barrier of selfishness that opposes the adoption of the Single Tax, even in modified forms, is so impervious to the larger view of racial progress that their reiteration is essential. This semi-socialistic measure, first elaborated by Henry George, is growing in importance, and the next number of this magazine will present an especially able

paper on another side of the subject—"The Ethics of the Land Question." It has been prepared by a prominent New England educator—a Master of Arts and a representative thinker—who for special and good reasons withholds his name. The article will profoundly interest and please all who accept the views of Mr. George on the land question and also those interested in ethics as related to social and economic problems.

A new ARENA feature, which may be regarded as somewhat of a departure from our usual policy, will also be introduced in our November issue. Out of regard for the literary tastes of that most numerous of all classes of readers, the lovers of *fiction*, we have decided to publish a short story in each number of the magazine hereafter. The twelve contributions of this character to appear yearly will equal in extent a large volume, costing fully half the subscription price. And our friends may rest assured that the fiction that our pages will contain will be invariably of the choicest quality. The first story, which will appear in our next number, will be entitled "When Ole Marster Passed Away." It is a negro character sketch, from the pen of Will Allen Dromgoole, the talented Southern author, and will prove of fascinating interest to all who read it.

Other features of the November issue that may now be announced are: The fifth article in Prof. Frank Parsons's superb series on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century;" "Some Ancient New Women," by Ella S. Stewart; "The Futilities of Reformers," by Joseph Dana Miller, and the concluding instalment of Miss Kellor's instructive study of "The Criminal Negro."

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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THE GOSPEL OF DESTRUCTION.

I. ITS EVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS.

THE doctrine of Nihilism has been called the incomprehensible creed; yet a diagnosis of its causes is more and more evidently becoming a condition of its cure.

The epidemic of revolt against social order can no longer be mistaken for a self-limited evil. Its vitality defies droughts and frosts and can be checked only by the discovery of its root. No other delusion has so persistently defied that most potent of all arguments: the logic of experience. There must be unsuspected facts at the bottom of its theories; there must be elements of strength nourished by another soil than our own.

The historic exegesis of the strange aberration enables us, indeed, to trace it to an altogether exceptional combination of circumstances. Its doctrines were first clearly enounced during the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, and it has been pointed out that about that time the seed of religious skepticism began to leaven the masses of the working population in several countries of Continental Europe.

Opposition to the religious policy of established governments has, however, more than once proved compatible with the political loyalty of the dissenters. For the sake of military triumphs the Jacobins forgave the Concordat of the First

Empire. For the sake of the long-desired reestablishment of national prestige the German Catholics forgave the anti-Papal procedures of Prince Bismarck. Paternalism, like that of the Austrian dynasty in some of its Crownlands, has contrived to weather the shock of military reverses and military despotism. There are, in fact, exceptions to the rule that organized government becomes a curse when it suppresses too large a share of the liberty which it should limit only by regulation. Among the bigoted country-population of Turkey and Spain the burden of despotism is felt only like the weight of defensive armor—a grievous but welcome protection from worse evils.

But in other parts of Europe an extraordinary, and perhaps unprecedented, conjuncture of grievances has eliminated the factors of conciliation. The burden of despotism galls like the chain that hampers the movements of the galley-slave, and its weight is felt as an unqualified affliction. In Italy and Russian Poland millions are oppressed and exasperated by taxes in support of an unpopular government, by toils in the service of a detested army, and by tithes in subvention of what to them has become an incredible creed.

They feel that return to the freedom of Nature would be an unspeakable gain; they would gladly exchange their lot for that of the savage who obeys no law but that of his instincts and dreads no foes but the hostile powers of Nature.

They mourn the total loss of their birthright to happiness; to them the "social contract" has proved a cruelly one-sided arrangement, imposing a maximum of toil for a minimum share of the harvest. Not all of them underrate the horrors of a throne and altar subverting revolution, but they feel certain that, in comparison with their present condition, chaos itself would be a change for the better.

They can see no redeeming feature in the form of social order enforced upon them, and would take the risk of effecting relief by its total destruction. Organized government, to them, has become a synonym of organized injustice—a combination of cruelty, selfishness, arrogance, and imposture.

Why preserve it, they ask; why starve and toil to assist its preservation?

From that point of view it seems possible enough that the apostles of annihilation can be wholly in earnest. Free-thought has rid their doctrine of its last handicap. They have long ceased to doubt the justice of their cause. Their problem has become reduced to one of ways and means.

It is less plausible, but still comprehensible, how their aversion to special forms of government could extend itself to all organized government whatever. Even thus skepticism has evolved agnosticism, and pessimism the doctrine of total renunciation. Besides, it must not be supposed that their leaders have rushed headlong to their present conclusions. Their precursors have tried this remedy and that—their government itself has initiated promising reforms; but experience has proved that, in spite of such recipes, every year brings an increase of burdens and a decrease of privileges. Total abolition of State and Church has thus become the keystone of their faith in the possibility of amelioration.

There are precedents also for the strange fact that the most tolerant American republics have to expiate the sins of Old-World feudalists. The Society of Thugs originated in Raypootana, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the creed of their ancestors was persecuted by Brahman and Mussulman bigots. Failing to obtain legal redress of their grievances, they organized bands of secret avengers, which finally migrated to southern India to vent their wrath upon Parsee merchants and European travelers.

The total-depravity charge against the exponents of anarchism has the advantage of theoretical simplicity, but, for purposes of practical reform, has thus far failed. We cannot hope to redeem fanatics till we admit their sincerity, their complete and reflection-fortified conviction—the fact, indeed, that from their own point of view they may be right; and that their motive, as Carlyle defines that of the French Revolution, may be something more than unalloyed diabolism: “Celestial in one part, though in the other infernal—this

breaking out into absolute anarchy, into the faith and practise of no-government. Their unappeasable revolt against sham-governors and sham-teachers I charitably define to be a search, most unconscious, yet in deadly earnest, for true Governors and Teachers."

But, with all these admissions, the fearful perils of the Gospel of Destruction cannot be denied, and the main remedy should be sought in the plan of clearly exposing the two chief fallacies of its application. The most glaring of these is based upon the hope of transferring the privileges of primitive barbarism to a highly complex state of social conditions; for that complexity itself could be remedied only by another deluge. The habitable regions of our planet are crowded with beings of our species that can no longer hope to enjoy the luxury of self-dependence.

A less absurd but still untenable doctrine of our political annihilators has been inspired by the dread that the combinations of misery experienced by their East European kinsmen tend to reproduce themselves in the New World. Ages had to pass and manifold abnormal causes had to coöperate to produce that peculiar conjunction of grievances, and ages will pass before they can recombine. The mists of the Middle Ages still linger in our atmosphere, but the current of tendencies is setting in a direction opposed to religious intolerance. Imperialism may resume its pomp, or even its name, but it can never hope to recover its prerogatives. The "resistless power of combination" will benefit voters as well as capitalists.

Voluntary modifications of anarchism, indeed, seem to indicate that some of its leaders can be reasoned out of their infatuations. They came wrapped up in tenacious prejudices, prepared to resist any storm, but they are beginning to yield to the influence of sunlight. Their search for a harbor of refuge is unmistakably sincere, and they may consent to be saved when they can no longer mistake a life-boat for a slave-ship.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

Springfield, Mass.

II. THE CURE FOR ANARCHY.

THE ragged little urchin who, even while wearing a black band on his arm in token of his respect for McKinley, is strolling across the grass in defiance of the park law epitomizes the world situation. Man has reached the plane of development wherein the ideal of law appeals to him most strongly, and yet many of his daily acts—his habits of life—are lawless.

The average citizen to-day is shocked by an overt attack on the life of an individual, especially when the victim represents the government; yet the vast majority of men at this moment are actively engaged in perpetuating a system which attacks the life of every man, woman, and child. This lack of correspondence between the thing we worship and the thing we do will continue until it is no longer true that we have "a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge."

What the world needs to-day, and needs most sorely, is, not more laws in restraint of violence, but more *light*. It is by knowledge—that deep soul knowledge which is wisdom—that the many shall be made just.

Through all the weary centuries men have been struggling in their governmental experimenting to realize that law which is God; but the world-wide dissatisfaction and unrest, the increasing evidences of strife, doubt, and fear, proclaim the failure of outward governments to order and harmonize life. Indeed, anarchy reigns much more generally in this world of affairs than we would like to think. But, whether we like it or not, we are rapidly losing faith in man's bungling attempts at governing the world; and many men openly declare that the law which holds men in subjection to-day can never protect us from anarchy, but rather intensifies that very condition.

But to take this position, you say, is to array one's self against the government, which in these sensitive times is regarded as treason. To attack one who represents the government, or to attack all the men who constitute it, is most assur-

edly treason; for it denies the first principle of life—that of freedom. But it is for this very reason that men and women are coming to appreciate the fact that the present industrial government of the world, attacking as it does the life, liberty, and happiness of each individual in it, is really the great Anarch of all time.

This question of anarchy, which has recently been brought to our notice in so shocking a way, is after all the great problem of the day. It calls in no uncertain voice for solution; and until we as citizens—not alone of the United States, but of the world—give ourselves earnestly and calmly to the thorough comprehension of it, the world cannot go forward to its destiny of social power and beauty, but will travel deeper and deeper into that darkness of anarchy and strife wherein “the worm dieth not, nor the fire is not quenched.”

Society—a beneficent and peaceful association of individuals—can never be realized on earth until we understand the cause and cure of anarchy. Neither hysterical denunciation, class legislation, nor scholastic indifference will protect us from the danger which threatens all lands to-day. Anarchy is here to stay until it is overcome by the outward expression of that law of love which Civilization has sought for—and denied.

So long as personal profit is the incentive to activity, so long as self-seeking in the realm of things is the prevailing ideal, just so long will strife and suffering, anarchy and atheism increase. If we should raise a Chinese wall of legislation heaven high it would not avail to keep violence and lawlessness out of our country. They are as truly indigenous to America as to the Old World: they are in the heart of every man who is seeking first of all to protect himself in *things*. This condition is not a new nor a sudden growth: it is as old as Civilization itself.

Has not the time come when we can look frankly at this whole problem of Civilization, with its various attempts at government,—military, ecclesiastical, political, economic,—its periodic revolutions, its heart-burnings and feverish hopes, its fears, its failures, and, so looking, learn the lesson of life? Ruskin has said: “Government and coöperation are . . . the

laws of life. Anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death;" but that statement will only add to our confusion unless we are willing to probe to the very heart of the question of government.

To confound our outward machinery of law with the laws of the Universe is to render any intelligent thought on the subject of anarchy impossible. To consider this crude achievement of government, which self-seeking man has wrought out, with the governing and sustaining power of the world, is to confess our own materialism and ignorance. Yet this is not to say that we could mend matters by attacking our present government, nor does it imply that Civilization is altogether a failure. A great good has undoubtedly resulted from it, but it is not that outward government on which we rely so blindly. When we once understand the birth and growth of the institution called Civilization, we will cease to cling to the outward forms and give ourselves heartily to the realization of that great State which Civilization has but crudely symbolized.

Since the dawn of time man has dimly felt his destiny of power, and has constantly sought to realize it. That he first sought it amiss in the outer world need not surprise us, when we realize that all children must grow into a true self-consciousness through the experience and knowledge of things about them. The not-self is, after all, the guide to the self; and probably in no other way could men have come to a true self-realization than by experimenting in the realm of material things. It may yet appear that the way to that social and all-inclusive State—that harmonious integration which men call Heaven—leads straight through the darkness of materialistic self-keeping; and that the Son of Man, in the broadest possible sense, had of necessity to "descend into hell."

Civilization, as distinguished from the communistic system of Barbarism, is the result of man's effort to differentiate himself from the mass. It was an absolutely necessary attempt; for, although the system of Barbarism had been a great advance on the savagery which preceded it, it had come at last to threaten all life and progress. The mass-man was all—the

individual nothing; and, until the individual is freed from all that crushes and enslaves him, "society" will remain an unrealized dream.

Man's effort then was good, but was his method a wise one? How did he seek to realize his individuality? Simply by asserting himself in the material realm. He rebelled against the common tribal law and plundered the common wealth. By means of personal ascendancy the primitive law of Barbarism, expressive of communal will, was captured by individuals and thereafter administered by personal will for private profit. The savage maxim of "catch who catch can" came once more into favor, and from that hour men associated with one another, not, as formerly, for the tribal good, but for personal benefit. In the name of progress and under cover of law men attacked the primitive government of Barbarism; they utterly destroyed the small amount of public peace and safety which had been secured through the tribal life, and they firmly established the standard of individual might as against common rights. In a word, the first civilizees were the first anarchists of history. This whole system of individualism, based as it is on private property and supported by class or private law, is anarchy pure and simple.

The late Mr. Fiske has said that "the prime feature of the process called Civilization is the diminution of warfare." But as we fearlessly study its inception and development we are forced to the conclusion that it is the very incarnation of the *genius of war*. Men have ceaselessly fought their brothers in their effort to realize their destiny of power; and they will continue to do so until they discover that power does not inhere in *things*.

Power, peace, and plenty we must have: we can no more escape the divine impulsion toward those ideals than we can stop the machinery of the Universe. But how attain the goal? That is the question which Civilization has failed to answer. To become powerful through taking unto one's self the common wealth—to grow great by the attachment of outward and foreign power: such has been man's effort through all the long

tragedy called Civilization; and to this end government has been administered by the few as against the many, the two classes opposing each other continually.

There is something in man that resents and finally must always resist outward control; and so, in spite of the skilful tactics of the governing class, the mass of men have steadily fought for the right to govern themselves. The ideal of self-government has strengthened with the years, and men quite generally have accepted the theory of equality; but as a matter of fact the great problem which Civilization set out to solve—the problem of individuality—still awaits an answer. Indeed, has not Civilization in its final development (that of the government of the peoples through economic law) denied the very right which the first civilizees set out to attain—the right to govern one's self?

As in the case of Rome, so in our present civilization, competition and anarchy are proving themselves to be the law of death. Rome did not die, as school histories would lead us to believe, at the hands of the northern invaders, but because the life and strength of her people were sapped by the ceaseless working of her economic law; and if our present system of individual ownership of common wealth should continue our Anglo-Saxon civilization will be added to the long list of national failures.

Nations will continue to rise and fall, revolution will succeed revolution, anarchy will increasingly be manifested through both individual and class attacks on life, just so long as our activities continue to revolve around the materialistic concept of power through *property*. The only possible cure for anarchy is the redemption of the self-seeking activities from the realm of matter. Self-seeking is a divine, an ineradicable instinct, and it will yet lead the race into its longed-for haven of power and plenty; it will at last harmonize all interests and socialize all life. But this will not be until men seek the *self within*.

The individual can never extricate himself from the mass through the acquirement of material property. The method of

Civilization with all its governmental devices is futile; and the people suspect the fact. More than ever before in the world's history, men are beginning to see that the way of escape from strife and slavery leads to the inner realm of being. Individuality can be achieved only as we lay hold of and reveal the real properties of the soul. Only by the apprehension of the governing law of the Universe—that law of love which speaks from within—can anarchy be overcome and true order be established.

A thoroughly new mentality, as the result of absolutely free thought and free speech, must be evolved; and it will of necessity threaten the established institutions, but it will endanger no life: it will rather uplift and enrich all. The passion for possession must give way to the sincere desire for self-expression. Then will a true Commonwealth be revealed through the free contribution of the inner wealth of full-grown and unique individuals.

Self-government, self-knowledge, and self-expression will yet prove the only antidote for anarchy, and a true Individualism the only basis for genuine Socialism.

EVELYN HARVEY ROBERTS.

New York.

THE FAILURE OF FREEDOM.

THE eighteenth century produced two sons of greatness, strikingly similar in their primal characteristics and in the unusual opportunities afforded for their exercise in the service of the State: in the Old World the elder Napoleon; in the New World George Washington. Both were brave men; both were true men; both loved their country and dared to expose their lives for their country's cause.

Napoleon was probably the equal of Washington in intellect and his superior in education. Both of them were successful in serving the State. To both there came a time that tried their souls, revealing the weakness of the one and the strength of the other. Napoleon saw the thrones of Europe tottering—their scepters in the hands of the timid and weak. Ambition prompted him to seize them and distribute them among his family and friends. For a time he was the autocrat of the world; but the inevitable change came, and he died a prisoner on rocky St. Helena.

Washington, too, was victorious in war. An unpaid soldiery clamored against the government; ambitious friends offered him the Dictator's sword, but his monitor, conscience, stood by him and told him of the greatness of a free people. He himself had crossed the Alleghanies, had been a surveyor in the mountains, and had looked out far on the western vales. It is said that Henry Clay, crossing the summits of the Alleghany Mountains, once descended from the stage and stood with his cloak wrapped around him as if in the attitude of listening. Some friends asked him, "Mr. Clay, for what are you listening?" and he replied, "I am listening for the footsteps of the coming millions." So, down the long opening vista of national life, Washington saw the coming millions, and the radiant glory of a free nation flashed its light into his great soul. He spurned the tempter and the temptation, put his sword in its scabbard, and went to be a peaceful farmer on the banks of the Potomac. How great the difference between Napoleon, whose ambition sought to make men vassals,

and Washington, whose ambition sought to make men free! Washington realized his ideal. An aristocrat by birth, he laid broad and deep the foundations of the world's truest democracy. Of the greatness of his service and the correctness of his ideals, there can be no question. Would that we might as truthfully say that there can be no question of our adherence to the moral and political standards that he enunciated and illustrated.

Not as an alarmist, but as a loyal American, believing that evil must be recognized and appreciated in order to be the most quickly and effectually eradicated, I ask: At the close of a century and a quarter of national life, do we realize or even approximate the Democratic Republic of George Washington? Have we not shifted the building of our national life from the solid rock of Washingtonian principle to the shifting sands of Napoleonic policy? Principle makes free. Policy enslaves. To-day policy sits king upon the throne of American activity, while moral principle cowers in chains at its feet for financial prosperity's sake.

If we are free only theoretically, in the mere sense of an empty governmental democracy, rather than sons of liberty in thought, in speech, in action, and in the moral qualities that alone make them effective, then this age will constitute an epoch upon the page of the future historian of America known by the significant name of "The Failure of Freedom."

Democracy is heaven-born. It was incarnated in Jesus Christ, the first true "social democrat." Its key-word is freedom, and its concrete expression in all phases of life is absolutely untrammelled action. This free life only is moral life. The bound life may run true, but it perforce is machine action and unmoral. The free life that runs untrue is immoral. The free life that plumb-lines with the straightness of God alone is moral. Rule by the aggregate trueness of that moral life, expressed in the honest majority of thought and action, is Democracy. There is no other.

Do we realize it? Study with me the existing conditions and answer to your own conscience. I do not ask, nor would

I have you answer to mine. That would be oligarchic; for the confessional, with its strait-jacket ipse-dixit,—personal, political, imperial, or ecclesiastical,—is foreign to the ideals of democracy. Wherever you find it, there exists “The Failure of Freedom.”

Every sphere of life in this American democracy stands as warder at its gates, a Torquemada of inquisitorial repression. No *auto da fe* sizzles the physical organism; but how intellect dwarfs, and conscience cracks, and backbone bends, and principle breaks, as the iron mold grips and twists and crushes into machine shape and turns its product out, ready for sale, branded with the trade-mark of slavery!

This creature of demonry stands at the ecclesiastical gate. We call him Creed. He is cast-iron and never bends. About once in a century some consecrated democratic iconoclast, “a man sent from God, whose name is Progress,” travails in the womb of truth, grows strong upon the “wild honey and locust” food of freedom, and with the courage of faith strikes the head from off the idol—and, lo! it is empty. The next century canonizes the man their grandfathers cannonaded, and then proceeds to cannonade his successor, whom their grandsons will canonize when the next century comes in. All the saints of the ages were heretics once, and the evolution of free thought in their lives wrought a revolution in the world and rested truth’s triumphal arch upon the fire-blazed stakes of martyrdom. After all, what is orthodoxy and what is heterodoxy? To the Jews Jesus was heterodox. To the Papacy, Luther and St. George Mivart were heterodox. To Episcopalianism, John Wesley was heterodox. To Presbyterianism, Briggs and McGiffert are heterodox. To Methodism, Foster, Bowne, and Beet are almost heterodox. Better a free heretic than the bond-slave of orthodoxy. “If that be treason, make the most of it.”

This creature of demonry stands at the educational gate. What is education? “Readin’, Ritin’, and Rithmetic,” answered the fathers, for want of better knowledge. “Readin’, Ritin’, and Rithmetic,” answers to-day the university that rears

its walls upon foundations of robbery. The true education creates not a parrot, but a thinker. It makes a man, not a cog on the machine wheel of slavery. The education of independence is the ideal of all true instruction, from the kindergarten to the most advanced university. Every educational institution built or endowed by the proceeds of monopolistic robbery hinders rather than helps true knowledge, for the spirit of freedom cannot breathe in commercial and industrial slaughter-houses. No money that means the sale of intellectual mastery can be other than a curse to the institution that dips its hands in the blood of humanity in order to get it. A Republican manufacturer's tariff blood-money (here let me digress to say that the whole tariff system is immoral and unjust, especially in a democracy) crucified an Andrews at Brown. A Standard Oil monopolist's legalized theft-proceeds crucified a Bemis at Chicago and a Commons at Syracuse. A board of trustees' unholy greed for the results of trust robbery crucified a Herron at Iowa, and every year the "machine," for politics' principal's sake, beheads the incumbents of chairs in our State universities because they dare to be men, think clear, and talk straight.

This creature of demonry stands at the industrial gate. From every passer in he exacts toll, leaving the laborer too little to satisfy but too much to starve. He forms trusts, concentrates and regulates production, shuts down factories, increases hours and decreases wages, that the percentage of earnings may "boom" the stock market in metropolitan hells; sells out at the top notch; buys a yacht, a palace in London, a mansion in New York, a summer house at Newport, an estate in Scotland, and lives on the "unearned increment" of land and labor, surpassing in criminal prodigality the barbarian ancients, for "I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." His laborers? Oh, they are still notches on the factory cog-wheel of his successors on the throne of oppression.

Or the same end is achieved by securing control of natural monopolies in city, State, and nation, and levying exorbitant

rates upon the populace whose imbecility gives them the privilege. By what natural or moral right do water, gas, and electric plants, steam, cable, or electric railways, yield a profit to private enterprise? None can be established, and the inherent injustice of such ownership and operation at the expense of the public explains the natural suspicion attaching to legislators, who are conspicuously favorable to these usurpers of the people's common inheritance. Another "failure of freedom," the result of which is that ninety-nine per cent. of the wealth of this country is in the hands of eight per cent. of its inhabitants, leaving the remaining ninety-two per cent. of its people only one per cent. as their share. Nearly one-half of the families of the United States are without any property whatever. No such disproportionate distribution of a nation's wealth could be possible in a true democracy. We are an oligarchy of wealth founded on trusts and natural monopolies. In the wake of that condition follows either socialism or anarchy.

"The French Revolution was the logical sequence of concentration into the hands of Church and nobles of the greater part of the lands and wealth of France. I do not say that such a condition is near at hand in our country, but I firmly believe the pendulum is swinging in that direction." The citizen can do his commonwealth no better service than by demonstrating the existence of unlawful pools and trusts in the State or by bringing the guilty parties to justice. He should and he must, to the best of his ability, faithfully and patriotically go after the trusts and combinations organized against the laws of the State and country and clean out the viperous brood of political demagogues who are largely responsible for them.

This creature of demonry stands at the political gate. *The government of the Constitution has practically ceased to exist.* In its place has grown up something that admits of no classification among systems of government, ancient or modern. Republican in form, as nominally representative, it is yet not a republic; for its representatives, though chosen by the people, are not the people's choice. Democratic in methods, as seem-

ingly resting on universal suffrage, it is yet not a democracy; for the periodic appeal to the popular vote is an empty ceremony. Though the government of a class, it is not an aristocracy, for it is largely composed of elements least of all deserving respect; and, though the government of a few, it is not an oligarchy *de jure*, though it is such *de facto*—for it exists by no recognized right, and its existence is not even confessed.

The imperfection of language has necessitated the invention of a new form of words to describe it, and this has been supplied by those most familiar with its workings, in the felicitous expression, "machine government." No phrase could have been better chosen. In accordance with this ideal, we send men to the United States Senate, primarily to represent the railroad systems, the Standard Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, etc., and incidentally, where it will not conflict with their own ends, to look after the interests of the nation. In accord with this ideal, we send men to the Legislature because they are part of the machine whose crank is kept well oiled and turns at the command of the "boss."

Why this "failure of freedom"? Simply because we do not think. We are Democrats and Republicans because our fathers were. The machine nominates the ticket, and we vote it straight. And usually the "straight ticket" is tremendously crooked.

This spirit of blind partizanism and party bigotry is responsible for the fact that government to-day is the product of machine slavery, rather than of free manhood.

This creature of demonry stands a very Nemesis at the gateway of national expansion. Mark the steps: (1) War for humanity. (2) Benevolent assimilation. (3) Forcible conquest. (4) An imperial colonial policy, made possible by perverting the plain truths of the Constitution in order to escape the consequences of our own "criminal aggression." In 1861-'65, we waged a war that exterminated chattel slavery; to-day we wage one that again crosses our escutcheon with the black bar-sinister of human bondage.

All government against the consent of the governed is tyranny. Well said Lincoln, "No nation is good enough to govern another nation against its will." "Give me liberty or give me death." Better a free man in barbarism than a bondman in an imported hot-house civilization, introduced by bullets from rifles in the hands of soldiers, floating to conquest upon Bibles through a sea of beer and blood.

The question will be settled by the coming generation whether these travesties upon freedom, Napoleonic rather than Washingtonian in their character, shall be abolished by evolution or revolution. They must go, or democracy is a failure. If democracy is a failure, then God is a failure; for his word reveals him in Jesus Christ, as a Social Democrat. His rule of decision is: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." In other words, we are to seek for manhood, not mammon; act from principle, not policy; and stand for liberty, not license—remembering that violation of these fundamentals introduces sin into the national life.

"Sin does for a nation precisely what it does for an individual—degrades and ruins. History is a dismal roll-call of dead nationalities. Egypt, Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Hungary, Poland—what are they? Where are they? Ghosts of States dragged down and trampled out by sin. They had genius, intelligence, wealth, numbers, prowess, all the appliances of a luxurious civilization—so luxurious that the modern world deems itself rich when it but sweeps up their shattered fragments of empire. Their lack, their fatal lack, was *character*."

"What constitutes a State?

Not high-raised battlements and labored mounds,
Thick walls and moated gates,
Not cities proud with towers and turrets crowned,
Not broad-armed ports, where, laughing at the storm,
Rich navies ride. No, men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain—
These constitute a State."

JAMES HOFFMAN BATTEN.

Macomb, Ill.

CAUSES OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF OUR TIME.

THE causes of the democratic movement of our time are mainly eight:

(1) Science and invention, especially the invention of fire-arms, printing, and modern facilities of transportation. Fire-arms made the peasant equal to the armed knight, and thereby helped to break the military strength of aristocracy and weaken the foundations of despotism. Printing brought the thought of the world within the reach of the poor. Transportation, steam power, and mechanical development have brought men into new relations and broken down old forms and fossilized ideas. Science and invention, through their whole expanse, have aided in the evolution of democracy; for they mean new truth, new thought, new sympathy; and thought and sympathy are inconsistent with oppression or despotic power.

(2) Commerce. In spite of the temptations and opportunities for private monopoly afforded by modern industrial development, we must recognize that even this has done much for liberty. We have seen in preceding papers that the commercial centers of Europe in the Middle Ages were the foci of liberty also, and that it is not a mere coincidence that the century of greatest industrial development is also the century of greatest democratic development. Both come largely from the same thought forces in the manifestation and creation of which commerce, invention, and discovery have played so important a part.

(3) The discovery of America, which roused the nations from their slumbers and stirred them to new activities, broke down the limitations of the past, both intellectual and material, and opened up fresh, vigorous ground in which new thought might grow and bloom more richly than in the worn and crowded soil of Europe, with its tainted air reeking full of false ideals and ancient prejudices.

(4) The influence of the Reformation, with its doctrine of individual judgment or self-government in religion, begetting a habit of mind more favorable to independent thought.

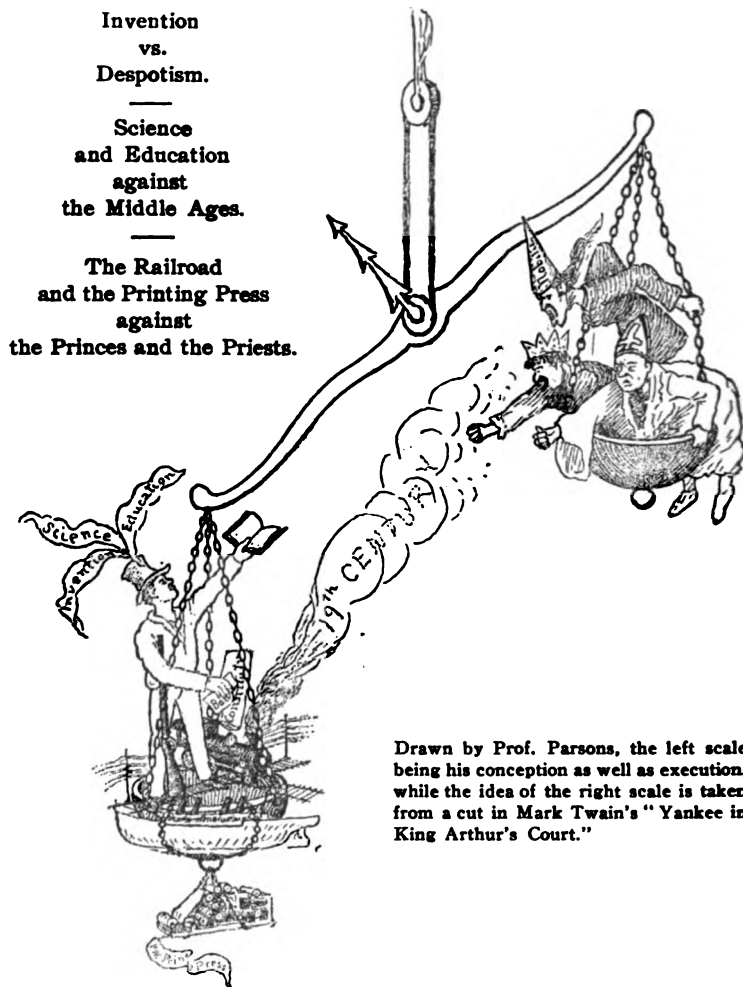
(5) The gradual evolution of intelligence and sympathy: the upward lift of the great forces that have brought men from savagery to civilization, slowly clarifying thought, deepening the sense of right and justice, broadening the sympathies, elevating the ideals of men, and opening the way to a fuller application of the highest civic and social, religious and ethical, principles.

(6) The radiation and convection of republican ideas from Greece and Rome and the free cities of the Middle Ages, and of English ideas of self-government, enlarged and developed in America, taken to France incarnate by Franklin and the soldiers who came to help our fathers win their independence, scattered by many influences through every class of society with a speed outrivaling even the mobility of scandal, and carried over Europe by the armies of Napoleon and the battalions of the allies who poured into France to destroy the "Republic" and reestablish the Bourbon despotism, but themselves imbibed the spirit of liberty and constitutional government, and returned to their homes full of explosive thought and intellectual dynamite that were destined soon to blow the life out of absolutism in Western Europe. The allies could conquer the soldiers of France, but not her ideas. An invasion of armies may be repelled, but an invasion of thought is irresistible.

(7) As another cause merged partly in the last, but distinguished from the general processes of dissemination by its creative power and personal force, we must name the writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Paine in America, the speeches of Burke, Pitt, and Fox in England, the French *Encyclopædia*, and the works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, stating the rights of man, denouncing tyranny, advocating representative government, and awakening the middle classes and even the young nobility of France to the love of liberty.

(8) The egregious blunders of English imperialism in

America and the Bourbon government in France, which gave hot cause and audience to the great democrats just mentioned



and roused the people to such a fever of revolt that political discussion became the main business of the time. American farms and villages were nests of revolution. Paris was deluged with pamphlets. They were read aloud on the streets to eager groups of workmen. In every coffee-house impassioned orators discussed the wrongs of government. The pub-

lic mind was filled with the hatred of absolutism and the longing for liberty. The friction became so great at last that the flames burst forth and a conflagration followed that has shriveled and burned the imperial institutions of the past.

THE FIRST EXPLOSIONS.

The political movement that saturates the century began with the American revolution.* France soon caught the impulse, and when the Bastille fell the despotisms of Europe were doomed. In both cases the principal point in irritation was a matter of taxation—the pocket nerve and the sense of right combined to produce a reaction.

The “Mayflower” brought the genius of revolution over the ocean. It is true that the Pilgrims came because “they wanted freedom to worship God in their own way, and make everybody else do the same.” But, while a religious feeling not over liberal was the moving force, the Pilgrims imported much besides their energetic piety and limited Christian sympathies. They believed in local self-government, and established it with such effect that by the latter part of the eighteenth century the American Colonies were the freest communities in the world. They had their town and county democracies or representative systems, their State legislatures elected by the people and acting under written charters or constitutions, and the thread of British sovereignty was too slender and had to cross too wide a sea to stand much strain. The weight of taxation without representation and outside interference with finance and com-

* It is true that the English barons had forced King John to grant the Magna Charta in 1215, that local self-government had existed for centuries in England, that Parliament in 1689 had established a bill of rights as the basis on which William and Mary came to the throne, and that many of the principles of liberty and self-government were understood in England as in fact they were in ancient Greece and Rome; and yet it is none the less true that the nineteenth-century movement for the full application of those principles began with our Declaration of Independence, and that the English government was still an oligarchy long after our Republic was established. The political movement in England in the eighteenth century and up to 1832 was retrogressive, not progressive.

merce were too much. The slender thread was severed and the Colonies were free.



"Hands Off!"
 "My Person is sacred."

The literary
 Attack on Royalty.

Drawn by Prof. Parsons, with slight modification, from a cut in Mark Twain's "Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

Let us see how the movement toward democracy got its start in Europe.

EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE CENTURY.*

At the opening of this century there were 175 millions of people in Europe, 4 millions of them (or about one man in ten) being under arms, and 160 millions belonging to the unprivileged classes, nearly all land being owned by less than one per cent. of the people, the monopoly of learning being also very close, and the monopoly of political power narrowest of all.

American democracy was little more than a decade old and every government in Europe was absolute, though Holland, France, and Switzerland were republican in theory, and free institutions had made some progress in England.

Europe had been engaged in a war with France for 8 years, and the struggle was to continue for about 15 years more. For a quarter of a century, the main effort of the people of Europe was to shoot

* The facts here grouped in analytic form and reduced to their lowest terms may be found more fully stated in ordinary form in Judson's "Europe in the Nineteenth Century" and Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century" (to both of which I am indebted), and may be followed in full detail in the special histories of the various countries.

one another, burn one another's cities, and destroy one another's homes and property. The monarchs of Europe combined to destroy republican ideas in France, because their existence in one country made every throne unsafe; and so 150 millions were fighting 25 millions, because the 25 millions had denied the divine right of kings, risen in revolution against the nobility, proceeded to elect their own rulers, and announced their intention of aiding other peoples to establish republican institutions.

Such was the general situation in Europe at the opening of the century. Democracy was in the throes of birth in the Old World—a painful birth because of unwholesome conditions.

FRANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

The social conditions in France before the Revolution of 1789 were briefly these:

Privileged classes on top of the unprivileged masses—despotism and aristocratic privilege.

A few individuals (between one and two per cent. of the population) monopolized land, learning, religion, wealth, and power.

1. The royal family with absolute power and enormous revenue.
Legislation consisted simply of edicts from the king.
2. The nobility (about 30,000 families—100,000 or 150,000 persons)
Owned a large part of the best land.
And had numerous privileges:
 Could pursue game over peasants' fields, destroying their crops in ruthless sport.
 The peasant's grain must be ground in the lord's mill.
 His bread must be baked in the lord's oven.
 His grapes must go to the lord's press.
 He must pay rent to the lord, and work so many days on the lord's land.
 The nobles were exempt from nearly all taxes, and from military duty.
 They had a monopoly of official positions in the army, navy, churches, and State.
 They were idle, arrogant, unsympathetic, extravagant, oppressive.
3. The Church (over 100,000 persons vowed to religion)
 Owned one-fourth to one-third of the best soil.
 Received in rent and proceeds about \$50,000,000 a year.
 Had also tithes to about an equal amount.
 The great prelates absorbed most of the income.
4. Beneath these privileged classes who controlled religion, politics, and wealth was the "3d estate," or
 The common people, 98 to 99 per cent. of the nation, or about 25,000,000 persons.



Taken with slight change from cut in Mark Twain's "Yankee in King Arthur's Court," by permission of Mark Twain.

- (a) The middle classes, merchants, lawyers, etc., dwelling in cities, organized into guilds, despised by nobles, hated by the poor.
- (b) The proletariat or peasantry, overtaxed, subject to compulsory labor for kings and nobles, conscripted into the army, harassed and angered by the unjust privileges of the upper classes.
- (c) The masses of rags and misery in the big cities, out of which came the Jacobin clubs and the mobs of the Revolution.

SPECIAL FACTORS IN THE FRENCH UPHEAVAL.

The political, intellectual, and material factors of principal interest in relation to the French Revolution may be stated thus:

1. An absolute monarchy.
2. A few privileged nobles and churchmen.
3. An extravagant court.
4. Enormous salaries for officials.
5. Corruption everywhere in high life.
Offices and judgeships bought and sold.
6. Heavy taxes and burdens on those least able to bear them.
Those who grew the fruit and grain had little to eat because nearly all the produce went to pay taxes and support the privileged classes in luxurious idleness. Out of every 100 francs earned the peasant must pay more than 50 to the collector, 14 to the landlord, 14 more to the Church—for tithes, etc.—and from the remainder he must satisfy the excise man and his own necessities. The poor peasant had about 15 francs out of 100 for his own use, 85 per cent. going for taxes and burdens.
7. Terrible contrast between the wretched condition of the peasantry and the luxury of the nobles. The poor can stand it when all are poor as in early Rome, and in early years here, and they can stand inequality if there is hope of rising; but hopeless poverty in the midst of wealth created by the labor of the poor becomes unendurable when the poor begin to think.
8. Arrogant contempt of the classes for the masses, and vigorous hate of the masses for the classes.
9. Rising intelligence of the people.
Poverty and oppression mingled with thought and courage make the most dangerous explosive known to history.

10. The skeptical and disruptive writings of Voltaire and Rousseau and their followers, attacking religion, government, privilege, every established institution, and urging with tremendous force the cause of liberty and equality.
11. The example of American democracy and the influence of American thought.
 "Taxation without representation is tyranny," said the Americans when asked to pay a trifling duty. The French people were crushed by taxation without representation. Those who grew the grain had no bread because nearly all they produced went in taxes and dues. The peasant began dimly to see that he was miserable because too much was taken from him and too much was taken from him because the privileged classes did not pay their share.
12. Finally, the government was bankrupt. For years there had been an annual deficit of about 35 million dollars. The taxes were already unbearable and could not be increased. In 1787 Louis had called the Notables—the chief nobles and the prelates—together to consider the situation. The Notables refused to tax their own property, or to give up any of their privileges. Their short-sighted greed held closed the only door of peaceful exit, and revolution was inevitable.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION IN BRIEF.

Wherefore the causes of the French Revolution appear in briefest form to be:

1. Too much taxes.
2. Extravagant and bankrupt government.
3. Oppressive monopoly of power and privilege in the hands of kings and nobles.
4. A gale of democratic thought.
5. A weak king and vicious nobles all blind to the signs of the times.

How could there fail to be an explosion?

The financial breakdown was the immediate proximate cause.

But progressive thought,

love of liberty,

growth of democratic sentiment,

and oppressive monopoly

were the real underlying forces.

Condensing the essence of the matter into one sentence we find:

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION WAS RESISTANCE TO POLITICAL DESPOTISM, AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE WAS THE RISING INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEOPLE GOADED INTO ACTION BY MONOPOLY AND OPPRESSION.

THE RESULTS IN FRANCE.

The Constitution of 1790 abolished hereditary titles and offices and the whole list of feudal customs and privileges, confiscated the land and property of the Church, established local self-government, and vested the power of legislation in a single chamber elected by the people, but retained the king with a veto on legislation. The monarchs of Europe, viewing this outrageous disregard of vested privileges and fearing the spread of these dangerous ideas of liberty and democracy, invaded France to punish the offenders, and put Louis on the throne again. Louis showed his sympathy with the invaders, abused his veto power, and tried to escape. He was deposed, condemned, and executed. France was declared a republic in 1792, and, partly in return for the insolent interference of foreign nations in the domestic affairs of France, partly in deep enthusiasm for liberty, the Convention proclaimed that France would carry liberty to all nations.

In 1795 a republican constitution was formed with two legislative chambers and an executive directory of five. But France, though her longing for liberty was great, did not know how to be a republic. It takes experience to be a republic. Factional wars, the arbitrary rule of despotic demagogues, the dread control of angry mobs, and finally (1799) the sovereignty of the soldier Bonaparte, mangled and murdered the French Republic. But the deep thought movement that had caused the Revolution was not lost. The intelligent recognition of the evils of private monopoly in government grew stronger as the years went by, the knowledge of true methods and past errors clearer, and the public sentiment demanding real democracy more intense, till finally a republic strong enough to stand the ills of infancy was born in France.

THE EFFECT UPON EUROPE.

The impulse of democracy—the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity—swept out from France all over Europe. It has gathered force as thought has grown and knowledge has

been diffused. Here and there throughout the century it has shown its strength and demanded free institutions, and, after frequent failures and vanishing successes, has now in all the civilized lands of Europe established so large a degree of constitutional government that "democracy henceforth may win her battles with ballots rather than with bullets."

CAUSES OF GROWING UNION AND SPREAD OF CIVILIZATION.

The growth of national union and federal combination has occurred in part by fusion in the heat of war, in part by wise prevision of the strength that would result, and in still larger part by the welding force of commerce, the attractions of race, love, and loyalty to king, and the uniting power of common thought and interests, acting with special vigor on adjacent peoples similar in blood and language and tradition.

The spread of civilization round the globe has come about through emigration of advanced and active peoples through war and conquest, and through commerce, intellectual and material. Even the "dark continent" and the heart of Asia are yielding to the locomotive and the electric wire. Commerce will yet turn the light on the jungles of Africa and the wastes of Siberia.

Thus we find the causes much the same for the three chief formative principles of the political progress of the nineteenth century. Democracy, nationality, or federation, and the spread of civilization, rise out of commerce, science, invention, thought development, acting sometimes at moderate temperatures and sometimes at battle heat. The mariner's compass gave us America, with all its possibilities of liberty and progress. Steam power, railroads, telegraphs, and printing-presses are the greatest civilizers, unifiers, and democratizers known to man.

The fundamental force is thought and its principal conditions are largely economic. The same century and the same peoples that have developed democracy have also developed civilization and unity and have given the world its richest in-

tellectual and material progress. As we have seen, the relation is one of causation. Given the principles and discoveries known to the Middle Ages, some capacity for new ideas, a reasonable possibility of thought-diffusion, and the pressure of a need or longing that by united effort may be satisfied, and you have the conditions of progress toward *democracy* (which is cerebation,* thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect upon the form of government), *unity* (which is cerebation, thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect on the extent and cohesiveness of coördination and organization), and the *spread of civilization* (which is cerebation, thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect on the whole industrial, political, and social life of the world).

CONCLUSION.

Several important conclusions are suggested by the preceding discussion, three of which may be noted here:

1. The conditions in Europe before the French Revolution show what vast injustice and enormous burdens a people trained to ignorance and submission may be made to endure—endure almost like thoughtless oxen goaded through the flaming hours to tickle Nature into yielding her rich stores for others—endure eternal drudgery, toiling for leave to live, while others frolic with the profit the drudgery produces.

2. The movement toward democracy, union, and civilization is likely to continue in the twentieth century with exceeding vigor, for the underlying causes of the movement—commerce, invention, thought development and diffusion, love of liberty and justice, sympathy, and sense of right—were never so potent as they are to-day. Forces that when feeble lifted the nations out of despotisms fastened upon them by ages of

*Used in the sense of creative effort, brain-bloom, the evolution of new ideas, the solution of problems in government, science, and philosophy.

absolute power and prejudice will not in the days of their strength be overcome by any remnant of the despotic spirit. There is no danger of serious relapse unless the spirit of mastery, still free to grow in the soil of industry, develops so much faster than the love of liberty and justice, thought, sympathy, and the equalizing and unifying forces of commerce and invention that it is able to control education and government as well as the means of subsistence, and through this triple control succeeds in reducing the people to habits of thought and life consistent with subjection—bringing them back once more to the ox and cart-horse stage of existence. Of such a possibility we are not entitled fully to judge till we have carefully studied the forces at work in the industrial field and analyzed the intellectual and moral movements of our time. But from our studies so far it would seem that neither the trusts and monopolies in America, nor Russia in the Old World, can offer more than a temporary obstruction to the resistless sweep of the giant forces that are moving the world toward democracy. In fact there is reason to think that the trusts and Russia may on the whole prove valuable aids to progress: Russia by stirring the stagnant life of Asia, startling its millions into action and development, and opening the continent to nobler life; and the trusts by obliterating sectional and national lines, destroying antagonisms, fusing industries and peoples, and teaching, with enormous emphasis, the benefits of coöperation and the evils of partial coöperation. The trusts are not merely eliminating conflict and chaotic production and distribution, municipally and nationally, but are carrying organization across the boundaries of nations and tying the peoples together with chains of steel and gold.

3. Education, organization, public opinion, and law should suffice for future progress without the use of military force. Conditions requiring battle for the development of democracy no longer exist in most civilized nations. There are people who believe there is a parallel between present conditions and those in France before the Revolution. Seeing the rapid con-

centration of wealth in this country, and the hold it has on some of our governments, and the organization of labor to resist the power of capital, they predict a revolution here. But they fail to note several important facts. It is true that the concentration of power and privilege in the hands of a few was the cause of the French Revolution, but it is not true that every concentration of power and privilege need cause revolution. In France, before the Revolution, the people had no ballot, no free schools, no free press. In America now the conditions are totally different. (1) The common people now have the ballot, and therefore have no need of revolution to accomplish their purposes. (2) Intelligence and sympathy have expanded greatly in the last hundred years. (3) Many of the wealthy are as anxious as the poor to improve the conditions of labor and establish justice in the production and distribution of wealth. (4) The Anglo-Saxon blood has a higher boiling point than the Gallic. In England during the nineteenth century a people of our blood have accomplished the transformation from aristocratic despotism to a substantial democracy, without revolution. In Belgium recently a people of more explosive nature have by peaceful organization compelled the grant of universal suffrage, without resort to violence. (5) The concentration of power and privilege in the United States, serious as it is, is nothing compared to the depth and extent of poverty and the absolute denial of civic rights in France before the Revolution. Nor can our problem deepen to a parallel unless our monopolists come to own the schools or the ballot box, which is not likely, for the people own them now for the most part, and realize their value, and will guard them with vigilant care.

The hosts of progress can win their victories without bullets. Perhaps the *monopolists* may resort to arms when they find that fraud can no longer check the advance of democracy, political and industrial. This seems to me improbable, but if it should occur progressives would fight, not as revolutionists, but in defense of established rights and settled methods of

procedure. There is every reason to believe that the progress of the future here may be secured without revolution. There may be riots in the larger cities, as there have been already ; but the change on the whole bids fair to be an evolution, not a revolution.

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THE FUTILITIES OF REFORMERS.

THERE must be some good reason for the etymological contempt into which the very word "reform" has fallen. Nothing can condemn a party so certainly to defeat as the reform label. The reasons for this are many, and are perhaps to be sought for in the reformers themselves. Municipal government is honeycombed with corruption; there is speculation in the financial departments, irregularities in the tax office, collusion between the police and the gamblers and keepers of houses of ill repute. A spasm of virtue passes through the community; a group of well-meaning "reformers" starts out to set things right, usually by the utterly hopeless method of voting good men into office. Few reformers of this class perceive that the causes of municipal corruption lie deep; that they are economic rather than political, and that these abuses are surface indications arising primarily from the economic slavery of the individual, and secondarily from the apathy engendered in part by the denial to cities of the powers of self-government and the regulation and control of their own affairs. I say "in part" by reason of this denial of the city's natural self-governing functions, thus resulting in the loss of civic responsibility in the individual—but only in part. There is a broader reason. Good government or bad government means little to the average citizen. His rent is not higher if government is corrupt, nor lower if government is honest; therefore, he has little interest in higher taxes or lower taxes. Appeals to his sense of honesty may awaken a faint sentiment of hostility to the thieves in public office, because they *are* thieves, not because they injure him. This hostility may flame for a moment into what we term "righteous indignation," but it is the nature of indignation, whether righteous or otherwise, that is not founded on a sense of personal injury, to be short-lived; and this is the only basis for the temporary success of these reform movements, when they are successful at all.

We might perhaps trust the altruistic spirit to accomplish wonders if the majority of men were not too busy in a life-and-death struggle for a mere livelihood. But we are dealing with a world as it is, not a world as it ought to be. The man without property has, it is true, a very acute and direct interest as to how taxes should be imposed; but under present methods mere questions of percentages, of a higher or lower rate, do not concern him pecuniarily, and therefore will not interest him long morally.

To ask your reformer of a certain type to appreciate this profound fact in economic life is to ask too much of men whose only knowledge of the world is derived from their little familiar circle of business acquaintances, and their only knowledge of the laws governing society from the teachings, nebulously remembered, of their college text-books—teachings that indeed were best forgotten. Such reformers usually end by advocating the restriction of the franchise to property-holders instead of the more reasonable methods of substituting systems of taxation that will increase the number of direct taxpayers.

Let us go in imagination, as many of us have in reality, into some convention of reformers. Let us take a glance over the assembly and ask ourselves how in point of physiognomy it will compare with a convention of railroad presidents. Look at the faces. Which gathering would you choose as representing, in outward appearances at least, the average intelligence of the nation? The first would give you exceptional individuals, incomparably higher, spiritually and mentally, than the second, but the second would outrank it mentally on the average. In the first would be found an utter absence of any unity of policy or cohesiveness, or agreement upon what steps should first be taken—far more bickerings and little egotisms, petty ambitions to which the great aim is subordinated, and overwhelming self-consciousness.

Look at your labor leaders. The average is higher than it used to be, and I think is improving year by year. From Martin Irons to Sovereign, from Sovereign to Debs, and from Debs to Mitchell are gratifying steps in the upward progress;

but there is still much to be desired. The leaders of the reform movements are not intellectually the peers of the men they are attacking—the upholders of special privilege. And why should we expect it of them? It would be strange indeed if the men who are fighting for the retention of unjust privileges, unearned leisure, and inordinate wealth to command knowledge, should not have profited by these advantages. But no real good can be gained by closing our eyes to the facts.

I have known of but few reformers who were able to appreciate both the abstract and concrete sides of a problem. We sometimes speak of abstract questions, of concrete questions, but in reality all questions are of these two attributes; that is to say, every action involves the problem of concrete practicability, and the greater question of the universal laws of Justice and social well-being.

There is something almost feminine in the average reformer's appreciation of the impossible. One can almost fancy him clapping his hands with joyful enthusiasm at some incredible line of action, with the exclamation, "How delightfully impracticable!" I am at a loss to explain, except by reason of this attitude of mind, the policy, for example, of your anarchist and your "class conscious" socialist. I do not mean by anarchist the mythical person who wants to throw bombs at Mr. Rockefeller but the "philosophic" anarchist, so called on the principle of *locus a non lucendo*, who proposes to abolish all government, constructive as well as repressive, by—how shall we say?—a concerted action of society, since it cannot be done by the individual, but which inevitably involves an act of government. Of course, your "philosophic" anarchist does not mean what he says, since at his own meetings he helps to elect a chairman, and the chairman governs within rules, which again are acts of government. But if he does not mean what he says why does he say it? Merely because of the reformer's incurable love of paradox, not to speak of his confusion of things unlike which go under the same names. Government may mean one of many things—a President, a policeman, a

clean street, a town council, a public park, a jailer, or a hangman. Your anarchist condemns government *per se*, by which he means only the government he dislikes in contradistinction to the government he believes in, and which he sometimes calls "voluntaryism."

One defect reformers possess in common—extreme intellectual narrowness. This arises from the dwelling of the mental vision too exclusively upon one point. This habit of mind is indeed the origin of all monomania, and curious are the phases it takes in the minds of your social reformers; sometimes it is the very madness of impracticability. Take your "class conscious" socialist, with his infatuation for futility and failure. "Would you," said I to a representative of one of these, "work for the municipal ownership of public franchises if advocated by a party numerically strong enough to insure success at the polls?" "No," said this class-conscious idiot, "no class-conscious socialist would."

The error of the Single Taxers—far more intelligent and numerically more powerful than the Socialists—is of a different kind. Curiously enough, they err in the opposite direction. The Single Taxer is an earnest, persistent, and forceful advocate of his reform at all times except during an election. Then he is a Cleveland Free Trader, a Bryan zealot, a free silverite, or a Chicago Platform Democrat—anything but a Single Taxer. There were no reasons at all why the believers in the philosophy of Henry George should have supported Bryan in 1896. In the days of 1886, when Mr. George was electrifying the community by his campaign for the mayoralty, and later in the days of the Anti-Poverty Society, the Single Tax was a real movement. It has long since ceased to be a vital force to be reckoned with, omitting strong local manifestations. By allying themselves with the Democratic party, Single Taxers have earned the ill-will of many who sincerely desire social betterment, and they have not won to their cause a single influential Democrat. So little was their influence felt in the Democratic party, after eight years of active participation in its battles, that the question of taxation was ignored by the

Kansas City convention, and the introduction of the economically faulty income-tax plank was omitted from its platform by inadvertence—an omission rectified at the eleventh hour!

Those Single Taxers who, on the other hand, have chosen to follow the true policy of hewing to the line, letting the chips fall where they may, have received abundant justification for their course in the strong local manifestations we have indicated (in Boston and elsewhere); and the result furnishes a comparative estimate of the value of these two methods. It explains why, nationally, the influence of Single Taxers is absolutely *nil*, and why locally much real progress has been made. Where substantial victories in the influencing of public sentiment have been won they have been the result of singleness and directness of aim, and not of circumlocutory policies.

Compared with the policy of dissipation of effort pursued by Single Taxers, the method of your "class-conscious" socialist, though idiotic enough, seems positively heroic. But not only by their wellnigh unqualified indorsement of Democratic party principles have the Single Taxers accomplished nothing, but positively as well as negatively they have succeeded in injuring their own cause; and this they have done in two ways. By a passive acquiescence in the passionate lunacy of free silver, they have helped to perpetuate that policy, and by their own silence have seemed to approve the studied refusal of Mr. Bryan and the Democratic leaders to discuss the question of free trade—which if not logically bound up with the advocacy of the Single Tax as a political principle is at all events an indissoluble part of its great philosophy.

Among reformers engaged in the practical business of reform there is a want of that sureness of touch which characterizes the leaders in the hard and difficult world of trade and commerce. Too many of your reformers are erratic, unstable, lacking in poise and equilibrium, and intemperate and extravagant in action and speech. It is for this reason that the man who leads a strenuous mental life, who has absorbed that culture the latest fruits of which are poise and self-restraint and temperate if adequate modes of expression, is repelled.

The literary man and the artist, however much inclined to be social rebels, prefer to stand aloof from the hurly-burly of these passionate shouters who do not seem to have learned discipline, however real may be the wrongs against which they fulminate. This is why your artist is so seldom a reformer, save in the way of his art; and this is why the artist is so often accused, though sometimes with justice, of aristocratic aloofness. The artist of the days of Savonarola, however much his soul may have revolted against Florentine licentiousness, must similarly have stared aghast at Savonarola's vandalism. The man of artistic temperament at a later period would find himself more in unison with the thought of Erasmus than with that of Luther. If he did not shrink from Luther's crudity of thought, that episode of the ink bottle would decide him.

I sometimes wonder if many reformers do not cherish their reforms rather as pride of intellect than as a moral conviction to which they owe certain duties and responsibilities. I have rarely heard of any reformer of wealth leaving bequests in his will for the furtherance of the doctrines he believed in. Men give wealth to colleges, to hospitals, to poor relief, to private and public charity, but nothing to the cause of social amelioration and reconstruction, though organs and methods of propaganda languish for want of means. I have heard men of wealth depict in vivid colors the evils of discriminating and indiscriminating charity, and insist that nothing short of the abolition of the present social system could permanently benefit mankind, but to the first cause they gave generously and to the latter grudgingly. A few millionaires have distributed in endowments tenfold greater sums than were ever given to the cause of social reform, estimating the proportion relatively to the means of these two classes of donors.

There is some justification for the charge flung in the face of the reformer that he should first of all reform himself. Too many are oblivious of their own characteristic shortcomings; too many are conspicuous examples of partial failure because of one-sided individual development. We do well to attack with all the weapons at our command, and with all our might,

the evils of society, but we should first of all remember that it is as individuals that others will regard us; that our words will have weight only as we bear ourselves like men; that our personal usefulness is apt to be in the same ratio as our sense of personal responsibility. To reformers above all others is this lesson important; the carrier of the message must show himself superior to the faults and foibles that society, because it sees only superficialities, learns the soonest to detect and despise, and, despising the messenger for his defects of mind or character, grows to ignore the message, or justifies its rejection by indicating the individual's deficiencies.

And we are now brought to the immediate situation in this city of New York. In 1897 the Citizens' Union spent \$156,000 to defeat Tammany Hall—and was itself defeated. One hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars! How Croker must have smiled at that! Why, Tammany gives that and more to its district leaders to spend in ways that will do the most good. The foes of Tammany, rich men having much at stake, gave, some of them, as much as \$100, after a good deal of persuasion. The Tammany district leaders will spend that in one saloon in drinks for "the boys." One hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars to defeat an organization whose power rests upon public franchises in its gift or under its protection amounting in value to hundreds of millions!

Oh, it will be said, surely the expenditure of money by honorable, upright men in the manner Tammany expends it is not to be thought of. Well, how does Tammany distribute the funds it raises to influence and carry elections? It cannot be denied that the greater portion is spent legitimately, and of that which is not strictly so spent a very small proportion goes in the direct purchase of votes. It does not go in that way because it is really not needed. It is not the purchasable electorate that keeps the Tammany organization in power. A great deal of money expended is used to quicken and maintain enthusiasm among "the boys"; and it by no means follows that this necessarily involves its corrupt use.

But the chief point these honorable gentlemen who are op-

posing Tammany should bear in mind is this: If a thorough opposition organization to Tammany is to be kept alive, it must be supported by generous contributions. If New York is worth rescuing it is worth rescuing at a pecuniary cost, and if the Tammany opposition cannot match Tammany's expenditure dollar for dollar the reform movement will lack vitality. If reform is worth anything it is worth something in dollars and cents.

And then it will be of service to our good friends to inquire how it comes about that Tammany is willing and able to spend such large sums of money. A great deal is raised by that species of police blackmail which has always prevailed in this and other great cities. For that there is no one to blame but the community itself, which has made the inevitable vices and many of the harmless follies of men illegal. Another source of these contributions is to be found in the assessment of clerks and officeholders, but for this the community is again to blame in making public salaries higher than private salaries for the same grades of service. But this explains only a small part of the money after all. There are "bosses" who control nominations; there are men, the holders of valuable franchises, who are interested in getting the wrong kind of men nominated, and they are willing to pay for it. And right here is the answer to the New York *World's* question as to where Croker "got it." The larger source of bossism and most of the corruption of city government is to be sought for in the men *behind* Croker.

There are some people who think that reform means vice-hunting, and that the city's redemption is accomplished when you close up the saloons at one o'clock at night, or change a pool-room where people may openly enter and wager their money on a horse race into a club-room where they may do the same thing in greater secrecy. How very melancholy it all is! We will have corrupt government as long as people do not understand that the true function of government is not the reformation of the individual but the protection of rights. Every man feels instinctively that he has a right to drink as

he likes, to spend his money as he likes; he resents the impertinence of government interference—and in the main he is right. Grown men will be not better men, but worse, and public administration more corrupt, by every renewed attempt to suppress or regulate the inevitable vices and follies of men, nearly all of which spring from misgovernment and the denial of man's inalienable rights.

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THE ETHICS OF THE LAND QUESTION.

THE thought of our times presents some very hopeful aspects. It is coming to be more generally recognized that Christianity addresses itself to man both individually and collectively; that it inquires of his ideals and obligations not only as a man but as a citizen; that it calls upon him to be true to his best self and no less true to his brother, and to all those multiplied obligations involved in modern civilization.

In the ideal, all activities are prompted by an ethical motive, and we may be thankful that the call of humanity to-day is for a faith which addresses itself to the righting of wrong in the community as well as in the individual. This is but one expression of that more enlightened, more worthy conception of religious duty which is dawning upon the world.

In the effort to solve social problems this better faith must be clear and unequivocal, and our devotion to its guidance must be consistent and continuous. So long as there remains a social problem unsolved, a grievance unredressed, so long will it be most fitting for all philanthropic and broad-minded men to inquire as to their immediate duty respecting them, and the best means of that duty's fulfilment. Present-day discussion emphasizes a truth, which always has been recognized by the world's best leadership, *viz.*, that the adjustment of all problems, whether communal or international, must ultimately be referred to the court of justice. Inquiries as to expediency are not to be admitted in clearly defined issues between right and wrong. Truth has no sufferance for error. This was Christ's supreme emphasis, which the world is so unwilling to accept. Protest may not be immediately effective, but its assertion must be swift, its maintenance unswerving.

Our theme, "*the ethics of the land question*," is very satisfying in its terms, for it is intuitively felt to be fundamental,

and that it covers the ground and explanation of a host of minor issues which have obscured it in public thought. Whatever, therefore, we may accomplish here can but prove of lasting significance. Nothing but the recognition of ethical values can give us that point of view which is essential to true progress, and every right-minded man will concede that any condition or proposition which is morally wrong must in the long run prove economically impractical and injurious, while that which is morally right must be feasible and beneficial.

No wonder of modern civilization is more striking and extraordinary than its abnormalities and contradictions. With a wealth of natural resources in this country that is relatively inexhaustible, enough to abundantly supply fifty if not one hundred times our population, millions of our people are struggling to maintain a bare existence, and involuntary poverty, with all the despair and degradation it entails, is known in all our centers of population. Fortunes which would make a Croesus comparatively poor are being accumulated with a rapidity never before known, while of every hundred men in the country forty have not been able to accumulate enough to bury them decently. New York City enumerates its hundreds of multi-millionaires, yet one hundred and fifty thousand workingwomen in that city, according to a late authority, receive on an average less than sixty cents a day.

Labor-saving machinery is more abundant and in more general use in America than at any other time or in any other place, and yet labor has not been relieved of its unremitting drudgery, nor has it reaped any such benefit as would have been legitimately anticipated. The sewing-machine has been in use for forty years, and yet the poor seamstress toils as of old at her shirts, for which she receives a starvation wage of sixty to eighty cents a dozen.

Men here enjoy a freedom, individual and social, never before known, and yet our peace has again and again been imperiled by a surging dissatisfaction and unrest which are an evidence that our industrial conditions seem unjust and unbearable to labor.

A great deal of legislation has been enacted, ostensibly for the benefit of the laborer and consumer, and yet heartless and unblushing monopoly, labor's greatest enemy, has assumed dangerous and threatening proportions, while the concentration of wealth, which has always preceded national decay and downfall, goes on with ever-increasing rapidity.

What shall we say in view of these things, but that manifestly there is something fundamentally, morally, and therefore economically wrong? The startling and dreadful exhibition of antagonism to constituted authority which has recently afflicted this and other nations cannot be adequately explained apart from the insidious and unconscious effects of centuries of imposition and wrong suffered by the common people at the hands of powers which have been indifferent to their sorrows and their rights. Wrong may be sullenly endured for ages, but it instils a malice and a hatred which will ultimately strike back with the bestial blindness of a French Revolution, or the assassination of the just and high-minded President of a nation where labor has enjoyed the fullest privilege and reaped the richest reward.

The sense of the seriousness of the situation is growing more general and intense, and, in the opinion of an ever-increasing number of our sanest, freest-minded thinkers, the world's basic wrong is perpetuated to-day in the land question: a question that lies beneath the labor question, the monopoly question, the concentration of wealth question, the wage question, and many another minor problem.

We should make a lamentable mistake at this point if we did not carefully discriminate between the wilful infliction of injury by individuals and the infliction of that injury as the result of conditions for which, through ignorance chiefly, we are all responsible. Not men, but methods, statutes, and commonly accepted economic ideas, are responsible, and these alone should be condemned.

It is also important as well as encouraging for us to remember that, in considering any subject which appeals directly to the intuitive sense of right, the great majority of unprejudiced

men will reach the same conclusions if they but have a mutual and perfect understanding of the terms employed. Let us therefore disclose, if we can, the exact content of the words we use. What do we mean by "land," and what is "The Land Question"? These inquiries answered, we are confident the ethics of the subject, its moral quality, relations, and tendencies, will appear as the spring flowers reveal themselves after their winter's covering is removed.

Land, in general thought, stands for soil, but in its economic sense it embraces all those natural resources which are essential to life, which are not the product of labor, and which are the raw material out of which and by the use of which wealth is produced. In this economic sense land includes water, air, light, the virgin forests, the coal, the oil, and the mineral deposits beneath the surface. It is the world, with which man finds himself environed.

An absolute necessity to life, and the only source of wealth, land must inevitably be in universal demand, and this awakens by natural order the supreme inquiry, "*To whom does land belong?*" *This is the Land Question*; and it seems very simple, nevertheless it is the one of all economics which has been the most obscured and misapprehended.

We have been religiously taught long since that the earth is the Lord's, for he made it. This was one of the gladdest voices in Hebrew song and story. The prophets and seers reëchoed it to the children of the world, and in this initial assertion were grounded the institutions, the legislation, and the economy of the chosen race. "For he made it";—that is, ownership is and always has been grounded in production or creation, and hence the declaration that the land belongs to God. But has he not given it to men? In a very important sense, yes. He creates but to give. He manifests but to minister. God has given the use of land to the children of men, freely and of obligation withal, for their life hangs upon the giving, and the gift must in justice measure to the need. Physical life is absolutely dependent upon land, and it is surprising that so manifest a truth should need such constant repetition.

The cry of hunger is in the very nature of things a demand that God shall give, and a witness that God has given the support of life with the possibility of life.

This gift is not unconditioned. Privilege is indissolubly linked to effort. "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," and this, too, in the very nature of things. *The coincidence of life and life's necessities is the transcendent fact in which equality of human right is grounded.* It is ethically unthinkable that God should be the author of a life whose nourishment he inadequately provided for, Malthus to the contrary notwithstanding. The Malthusian idea was this—that reproduction constantly trenches upon subsistence; that God has made the family too large for the table; and, to its shame, so-called Christian economics has in the past accepted this doctrine as a solution of the problem! ("Nature is niggardly," said Mill, a very good man!)

God *has* given the land, *for use*, to the children of men, but *not for monopoly*. This was a profound Hebraic concept, for which the realization and maintenance were duly provided in the Mosaic economy. Moses not only arranged for the fair division of the land among the people, and for making it fallow and common every seventh year, but by the institution of the jubilee he provided for a redistribution of the land every fifty years, and thus made monopoly impossible.

This thought was not, however, peculiar to the Hebrew, for it has appeared to sunlit-men, in all times, as an axiomatic proposition. Indeed, our present idea and theory of the privilege of monopoly in land are scarcely two centuries old, and are consonant only with a government which is monarchical and autocratic. The protest against this later conception has ever been maintained by the profoundest thinkers and most eminent economists. Listen to some of their testimonies:

"Given a race of human beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires; given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born—and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world." (Herbert Spencer.)

"When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust." (John Stuart Mill.)

"Properly speaking, the Land belongs to these two: The Almighty God and to all His Children of Men that have ever worked well on it, or shall ever work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell Land on any other principle: it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it." (Thomas Carlyle.)

"Under the feudal system the proprietor was the Crown, *as representing the nation*; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were *liable, nonfulfilment, to forfeiture*." (James Anthony Froude.)

"The question of the unearned increment will have to be faced. It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase." (The Right Hon. John Morley.)

"The reserved right of the people to the rental value of land must be construed as a condition to every deed." (U. S. Supreme Court.)

"The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sickness, deaths of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question." (Cardinal Manning.)

"It is certainly true that any increase in the rental value or selling value of land is due, not to the exertions and sacrifices of the owners of the land, but to the exertions and sacrifices of the community. It is certainly true that economic rent tends to increase with the growth of wealth and population, and that thus a larger and larger share of the product of industry tends to pass into the hands of the owners of land, not because they have done more for society, but because so-

ciety has greater need of that which they control." (General Francis Walker: "First Lessons in Economy.")

"The land of every country is the common property of all the people of that country, because the Creator made it as a voluntary gift to them. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania there are, under present conditions, for the *landlord*, millions; for the Railroad, tens of millions; for the *Miner* a bare subsistence." (The Bishop of Meath.)

"The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have no right or power over it." (Thomas Jefferson.)

These are significant words, but, in our search for the ultimate truth, the ground of Justice, we may go deeper here, with profit, and find behind physical phenomena and economics, in the realm of metaphysics, a yet clearer, more authoritative statement. Impelled by the manifestation of infinite Wisdom, and inscrutable and glorious mystery, Man posits God. Consciousness of self, of environment, of God—these three; and in their embrace we no longer think of Creation as a consummated fact of an indefinite past, but as an immediate and constant manifestation of the ever-present source of light and life and love. This is Christian Idealism.

And now we ask again, what is land; what is the world—the cosmos, as the Greeks named it? It is but the phenomena of force, says science; it is the expression of Love, says Christ: and they are one. Here the material atom vanishes and the essential fact of the world is seen to be a benevolent will working at every point in every instant for the betterment of men. The growth of the grain of wheat—who shall explain this miracle? Land, in the old thought, and labor, fail here, and the harvest comes not if Immanuel be not present. Are we shocked at the suggestion of God's servitude to men? But this is the heart of Calvary, and on every sunny hillside *where His ministry is withheld from humanity, there is infinite love again thwarted, crucified*; and we may well call this waving harvest Golgotha, for the dead are there; they were an hungered and they received no meat.

Who shall presume to defeat God's manifest purpose, that all his children who meet the condition he has imposed shall

have and to spare? Who shall maintain his right to withhold from use, and hence from ministry, the free gift of God? Who shall make it possible to inflict a greater wrong upon humanity by clogging these avenues of service, of appeal and of inspiration, through which a loving Father would reach and uplift his children? Think you the galley slave, taught that serfdom is of divine appointment, has the same opportunity to sense the Fatherhood of God as the free man who goes forth to his work in the possession of all that a free man would covet?

It is a sad and dreadful thing that men and women and little children from their birth should be made to companion with debasing poverty and wretchedness—should be compelled to fight for the mere opportunity to work; but how much more pitiful to remember that these conditions of enforced poverty rob them of the light and gladness and spiritual achievement which are the appointed inheritance of every man, because he is a son of God! “The Great Spirit has told me,” said Black Hawk, “that land is not to be made property like other things. The earth is our Mother.”

In the presence of this more spiritual concept of the World, the Ethics of the Land Question is not obscure. The wrong no longer pertains to an indefinite past when by conquest and rapine the rights of the many were seized by the few to be handed down and perpetuated through all the generations. On the contrary, it is present, concrete, and definitely located in every instance in which I withhold or monopolize that which God manifestly designs for others to-day; when I appropriate and maintain my exclusive right to that which I have in no sense produced, and to that unearned increment which is a communal product and that alone, and as such should be devoted to communal benefit and that alone. Human law may uphold the act, but it is unjust and immoral just the same. Human enactments may support the selfish cruelty of an intentional monopoly of natural resources, but the brute’s fang is there, and it finds its way to the quivering flesh of humanity.

To deny the equal right of all to that which is necessary to life is to deny the right to life, and the maintenance of the privilege of monopoly of natural resources is an absolute contradiction and abrogation of that initial moral sense of humanity which found expression in the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. That this perception, this moral sense, is growing is beyond dispute. It has been happily termed the New Conscience, and its relation to present conditions has been startlingly expressed by one who said: "That which makes the ethical tragedy of the present moment is the chasm between existing civilization and the new conscience. The fact and forces which now organize industry and so-called justice violate the best instincts of mankind. The best force in civilization is helpless to effectuate itself in facts. Without regard to his conscience, *our economic system involves a man in the guilt of the moral and physical death of his brother*. Civilization denies to man that highest right under the sun—the right to live a guiltless life."

All altruistic endeavors, all sound economic legislation must grow out of the sense of the brotherhood of man. I say *sense*, not dogma or theory—but that sense which is awakened when we recognize man's spiritual reality as an individualized manifestation of the life of God. This moral sense is the hope of the future, for it is aggressive and purposeful. It demands an ethical adjustment. It will not die, it will not keep silent, it will cry aloud and the people will hear. It has always been so and it will be. The responsibility of delay will rest largely with you and me, for to us belong its leadership and propagation. Since the solution must be ethical, it must be the child of those who think ethically and who will nourish it as of God. The monopoly of land robs men of that equality of opportunity which is theirs by virtue of the axiomatic proposition that a man has a right to himself. It rests on human enactment, not on moral law.

Now, if it be true that the monopoly of natural resources is grounded in injustice and has been buttressed and perpetuated in wrong, it is manifestly an evil whose magnitude and far-

reaching consequences we can no more apprehend than we can fathom the sin and wretchedness it has begotten and entailed. Our so-called vested rights are too frequently but the rights of conquest, and they originated in the basest passions of men. They involve that continuous confiscation of labor which is the mainstay of unrighteous wealth, and from the fruits of which in our present civilization we may turn away appalled.

Further, the monopoly of natural resources inevitably tends to that concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and involves that enslavement of the many, which in the past have resulted so frequently in revolution and disintegration, and which, if not checked, will the more surely so result in our own future, in view of the intelligence of our *Third Estate*. For we must remember that the average American laborer is not ignorant or stupid. The school, the library, the press, the pulpit—these have done their work, and woe to the economist who forgets that fact! To insist upon general education, and withhold justice from the people, is suicidal. If we stimulate mental growth we beget aspirations and desires that will demand more of opportunity and privilege and possession. Repression here will but presage revolution.

To-day, in this country, it is estimated that labor is paying for the privilege of access to its raw material, the free gift of God, about four hundred and fifty million dollars per annum; and this explains for the major part the fifty-five million dollars a year for the Rockefellers, and the less than five hundred dollars a year for the man who does the work. A situation involving so unjust a distribution of wealth and entailing such inequality of opportunity and privilege can but lead to acute stress, agitation, and danger. The Declaration of Independence is all right, but the equality of opportunity we have talked about is not being realized.

If we would avoid the repetition of some of the saddest chapters of history, we do well to set ourselves at once to the ethical solution of this Land Question. The right way will surely open and the best method appear as soon as our ignor-

ance is dissipated and we become altogether responsive to our highest conceptions of truth and right; for if the power that makes for righteousness is thoughtful of us as individuals, and there is an eternal law governing our conduct as units, which law we cannot ignore without imperiling our best interests for the present and future, it must be true also that a corresponding rule is provided for the conduct of communities or social organizations. "No man liveth to himself alone," and the solution of social problems must manifestly lie in the discovery and apprehension of this law, the practical application and working out of its behests respecting the social order.

The ethics of the land question is embodied in the Golden Rule. The law of love is a law of service, and it is apparent that this law should obtain in economics the moment we consider our interdependence upon the physical plane. A man may be isolated in the spiritual life. We can conceive, at all events, that such a life is not necessarily dependent upon our relations to others. Indeed, we emphasize the thought that it is in the secret chamber, where a man finds himself in association with God alone, that his spiritual growth is most promoted. So, too, in the intellectual life, a man may be a recluse and practically ignore the mentality of his own time. He has the heritage of the years on which to feed, and all the delights and personal benefits accruing from a mastery of the literature and science of the past he may command, though he spend his years as a hermit. But upon the economic and physical plane we immediately realize that civilization has linked us to well-nigh all mankind. The common luxuries of our table, our apparel, our furnishings, and all those things which make up our daily satisfaction—these call into requisition the contribution of thousands of hands, and to each and all we are bound in equity to make a fair return for the benefits conferred. This calls for an equitable distribution of the products of labor. If our meal includes the gift of many climates and many lands, as it surely may, that not only signifies extended international intercourse by the pathways of the sea, but it means that we are individually called to make a satisfactory return through

hundreds of channels to the many individuals who have directly contributed to our comfort.

Sound economics must be grounded in social equity, and this fulfilling of the demands of justice in the give-and-take which necessarily characterizes our physical and social life—this it is that gives the land question such supreme significance, for the present order of things violates the fundamentals of justice.

Hear this clarion call of Wendell Phillips: "Seek out, publish, and as fast as possible bring society into harmony with the laws of justice. This is Social Science. All Labor asks is justice, not charity. Who shall teach us the full meaning of the word justice? 'Owe no man anything.' When that command is obeyed, Social Science will be dazzled out of sight by the millennium. That man is a Christian whose life and ethics respect the sacredness of the individual. That man is an infidel who is not with his own heart willing to bear his brother's burden."

It is not our present province to consider proposed methods of solving the problem; but this we may say—that the remedy must be simple, unequivocal, uncompromising. It must be prompted by a moral purpose, and applied for the good of humanity and the glory of God. The wrongs of the past cannot be righted, but present wrong-doing must cease; that is all. The remedy must not inflict permanent disabilities; it must not disturb the tenure of private possession, but it must be radical.

Involuntary poverty is a disgrace to Christian civilization; and involuntary poverty would certainly pass away if all natural resources were free to labor. The interdiction of special privilege in the control of natural resources would undoubtedly be a stunning blow to land monopoly and speculation in fictitious values, both of which have been a disadvantage to the higher interests of civilization.

The difficulties in the way of ethical advance are serious and abundant, but they are not insurmountable. The old thought declares that a man has no rights until he earns them; the new asserts his right to himself, to life, and to that which God has

provided for life's support. The lines are definitely drawn, and the conflict is at hand. Through ignorance, and under present conditions, the selfishness of human nature, and the inertia of our present order seem to resist the demands of our ethical idea, but we cannot turn back. If the people have not as yet the moral perception, they certainly are not insensible of the impending dangers.

The results of the realization of the divine purpose, as expressed in the ethics of the land question, would be so far reaching and so beneficent that one's heart is moved at the mere contemplation of the possibility; and to the consummation of this end we are urged and impelled, not only by considerations for justice and morality, but by our love of country and our hope of its perpetuity, by the cry of the involuntary poor, whose sorrow and suffering are to-day unfathomable, and by that love for our brother which is manifest in every *genuine* Christian life. Sentimental regard for those who may temporarily suffer must not control when a great wrong is to be righted. No consideration for the customary and the conventional must stay our hands. The injustice, the endured wrong, the sorrow of the centuries cries to us from the past: Dispel the ignorance; right the wrong!—and every poverty-crushed life in the garrets echoes the cry. Open every avenue for God's ministry to human hearts; fear not; set men free; honor their rights; give them opportunity with justice—and the truth will lead us on and upward.

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THE OFFICE OF THE PREACHER.

IT is plain that religion has come to play a somewhat indifferent part in taking men to church, and that certain bribes in the way of music and social advantage must be offered as inducement. Despite the prodigious puffing which goes on to fan this dimming spark, we are now thinking the ceremony of the woods and fields will suffice; and for all sermons the stones preach well enough. 'Tis an age of heresy, and it will not down. But some will have it that the Church itself is the greater heresy, and the creed the real infidelity. If the preacher—say they—can neither heal nor inspire, we must strike out for ourselves.

The fact is that religion is coming from without the pale of the Church. It is not the clergy who are to-day the instruments of the revival of the spirit of religion. Almost it would seem that all there is left for the parson to do is to bury us, for help us to *live* in virtue of his office he surely cannot. As a man he may give us the example of an unselfish life, but as the exponent of a dead creed what can he offer us? No; the inspiration of the day comes not from the pulpit. And yet it is a noble office,—perhaps the highest,—this mission of inspiring and uplifting men, of revealing the true nature of life.

Upon every man is laid the necessity of expressing, so far as he is capable, the Divine Idea. The demand is made according to capacity. Of the office of the preacher, then, the demand is very great. Here is an office requiring a brotherhood of wise men—men of clear vision, of wise and resolute faith, of large understanding; men of big hearts and broad minds, but, more than this, men of large perception and insight. How, then, shall the timid pessimist aspire to such an office? What room for the sleek and mole-eyed materialist—in an office that is by right the ministry of great Idealism to the world?

The world is full of kindly souls who can minister to the body—carry jellies to the sick and bread and bacon to the

needy. But few there be that can "minister to a mind diseased." We are beset by illusions. Who can stimulate our consciousness when age and sickness and poverty come on apace? Who has for us the medicine of Truth? Who so wise he can give us a tonic for these? A very rare elixir indeed, distilled of divine essences which only the very rich in truth can acquire. But more need is there of this than of bacon and bread. There is a genius for acquiring this kind of wealth; it belongs by right to the preacher. Let him be rich, then, in this.

All the world is sobbing—why this pain, this affliction? It is for him to open men's eyes to the moral purpose in all wherein the economy of pain has place and for which reason alone it has excuse for appearing. He that can do no more than offer dim consolation of future bliss to atone for present misery is but sadly fulfilling his office. His place it is to know that the only reward for these things lies in the wiser living and thinking which should follow, in that enlightenment and freedom from illusion wherein such affliction is no longer possible. It is for him to prove to men out of his deeper conviction and larger wisdom that all works for good; that aught unmerited can in the nature of things never befall us, nor aught purposeless or unreasonable find place in this wide universe; that Order is fixed and eternal, and not subject to change at the petition of man. But if he can only join with the common lot of men in foolishly praying for some revision of Law he but adds another straw to the camel's back.

Salvation has ever been the preacher's theme. It was the Church that first created a hell, that it might find its mission in the redemption of mankind from this theological pit. But now this hell has somehow faded away, and the Church must find its mission other than this. The age is somewhat too philosophic any longer to consider man in this archaic light. We have discovered it is not the *soul* that needs salvation, and the cat is out of the bag. What then? Why, that we may now discover the God within us and therein be saved from further illusion of outward and personal and historic things; saved from anthropomorphic gods and dying Christs, from

the hell of matter and the hell of ignorance. And pray what else is there to be saved from?

It is often argued that the masses of men are not amenable to philosophic truths; that they must have somewhat suited to their plane of understanding—that is to say, their *misunderstanding*. But it is not so easily argued that there are grounds therein for misleading; that we shall therefore preach to them a god that is not, a heaven that is not, a hell that is not, all because such myths are readily accepted and the false morality of reward and punishment that goes with them is a more or less efficient magistrate. The muezzin preaches a better philosophy from the minarets of Santa Sofia—"There is no God but Allah." The love of God, the necessity of morality which is the token of that love, and heaven or hell shaping itself here and now out of the recognition or disregard of this, is not too transcendental for us: for all facts must go to confirm Truth; but no facts and no experience corroborate a false theology, and hence the present difficulty in persuading men from such a standpoint, unless indeed we let go of Reason and appeal to fear and selfishness with promise of reward and threats of damnation. When we talk against Truth we must use some specious arguments—paint our heavens very rosy, our hells very lurid. See, then, the fallacy of those earnest men who work to revive the dead letter when men are calling for the spirit—calling for the spirit, indeed, now as never before. A good sign of the times this, and he who does not heed must soon direct at empty benches his superannuated discourse.

They who can speak direct from the fountain of Truth are called prophets and need no book; but prophets be few. If the preacher must perforce speak from a book, let him see to it that he knows not one Bible only. There's ample evidence that knowing one is knowing none. His duty it is to con the Avesta, the Upanishad, the Gita. How can he possibly afford to overlook these spiritual storehouses? Will the meditations of Buddha and the wisdom of Lao-tsze avail him nothing? Did Plato utter no truth for him? A to Z: Genesis to Revelation—but there are other alphabets, other revelations. We

aver that we are now well familiar with these ancient Jews, albeit for certain dubious reasons the world thinks none too well of their descendants. Have done, then, with this Jewish history, which entertains us no more than another, and seek and interpret the spiritual message of the Bible that we may have light and may perchance come to a better understanding! If we must preach of the Jews, why not a crusade of kindness and tolerance to the modern Jew? That were more to the point than gilding the bones of his ancestors. Are we antiquarians that we should be so in love with these traditions of the Hebrews? Is that the bread of life, that it is so freely dispensed? Then surely must we starve.

We are weary of Christ crucified, weary of the gospel of Sin and the gospel of Death. Let us have the gospel of Life; let us have the *living* Christ—the virile, potent Truth—if so we are to continue the office. Unless the discourse be tuneful, rhythmic, vibratory, we will have none of it. Unless he can tell us better than we already know it were folly for us to listen. Unless his experience is richer, his insight deeper, his vision clearer, his humanity broader, what can he possibly impart to us? But it is not for him to vibrate for us but to set us vibrating—we are capable of it. That is the good he can do us, and the only good. We are free men and would pray for ourselves—after what manner we deem best. We need no intermediary. Let him make his life an earnest invocation and a joyful one. We say to the preacher: Be thou a free man; walk thou with God, and gladden us with the fruits of such communion. Prove to us that inspiration has not gone out of the world. Live so free that we shall the sooner grow sick of our material slavery. Show us what love, what power, what serenity belongs to the children of God, who shall order their minds and hearts as befits their divine lineage, that we too may aspire and realize. Be thou Moses and the prophets. Be thou sage and seer. Be thou the apostle of the Real. But be thou never a forlorn echo of the times that are gone!

If men choose to make Jesus the sole theme and preach in his name rather than in the name of the Universal, they can-

not but remember that Jesus himself preached in the name of God only. With Jesus, to speak the Word and heal the sick were inseparable, and pertained one as much as the other to the office of the preacher. He who would follow Him must do likewise or he but partly fulfils the office according to that standard. Let him not think to atone for his remissness in healing the sick by any prayers over the dead. Has the Word, then, lost its efficacy, or has the man dwindled in his understanding of the spiritual office? Let him answer who aspires thereto by addressing himself to the philosophy that underlies the work of Jesus.

Again, if he believe the philosophy of Jesus to be impracticable and too transcendental for these times, let him not preach another and lesser in the name of that spiritual truth. If he cannot be dissuaded from preaching war and materialism, let him not do it in the name of Jesus. If Jesus is to be the burden of his preaching he should at least be informed as to the nature of that great man's philosophy. But as a matter of fact he is seldom so informed. It must be evident to the scholar that Jesus reflected in his teaching the mystical philosophy of the East; that he was an Oriental and a mystic—as how should he not be, child of the East that he was: Oriental in his view of life, in his scheme of philosophy, in his imagery, and of a profoundly metaphysical turn of mind? His was a transcendent idealism—himself the Master Idealist. See, then, the absurdity of attempting to Westernize this thought evolved from philosophic and religious meditations in Syrian deserts and engrafting thereon a sort of hard-cider theology and ethics! The scholar knows well enough that the metaphysical East has ever been the cradle of Religion, and from the East the West has borrowed—too busy to evolve its own. The philosopher must reflect upon the tacit acquiescence which the hustling materialistic West has ever given to the dreamy metaphysical East in adopting as it has its idealism—an idealism opposed in every particular to the ideas according to which the West has and does live, but to which it vaguely subscribes in the hope of ultimate salvation. It is, then, the duty of the preacher as

scholar and philosopher to discover the universal element in this Eastern thought which has compelled acceptance of the West, and so to understand and set forth the idealism on which it rests as to induce men to live by the spirit of it in place of merely subscribing to the letter. And so in relation to Jesus—if he cannot see that his life and teaching expressed a perfect idealism as the only basis of life, and if he be not stirred by a similar conviction, how can he say anything in the name of Jesus or do other than belie the truth which the great Galilean lived and worked to make manifest?

These many ages men have suffered and mourned; nor has the mourning of one generation lessened that of the next, but each weeps as though none had wept before. We groan to-day as groaned the Egyptians of the First Dynasty, as men will groan forever and ever—so long as they look without and place their trust in that which is unstable. But always some few are awaking from their illusions, and these in turn set about trying to arouse the rest. So there are far more awakened men to-day than ever there were in Egypt, and the work of arousing the sleepers goes on apace, as always it must go on because of the inherent tendency to Good and the divine ministry of Beauty. Still, humanity is very drowsy—it groans sadly and weeps bitterly and twists and turns in its dream of sense. Speak, then, O Preacher, thou hierophant of the Inmost Beauty. Let the world hear again and again, and be thrilled with some hint of the Life and the Resurrection.

It is for the preacher to proclaim truth on the authority of his own insight and experience. To repeat it on hearsay is nothing. They who groan can do as much. If listening to parrot utterances would dry our tears, men would long since have ceased to weep. Nay, he must not tell us of other men—he must bring us to ourselves, for therein is the resurrection. What can he say of any rebirth if he has not himself experienced it—if he is not reborn, renewed, reclothed with the Spirit? What can he say of Life if he has not come to the consciousness of Life eternal? What can he know of divinity until he has recognized within himself the divine? Nor can

he speak of the Spirit until he has become engrossed in the love of spiritual things.

Preëminently is it his office to offset the pernicious belief that inspiration has ceased to flow to the world—that the book of Truth is closed. And this he can do only by being himself the voice of truth. It is largely because he has become a mere echo that shallow men have concluded inspiration has ceased, and there is nothing left to do but repeat what has already been said. It rests with the preacher to disprove this by his inspired utterance—free and clear as in the morning of the world. He of all men should be the champion of inspiration, for in virtue of this only has the office any good reason for being, and without this he is but a reader. Let him show that Scripture is not all written, nor Truth all revealed. To do this he himself must add some lines.

Above all, let him affirm the true nature and dignity of Man. Here is the key-note of his work—not foolishly to praise God, but to uplift man, who is in need of wisdom to perceive his own true nature. So may he be the means of correcting the silly notion that it is somehow the business of religion to sing the praises of the Almighty, while in our own lives there remain no truth and no freedom worthy of song. But may he get rid of the notion that he is to make us good, or to reform, or convert, or argue! He is to speak truth openly and manfully and kindly, and let Truth convince whomsoever it will, and reform and regenerate where it will; and this to the end that men may become happier because wiser, truer, kindlier. The dignity of Man! Who indeed has ever given voice to this? It is because Jesus has done so in greater measure than another that he has held our attention all these years. It is because of this, too, that pitiful mankind must perforce deify him. He spoke plainly enough; but who can hear him? Our ears are stopped. Let the preacher open them with the thunder of his spiritual message. Of all philosophers the most misunderstood—where is a man can do him justice? Great prophet of the Real—on his rock foundation of metaphysic, as if in irony, the world has blown the veriest bubble of illusion. What absurdities do

we not believe for lack of philosophic culture! Prick the bubble and let us have somewhat real at last.

More than to other men it falls to the preacher to be impersonal to the last degree—to be a tuned instrument upon which the Master Musician shall bring forth harmonies. Let other men scratch and wheeze as they will—he at least must be pure and heaven-inspired. There must be always one Orphean strain in the world. From within, then, must he speak. He must be aware that all virtue is in the Spirit—all life, all power—and himself but the channel. There is his estate; thence must he draw his supply. So may breathe through him the undying Spirit of Truth; so, and so only, may he refresh the world with his message.

What has the preacher indeed to do with self-advancement? He is not here to gain worldly ends. Other men are concerned with these. The need is for some one man in ten thousand that is not. He must be concerned with what he can give and not with what he can get. If he cannot so live let him resign the office and join the ranks of the infidels. The minds of men forever run to diversity; show us one man who shall hold to unity. The world lives to appearances: let us have one office consecrated to reality. Let him be this check on the world's vanity, and in their saner moments men will be grateful. But if he run with the crowd, voice its sentiments, preach war and materialism, he disgraces the office. Do not preach the Church—preach God! Once in a century we have such a man, and he is to us as the sunshine and the voice of the sea. Most men only prattle to us of the institution.

What has he to do with caste and distinctions who should be superior to all castes? Brother of wise men and kings; brother equally to publican and harlot, it is for him to address himself to the Soul and to proclaim Truth to the afflicted consciousness of the world that it may have rest. The office is more than philanthropy: it is more than the filling of men's stomachs and the clothing of their backs. These things are good, but need not the sanction of Religion; nor will they suffice in place of Religion. Men still hunger for spiritual nour-

ishment, and to dispense some crumbs of this is the most memorable aid one man may render to another. Any baker can give them bread if he is so minded, but this finer bread is not to be had so easily; for men have closed their minds and hearts and know not whence it comes. Teach them to look within that they may derive of their own. Here is a ministry of Love to the hearts of men, a ministry of Silence to the buzzing world, a ministry of Wisdom proclaiming the kingdom of heaven to be within—to be the outcome of character and insight; and so is it the noblest service of God because the truest service to man.

In the name of this office the blind have led the blind, and men have not hesitated to follow into the ditch so long as they were being led. But to-day they fight shy of the ditch as never before, and are asking, Which way? Bid them listen to the inner voice. Point the road and give them courage, but be no man's crutch! Rest assured no one ever performed the journey for another. Strange it is that men will do anything rather than *think*. Because of this chronic lethargy, this indisposition to think, it takes a Spartan call to arouse them.

It is mainly the office of the preacher, then, to stimulate and encourage the perceptive faculties that men may come to think for themselves to the ends of regeneration; to sound the one major chord above all this minor wail, the one triumphant march above all these dismal tunes; to chant the psalm of Man the divine, who is great because of love and without love would be as grass; to be the perennial spring of optimistic thought amidst arid worldliness and barren selfishness, that there may the date-palm flourish and the parched traveler be refreshed, and peradventure some bird of passage linger for a day.

Surely here is a ministry of Beauty, O thou of the great heart—the lion heart and the woman soul! Dweller in the “star-lit deserts of Truth,” unto you has fallen the heavenly manna—the bread of Life. With this shall you feed the hungry. For you there is a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night: for you one gleaming star in those silent deserts, for never will the Spirit forsake. Then freely give. Friend of

the poor and friend of the rich, friend of the low and the high,
gather to you the wandering children of man! Lead them to
the Soul, and well may you be called the Elder Brother of the
race.

STANTON KIRKHAM DAVIS.

Pigeon Cove, Mass.

SOME ANCIENT NEW WOMEN.

IT is stated in a current literary periodical that probably more volumes of personal and love letters of prominent men and women have been published in the last three years than during the last three centuries. Publishers cater to the desire of the public to know the minutest details of the lives of its heroes and heroines. As literature, many of these volumes fall so far short of the messages that the authors intended for the public that the more careful reader is disappointed. Their mediocrity is a cold blast. They remind one of Emerson's statement that the only difference between great men and ordinary men is simply the quality that made them great.

But there are volumes of personal letters that are valuable in that they not only reflect a personality of interest but give us pictures of social customs and the history of earlier times. There are two volumes of this kind that have been published a number of years. Probably the sales of both have not been one-tenth as great as those of the recent literary fake, "An Englishwoman's Love Letters." But that is no criterion of worth. They will repay the careful reader. These are the letters of two rather ancient "new women"—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, of England, and our own Abigail Adams.

Lady Montagu was the contemporary of Pope, Walpole, Addison, and Johnson, and was considered one of the most intellectual women of her time. The letters show her great interest in and knowledge of literature, politics, and society.

Abigail Adams was the wife of John Adams and mother of John Quincy Adams. At Quincy, Mass., the house is still standing where she wrote these charming letters to her husband during the many years he was absent in the service of his country, both as member of the Continental Congress and as Ambassador to France and England. These letters reveal a character of the finest equipoise. They prove her to have been

possessed, not only of a patriotism unexcelled by any of the leading patriots whose words were shaping revolution, but also of the mind of a statesman. She was the confidant and adviser of her husband in many of the knotty problems of the government. She stayed at home, raised the children, managed finances, and directed the farm. She once writes, playfully, "I hope in time to have the reputation of being as good a farmeress as my partner has of being a good statesman."

But Abigail Adams's household duties in those times, when the manufacturing of goods as well as garments was so largely done in the home, in no wise deterred her from studies of politics and statecraft; and it is gratifying to note that her husband appreciates this, and writes (May 27, 1776): "I think you shine as a stateswoman of late as well as a farmeress. Pray, where do you get your maxims of State? They are very apropos." She saw at that day, as most of the men did not, that the watchwords and maxims of the Revolution were broader than their authors realized. She saw that the Constitution was a garment too large for the spirit of the people then living. Indeed, it was made so large that the government hasn't even yet grown into it. She was an ardent woman suffragist. On March 31, 1776, she wrote to John Adams: "I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors." She concludes with words that would make the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* turn pale if spoken by a woman to-day: "If particular care and attention be not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Abigail Adams believed in higher education for women and hoped that the new Constitution would "encourage learning and virtue." She said: "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women." She was a most loyal patriot, and, though called upon to make unusual sacrifices, yet she declares: "I would not exchange my

country for the wealth of the Indies, or be any other than an American though I might be queen or empress of any nation upon the globe." The whole tone of her letters is cheery, bright, and wholesome, showing a mind thoroughly alive and comprehensive and a heart gentle and loving. Some of the passages may be compared favorably with the loftiest strains in the love-letters recently presented to the public. October 25, 1777, she writes: "This day, dearest of friends, completes thirteen years since we were solemnly united in wedlock. Three years of this time we have been cruelly separated. I have, patiently as I could, endured it, with the belief that you were serving your country and rendering your fellow-creatures essential benefits." Again in 1782, when John Adams was a foreign ambassador, she voices the almost pitiful yearning of many wives of illustrious men: "I recollect the untitled man to whom I gave my heart, and wish he had never been any other. Who shall give me back time? Who shall compensate to me those years I cannot recall? How dearly have I paid for a titled husband! Should I wish you less wise that I might enjoy more happiness? I cannot find that in my heart."

Both Lady Mary Montagu and Abigail Adams were "new" women intellectually, but the English lady had no such conception of liberty and the principles of a true government as the busy, versatile American patriot. Each had a lively sense of humor, and each one recounts in a letter an episode of "new womanism" that plainly exceeded the limit of what they deemed proper, although we can fairly hear their ringing laughter.

We hear much even yet from certain quarters of the "forwardness" of modern women, and of the ancient models of propriety who forsooth did not meddle in politics nor bother their pretty heads about public questions. Let those who sigh for good old times, when women were ever womanly, listen to this story, which Lady Mary Montagu writes to one of her friends in 1739—before the miasma of Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone arose! Her own account is so racy that it may best be quoted. She says:

"At the last warm debate in the House of Lords, it was unanimously resolved that there should be no crowd of unnecessary auditors; consequently, the fair sex were excluded and the gallery destined to the sole use of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding this determination a tribe of dames resolved to show on this occasion that neither men nor laws could resist them. These heroines were Lady Huntington, the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmoreland, Lady Cobham, Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Archibald Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Scott, and Mrs. Pendarves and Lady Frances Saunderson. They presented themselves at the door at nine o'clock in the morning, where Sir Wm. Saunderson respectfully informed them the Chancellor had made an order against their admittance. The Duchess of Queensberry, as head of the squadron, pushed at the ill breeding of a mere lawyer and desired him to let them upstairs privately. After some modest refusals, he swore he would not let them in.

"Her Grace, with a noble warmth, answered that they would come in in spite of the Chancellor and the whole House. This being reported, the peers resolved to starve them out; an order was made that the doors should not be opened till they raised their siege. These Amazons now showed themselves qualified for even the duty of foot-soldiers; they stood there till five in the afternoon, without sustenance, every now and then playing volleys of thumps, kicks, and raps against the door with so much violence that the speakers of the House were scarce heard.

"When the Lords were not to be conquered by this, the two duchesses (very well apprized of the use of stratagems in war) commanded a dead silence of half an hour; and the Chancellor, who thought this a certain proof of their absence, gave order for the opening of the door, upon which they all rushed in, pushed aside their competitors, and placed themselves in the front rows of the gallery. They stayed there till after eleven, when the House rose; and during debate gave applause and showed marks of dislike not only by smiles and winks (which have always been allowed in these cases) but by noisy laughs and apparent contempts—which is supposed to be the true reason why Lord Hervey spoke miserably."

In comparison with these women, the boldest woman suffragists of to-day are as delicate orchids and modest violets.

An onslaught scarcely less bold and determined is chronicled

by Abigail Adams of some Boston women over a century ago. The cause of their attack, however, was more material than politics and more substantial than parliamentary oratory, and the actors were more plebeian than the titled ladies who were so much interested in politics.

It seems that during the Revolutionary war there was a great scarcity of sugar and coffee. It was discovered that this scarcity was partly occasioned by the merchants' having secreted a large quantity, taking from it small measures to be sold at exorbitant prices. One of these merchants, described as an "eminent, wealthy, stingy bachelor," had a hogshead of coffee in his store that he refused to sell for less than six shillings a pound.

"A number of females, some say a hundred, some say more, assembled with carts and trucks, marched down to the warehouse, and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver; upon which one seized him by the neck and threw him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him, then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the cart, and drove off."

She naïvely adds that a large concourse of men stood amazed—silent spectators of the whole transaction. But no doubt they helped consume the trophies so valiantly won by these prototypes of Tom Grogan.

When one thinks of the repression of the women of their time and the customs by which they were hedged, there is an exhilaration in reading of these self-reliant dames as from a salt-sea breeze.

Lady Mary Montagu introduced vaccination into England as a preventive of smallpox, and suffered greatly for her public spirit. But it was several decades after Lady Montagu's time that Harriet Hosmer, finding in herself the soul of an artist and wishing to study anatomy to fit herself for her work, was refused admittance by every medical college in the New England and Middle States. It was a century afterward that Elizabeth Blackwell began the study of medicine—and the

women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her. It was more than half a century after Abigail Adams wrote of these aggressive Bostonians that Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelly were treated to mob violence while speaking for the freedom of the slave, and Susan B. Anthony shocked the world by arising to speak on a topic being discussed at a teachers' meeting. It was years after these times that wives were advertised for sale in English newspapers. It was decades after these exhibitions of nerve and muscle that a woman exhibited some anatomical charts and a manikin in a lecture on health, and most of the women present fainted dead away.

A pendulum drawn back describes a great arc to an opposite extreme, then gradually returns to normal. Every age has had its exceptional women, who have gleamed like meteors in an ebon sky. There have always been the daring and unconventional, who have snapped the cords of custom. One cannot wonder that there were so few, but rather that there were so many, willing to suffer the martyrdom that inevitably followed. But we do not sigh for these strong souls that broke the bonds and soared as high as clipped wings could carry them. It is rather for the mass of ancient women in whose veins coursed the blood of conquerors, who, too, had visions of hill-tops and pure ether but who could only beat helplessly against their cages. For these we sigh. As Tennyson says—

"I envy not in any mood
A captive void of noble rage,"

—and the most pathetic phase of a subject class is that the majority sinks into a complacent lethargy. But, "though the mills of the gods grind slowly," there is hope in the fact that they *do* grind.

The emancipation of woman progresses as an incoming tide: it advances and retreats. But every advance is a little farther and every retreat not quite so far. The net result is a steady gain.

ELLA SEASS STEWART.

Chicago, Ill.

ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

WHY THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD OWN THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

BY JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL.D.*

Q. Do you believe that the telegraph and telephone properly belong to the post-office system?

A. Unquestionably.

Q. Would the acquiring of these two great natural monopolies be likely to increase the net expenses—and therefore require additional appropriations for their successful operation—or would they be likely to prove a source of profit to the post-office department?

A. A source of profit. They have been mines of wealth to the present operators.

Q. What advantage would the public derive from the incorporation of the telegraph and telephone into the post-office department?

A. Lower rates, more considerate management, the elimination of a great private monopoly, which is in league and sympathy with all other trusts.

Q. Would their purchase and the incorporation of them into the post-office department be constitutional?

A. Yes. Their operation by private ownership is unconstitutional.

* NOTE.—In view of the growing interest in the question of governmental ownership of the telegraph and telephone, we this month present, "On the Stoa of the Twentieth Century," a few replies by Justice Walter Clark, LL.D., to pertinent questions on this subject. Justice Clark has for twelve years been and still is Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. He is one of the ablest jurists of the South, and has given much consideration to the subject of governmental ownership of these important means of communication. Hence, his views are of special value.—B. O. F.

Q. Has the governmental ownership of the telegraph and telephone in other countries proved a source of revenue to the respective governments?

A. Yes.

Q. How do the telegraph rates in foreign countries—England, for example—compare with our own?

A. The rate in England is sixpence, *i.e.*, twelve cents; in Belgium and France, ten cents. Telephones in Switzerland are, I believe, \$6 per year. With the recent great improvements, experts say that this government could operate the telegraph at a profit on a rate of five cents per message and rent telephones at \$6 per year.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

VIII. ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES.

THE third group of facts includes those not easily placed in either of the preceding classes, for they are the more general influences. The results for *diseases* do not show the prevalence of any one malady, but rather indicate that which the individual has withstood. Their economic significance lies in the manner and degree to which they affect capacity for labor, financial returns, etc. Their social significance lies in the revelation of social conditions and how they affect the individual's adjustment to social requirements. The diseases included the following: measles, 67; whooping-cough, 48; mumps, 37; chicken-pox, 22; and adult diseases—fevers, 33; malaria, 31; pneumonia and lung trouble, 26; neuralgia, 25; organic diseases, 25; rheumatism, 22; la grippe, 13; yellow fever and epilepsy, each 5; scrofula and small-pox, each 4. Pneumonia, rheumatism, and neuralgia are often due to the conditions under which the subjects labor in the prisons. Fevers, smallpox, and other virulent diseases are so often fatal that few have withstood them.

In connection with diseases, the *accidents* are of interest: one-third had scars from injuries received in fighting or in punishment; 12 had evidences of being struck; bruises, 8; broken bones, shooting, and injuries from falls, 7 each; dislocations, bites, and stabs, 4 each; sprains, 2. Eighteen claimed no serious injuries. Women imprisoned under the lease system bear the marks of brutal treatment.

The amount of criminality and insanity within the family are questions that bear directly upon heredity. The data were largely unobtainable, because family ties were loose and intercourse with relatives was often cut off. The records show that 12 of the subjects had insane relatives and 27 had criminal relatives. The nature of the insanity was not known, and

the crimes included such as: murder, theft, arson, rape, and assault. Insanity is certainly increasing among the negroes. Some of the causes are: closer competition in labor, insufficient physical care, and increased responsibilities. Their form of religion is also conducive to fanaticism and hallucinations.

Fears and superstitions are difficult subjects upon which to secure data because of their close relation to religion. In fear, each subject was requested to name the things she was most afraid of. Usually the number was limited to two. Only six admitted no fear, and these replies were due more to a desire to display bravado than to tell the truth. The results for the others are: snakes, 22; dying, 19; animals and whipping, 10 each; eternal punishment, 9; the dark, 8; God, 7; being killed, fighting, or losing good time in prison, 6 each; bad neighbors, 5; smallpox, water, gossip, fire, drowning, and ghosts, 2 each. Some of the reasons given were: "Fear God because He has power and sees all the time;" "fear death 'cause ain't ready;" "fears neighbors 'cause put me here." A great part of their fear has for its purpose the preservation of life, and the remainder avoidance of pain—both characteristic of lower orders of life.

The superstitions are of the same grade as the fears, and are those of a people of unorganized social and industrial life. Eighteen declared they did not believe in them, and the younger generation seems less tenacious of the traditions and omens; 54 believed in dreams, 20 in physical signs, 12 in ghosts, 6 in conjuring, and 3 in signs of Nature. Illustrations of the dreams are "belief that they will come true," "spirits in dreams," and such omens as "dream of the dead it always rains." Physical signs were such as: "itching of the hand, will get money;" "burning of the ear indicates gossip," a "jumping eye means bad trouble." Signs of Nature are such as: "God talks in thunder and lightning," and signs of rain—as the "moon holding water." In conjuring they were afraid of hoodoos, and wore charms to prevent such a disaster. These were such as small bags filled with ground-up snake-skins, seeds, shells, etc., hung about the neck, or a string with

money on it tied about the ankle. Various kinds of stones were carried to prevent diseases and disasters, and it was considered a bad omen to lose them.

Although these convicts had been regular church attendants, that did not necessarily mean they "had religion," or had adopted a consistent moral code. Some of the criminals attended in the hope of getting religion; others were so blessed; still others went there to have a good time, as it was their chief social function. About 95 per cent. of the parents of the criminals attended church, but, out of the 90 measured, less than one-half were church-members. Sunday-schools were attended by all but seven, but the periods of attendance were so irregular that their influence could not be estimated. The reasons given for not joining the church were such as: "Tried but never did get religion," "on probation," "too liberal," "wanted to enjoy myself," "was wild and foolish."

Under the facts of *nativity* there are but few of importance. It is difficult to secure pure negro types, even in the black belt. Indian and white blood are freely mixed. The migratory spirit among the negroes is not extensive, which may partly account for the fact that there is no "tramp" class among them. Four-fifths of the negroes studied had never been out of the States in which they were born, and they showed the most amusing ignorance of places and distances. In the South, there is no problem of interstate migration of criminals.

The average age of offenders against person was 27 years, and of offenders against property 24 years. No reliance can be placed upon these facts, because the subjects were often ignorant of the time and place of birth, had been in prison a long time, and had lost count of the years or had wilfully deceived in their answers.

An interesting series of data is that obtained from their *wishes*. Each subject was requested to make three wishes, excluding that of release from prison. These wishes can, with few exceptions, be grouped under four heads: physical desires, those relating to future plans, social desires, and religious and ethical hopes. The first group included a small

number: for clothes, 7; money and food, 3 each. The second class included: good places to work, 12; long life, 7; good home and good luck, 6 each. The third class was the largest: desire to see relatives, 47; for letters and to be happy, 4 each; for a good time and for visits, 2 each; for sympathy, 1. Mothers and children were the relatives most wished for. The explanation of this large number lies in the fact of their imprisonment. The religious desires were: to "get religion," 26; to go to heaven, 8; ethical desires, 24. Illustrations of the last are such as: "wish to tell the truth," "treat mother right," "do right here," "have honor," "be polite." Among these wishes are found regrets for past conduct. As compared with white criminals, the negroes place emphasis upon the social and religious desires, while the whites show a larger percentage of physical desires. The whites express cynicism rather than pronounced religious emotions. The wishes of the negroes are more elementary. Trivial things are often chosen, and, like the whites, their interest is in the present. They reveal a closer domestic unity than exists among the white criminals. It was impossible to secure the letters written to relatives and friends by the negroes, for the purpose of comparison with those of the whites, for the former are seldom furnished materials and in only a few instances can they write. These letters are of value in revealing the emotions, wants, desires, and the use of things; and, being purely spontaneous, they are trustworthy.

There are a few facts of interest pertaining to the married criminals. For the offenders against person, who come more largely from the rural districts, 22 were married and 20 unmarried. Of the former, 7 were divorced and 5 were widowed. The number of years married averaged 13, and the average age at marriage was 16 years. A number admitted that they were living conjugally without the marriage ceremony. The grounds for divorce were abuse and adultery. Of the 22 married, two-thirds assisted in supporting the family. Their husbands were almost invariably unskilled laborers; 15 had bad habits, and 8 had no education whatever.

Among the offenders against property, a smaller percentage were married—16 out of 38; but a greater number had formed illegal unions. The percentage of divorces granted was one-third. The average number of years of married life and age at marriage were the same as for offenders against persons. Three-fourths assisted in supporting the family. Of the husbands, three were skilled laborers, six had bad habits, and three were illiterate.

These facts are suggestive. The women committing crime were for the greater part dependent upon themselves or had others depending upon their efforts. The protection that matrimony offers in the seclusion of the home was thus partly removed in the case of women assisting in supporting the family and wholly removed in the case of unmarried women. The fact that divorces were granted on the ground of adultery shows that there is developing a family morality unknown in the slave families. The conditions revealed by these facts show that the married women were but little favored by improvement in their environment. All the sociologic factors considered show that the environment of these criminals has not been favorable to the increase of morality or decrease in crime. Whatever may be due to racial traits and limited capacity, the environment has not been sufficiently favorable to demonstrate that these may not to a great degree be overcome.

There are some interesting distinctions between negro and white criminals that are closely related to environment. The crimes of the negroes are not different from those of the whites, but their manner of commission varies. A close analysis of records shows that even in rape the whites are quite as numerous, though not so conspicuous, as are the negroes. The negroes' crimes are simpler in execution. They are more often the result of uncontrolled impulse than of deliberate planning and patience in execution. Frequently the effect is not foreseen. A race having such low racial standards, in the sense that there is but little conscious pride in them, is not as inherently criminal as a race whose members deteriorate from higher ideals. They may be more primitive, more barbarous, but

crime implies a departure from a standard within the conscious grasp of the persons who have passed the laws making it such. The negroes have attempted to adopt the laws of a race far in advance, rather than through the slow process of working it out from their own experience and compass.

There are few professional criminals, and officers agree that the most refractory convicts are not the negroes, but mulattos and others of mixed blood. The negro race has notorious criminals, but no truly "great" ones. The nature of a crime may render a criminal notorious, but a great criminal is skilful in execution and a genius in planning—as was Holmes. Many negroes are notorious thieves, but they remain years in stockades that would not hold a Northern safe-cracker twenty-four hours. There are no organizations among negro criminals. At times during carousals they commit crimes in unison, but they rarely have a chief or form a gang who work together for common profit. The arts, speech, and methods of communication so fully developed among white criminals exist in only a limited way. Some of the reasons for this lack of organized crime are: deficient power of organization, limited mechanical skill, intellectual shortcomings, lack of knowledge of social organization, and difficulties in the way of travel. The wealth in the North is represented by more cash and merchandise and is a ready prey to such organized gangs, while in the South this has hitherto not been so. The small communities and familiarity of one person with another would render the operations of such a gang difficult.

The statement is often seen that crime has increased among the negroes since the war. That is a matter of no surprise because increased freedom of an ignorant people invariably means increased violations of law. In the second place, acts sanctioned in slavery, as adultery and small thefts, were not then considered as crimes. Third, there were no records kept before the war, so no close comparisons are possible. Fourth, since the freeing of the negro penalties for certain crimes have been increased. There are no agencies in the South for reforming criminals and wayward children are not protected,

as in the North. For these reasons increase of crime does not mean deterioration of the race, but is one phase of its attempt to meet new conditions and *external* forces. In the North, crime is increasing among the negroes, but there also they are meeting a most complex and advanced civilization for which they have had but slight preparation.

A more exhaustive study of criminality, carried out along lines some of which have been indicated in the preceding articles, would tend to lead to conclusions having this import:

1. Climate, soil, food, and economic and social conditions are essential elements in any study of criminality—and by “social conditions” are meant all environmental factors. Until these influences are estimated and measures are based upon the recognition of them, no great reduction in the amount of crime can be anticipated. With reference to these, the negro is more disadvantageously placed than is any other class in America.

2. The laws and penal institutions in the South are not conducted with a view to decreasing crime, but to care for the prisoner and secure revenue. Preventive measures, especially with reference to children, are just finding a place. Experience has shown that the institutional system is of great importance in both prevention and reformation.

3. The measurements and tests made upon a limited number do not reveal physical and mental conditions that should discourage efforts in education and development.

4. The environment in the South is favorable to the commission of crime by negroes. It is impossible to estimate the persistency of racial traits or of the limitations, mental or physical, imposed by racial development, until a parallel environment is removed; that is, the environment must be shown to be of such a nature that it offers every opportunity for development and improvement. In no phase of the negroes’ life—domestic, social, industrial, political, or religious—does this appear to be the case.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

WHEN OLE MARSTER PASSED AWAY.

A NEGRO CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

"Ole Marse been daid heap o' years now."

The old black face grew grave, as did the face of the listener. He was a young man then, or rather a boy, and was following Lee in Virginia, as most Southern boys were doing. The passing of the old Master was to him a tale told by another; to the negro it was a sweet and tender memory.

"I ricermember," said he, "de mornin' he died. Seem lack hit aint no more'n yistiddy, lookin' at hit *one* way. Lookin' tudder seem lack a mighty heap o' years, it do. I reckon you aint ricermember ole Silas? 'Unc' Si,' you-all chillen useter call him; Unc' Si what useter raise de chune et all de meetin's fur we-all. Un' Peter, he lead de pra'r allus, but Unc' Silas raised de chunes.

"En sholy dat nigger c'u'd sing. You c'u'd hyar him in de fiel', strippin' fodder, en des a-singin' lack he boun' ter bust out shoutin' ebery blessed minute. En goin' home ebenin's, 'long side de mules,—ca'se Silas wuz a preacher en he wont ride de mules, ca'se he sez dey done wucked 'nuff in de fiel' alraidy.

"So he tromped on 'long side dey-all, singin' low en sweet lack, wid de chains en de gear sort o' jinglin' en makin' a sort o' music too. Seem lack hit might be little bells ringin' low en sassy lack, to ole Silas' singin'.

"En de song he allus sung dem times wuz de song 'bout 'I would not lib al'ays.' En hit seem lack he des allus reach de end o' de journey en de end o' de song et de same time; fur des ez he 'ud sing out:

" 'Dere sweet be my res' twell He bid me erise,
Ter hail Him in glory descendin' de skyies,—

de mules 'ud retch de trough, hot en tired, en drap de nozzles inter de cool, clear water, en de day's wuck wuz done.

"But hit 'uz Sunday ebenin's, et de em'ty gin-house, dat Silas done 'is bes' singin'. He'd sholy sing den; en Pete he'd lead de pra'r, en de moaners dey'd wrastle, en de ole folks shout. But 'bove hit all yer c'u'd hyar Unc' Si's voice fa'rly ringin' out acrost de fiel's en de meader, plumb up ter de gre't house, whar Ole Marster wuz settin' on de back po'ch, smokin' his pipe, wid de bees hummin' in de Cherokee roses, en de ole dorg 'sleep et his feet:

"I would not lib al'ays; I ax not ter stay.'

"Onc't Marster tuk Silas up on dat song. He say: 'What mek yer lack dat song so well, Silas? Yer knows dey aint a word o' troof in hit. Yer knows yer wants ter lib ez long ez yer kin, yer black raskil; en ef yer knowed yer gwine die dis night, yer'd be de wust skeered nigger on dis plantation, I bets yer would. Don't eber-body want ter lib, Si?'

"En Ole Marse des shake his sides a-laffin'.

"But Unc' Si, he sez, 'Hit do look lack dat's a fac' sometimes,' sez he. 'But hit's mos'ly while we's young en keerless, en easy content; when de sun shines on de meader whar de lil'l lambs is friskin', or de cotton bolls is bustin', en de mockin' birds nestin' in de honeysuckle bushes; en dar's dem what we lub trompin' 'long side us down de cotton row, or sleepin' 'long side us in de cabin nights when de moon shines on de ribber, en de stars shine. Den it do look lack we des 'bleeged ter stay on here fureber. But when de sorrer en de shadder come, den we think diffe'ent. De sun goes onder er cloud, en de cotton ez all in, en de fiel's brown en lonesome, en de one what tromped de furrers wid us ez done gone; de pillar nex' our'n ez em'ty; en we don't hyar de mockin' bird in de bushes. Only de ribber 'mongst de gray rocks, moanin', or de whipperwill callin' lonesome lack in de night time. Den we knows we don't want ter stay; en dat's huccome I sing lack I do, "I would not lib al'ays," count o' de sorrer en de shadder.'

"Dat's what Unc' Si say. En hit sholy seem to come ter pass des dat way wid Ole Marse.

"De war, hit come long pritty soon arter dat; en de Yankees dey swep' froo de plantation, en bu'nt de barns, en de gin-houses, en tuck de corn fur dey horses, en de wheat fur deyse'ves, en bruk up what dey-all c'u'dn't eat up—dey sho' did. Dem wuz sholy scan'lous doin's.

"En de boys, dey wuz all in de army—you, en Marse Phil, en Marse Joe, en lil' Marse Tom. En de Yankees, dey wuz camped all 'roun' de town. We c'u'd see de tents fum de top o' de Knob behin' de house, tudder side de meader.

"I tell yer, Ole Marse's spirit 'uz bruk, sho's you bawn. He e'nmost furgit how ter cus; he's des down in de low groun' o' sorre'r all de time.

"At las' one day word come dat de boys 'uz daid—de las' one ob 'em kilt, sah, but des you, what 'uz nex' ter de baby. Wal, sah, dat clar finish him. He tuk ter 'is baid, en he aint nebber leabe it no mo'.

"En den, sah, fust thing yer know, word come down ter de quarters dat Ole Marse wuz dyin'. All de niggers lit out straight fur de house; ca'se we aint thinkin' 'bout freedom, en sech—we's des thinkin' 'bout de white folks up dar, wid nothin' sca'cely ter eat, en Old Marse dyin'.

"Hit 'uz Sundy mornin'—en de chu'ch bells 'uz ringin' in de town. De soun' ob 'em come des a tinklin' soft en low ober de hills en de ribber, ter de plantation, fur de win' wuz blowin' dat way, ter fetch de soun'. Someun opened de do' o' de house, en Marster caught de soun' o' de bells.

"He listen a minute, en den he say: 'Is dat Silas singin'? Sing louder, Si.'

"En Unc' Silas hyared him call 'is name, en he drap 'is ole hat on de do'step, en go up ter de do'. Ole Mis see him dar, en sez she: 'Come in, Silas, ef yer want ter; but he wont know yer.'

"En ez Unc' Si went in Ole Marster say, 'Why *don't* dat nigger sing louder?'

"En den Unc' Si he des fol' his han's on de foot-railin' ob de baid, en begin ter sing:

*"I would not lib a'ays, I ask not ter stay,
Wher storm after storm rises dark on de way."*

"En when he's des 'bout half froo Ole Marse say, 'When de sorrer en de shadder come, den hit's diffe'nt—aint hit, Si?'

"But Unc' Si c'u'dn't speak; he des sing on:

*"I would not lib al'ays, no, welcome de tomb.
Sence Jesus is laid dar, I fear not de gloom."*

"En Ole Marster lif' up 'is hand, en say, slow en sof', 'I fear—not—de—gloom.'

"En wid dat he wuz gone. En dat fool nigger, 'stid o' comin' on out o' dar, des lif' up 'is voice en sing, same lack hit 'uz a camp-meetin' he 'uz tendin':

*"Dar sweet be my res' twell He bid me erise,
Ter hail Him in triumph descendin' de skyies."*

"En his voice hit ring out like de bugle in de Yankee camp in de mornin'.

"But when he come out, we see Unc' Si's face, en hit 'uz dat light en shinin' we knowed he'd been wid Ole Marse plumb ter de trough whar de wuck am done. We knowed hit 'fore he looked at we-all en said, 'Ole Marster's gone home, boys.'

"En de sun kep' on shinin' on de meader, en de grass wuz green en de low groun', en de light danced on de ribber, en de tops o' de white tents ob de army wuz shinin' in de valley, en dar wuzn't no soun' but des a mockin' bird in a rose-bush, en Ole Mis cryin' low en lonesome in her chamber. En dat song o' Unc' Si's wuz Ole Marster's funeral hymn.

"En dat's huccome I say when a man's young en vig'ous, en happiness tromps by his side down de furrers ob life, he aint 'spected ter be glumsome en keerful. En when de fiel' han's gits contrary, en de plow mules fractious, en de rain spiles de crap, en de storm twists off de cotton bolls 'fore dey's fulled, en he ketches de measles in 'is ole age, hit's natchel fur him ter cuss too. But when de shadder en de sorrer come, hit's diffe'nt, ez Unc' Si said."

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE AFTERMATH.

I. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CRIME.

The assassination of President McKinley was a great tragedy, well calculated to arouse sentiments of horror in every well-balanced mind. It was an outrage unrelieved by extenuating circumstances, and, being committed against the chosen head of the government, was a crime against the Republic; while to the philosophic student of history the tragedy takes on still darker hues when he contemplates its evil effect on the cause of free government, wholesome liberty, and human progress, for it is difficult to conceive of anything better calculated to aid and reenforce those despotic and reactionary influences that for centuries prior to the American Revolution had prevailed and resulted in civilization-wide oppression and the virtual serfdom of the vast majority of lives throughout the Christian world, while thwarting justice and barring the path of progress and enlightenment.

If Emma Goldman had been the paid emissary of Russian despotism, she could not better have aided the cause of absolutism and oppression than by inciting the feverish, ill-balanced brain of the assassin to commit the crime for which he well knew his life must pay the penalty. They who preach or advocate assassination are the most efficient allies of despotism. They afford the reactionaries, and those who for selfish motives desire oppression and subversive legislation, a justification for proposed laws that would soon be used to bulwark tyranny, injustice, and class interests, and which are in the nature of the case essentially destructive to the spirit of free government. We not only hold that murder is never justifiable, but such is our view of the sanctity of human life that, while yielding to no one in our demand that society

should be protected from its enemies, we believe that the State itself is not justified in taking life. We would imprison or deport the criminal, employing such means as would thoroughly protect the public from his power to do it harm, but with Victor Hugo we hold that "life belongs to God alone," and that neither the individual nor the State has the moral right to take life.

In the murder of President McKinley the American people were robbed of the Executive of their choice, and society beheld stricken down a man that in his private life was a splendid illustration of the best side of Anglo-Saxon civilization—clean, tender, thoughtful, and loving; such was the husband and father. Indeed, the unfailing fidelity and unforgetting love that William McKinley bore to his wife will ever be a priceless and helpful influence among us, and we believe that this sweet and simple devotion more than aught else touched the deepest and holiest emotions of our people and awakened an intense affection for the Chief Magistrate. His tragic death in the midst of a time of national prosperity and victory has exalted his place in history and materially enhanced his fame.

II. HYSTERIA AND INTEMPERANCE IN PULPIT AND PRESS.

There are several things connected with the assassination of the President, quite apart from the crime itself, that are well calculated to disquiet the sober-minded lover of free government, not the least of which is the symptom of degeneracy and widespread hysteria among men who assume to be leaders of thought and molders of public opinion. It has long been one of the chief glories of the Anglo-Saxon people that in trying moments and periods of excitement they have been able to remain sane, dispassionate, and for the most part just. They have never permitted passion and prejudice to blind reason or lead them into unseemly displays of hysteria and intemperance of speech unworthy of enlightened minds. But unhappily the tragedy at Buffalo has called forth from ministers and editors, and in a few instances from statesmen, a number of foolish, irrational, and essentially lawless expressions that must be deplored by all right-thinking individuals. In Concord, New Hampshire, a clergyman, impiously assuming to speak for the Almighty, claimed that the President's death was punishment sent by God because he had not suppressed the rum traffic in the Philippines. One of the gravest offenses against truth, decency, and common sense was perpetrated by certain promi-

nent clergymen in New York and Boston, who chose the hour when even politicians shrank from expressing partizan opinions to assail the wise and well-considered utterances of such men as Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard University, and ex-Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts. The intimation that the just and statesmanlike criticisms of these great and revered patriots were in any way responsible for the insane deed of Czolgosz was as wide of the truth as were the ill-timed utterances of the reverend gentlemen unworthy of their high calling. Other statements from the pulpit were scarcely less amazing and even more lawless in spirit. Of these the following extracts from a New York despatch to the Boston *Herald* of September 4th are fair samples:

At the Westminster Presbyterian Church the Rev. John Lloyd Lee said: "There is no standing room in this country for such an assassin. Only a two-by-four cell should hold him. There must be severe measures meted out, or this will happen again and again. Until a better way is found the only way now at hand is to lynch him on the spot."

The Rev. T. De Witt Talmage said at Ocean Grove auditorium: "I wish with all my heart that the policeman who arrested Czolgosz had with the butt end of that pistol dashed his life out."

III. ILLOGICAL AND REACTIONARY CONCLUSIONS OF THE PRESS.

The sensational press indulged in many wild and intemperate utterances, well calculated to inflame the passions and blind the reason of its readers—utterances that all sane people in cooler moments must regard as discreditable to one of the noblest professions of our time. A labored effort has been made to prove that the assassin was the instrument of an organization which acted in furthering a gigantic plot. On this and other baseless assumptions labored arguments against the fundamental principles and the uninterrupted policy of the Republic have been advanced in the interest of methods that prevail in Russia and Spain. We have been assured that the President's assassination demonstrated the necessity of our country employing European Continental methods for the suppression of anarchy, and great stress has been laid upon the fact that three Presidents have been assassinated, from which the reader has been led to understand that anarchy is more dangerous in a free republic than in an Old-World despotism. and consequently the methods of absolutism are not only justifiable but demanded. Yet in point of truth the facts involved

prove precisely the reverse of what has been so persistently claimed, as will be obvious from a glance at recent history.

The assassination of President Lincoln was the deed of a highly-wrought man, at a time of unprecedented excitement—a time when the passions of men had risen to white heat, and when man had become all too familiar with the slaughter of his fellow-men. The assassin knew nothing of the political or economic theories of nihilism or revolutionary anarchy, nor was his deed the result of any Old-World philosophy. The assassin of President Garfield was a disgruntled office-seeker who belonged to the President's own party. He was by affiliation a Republican and not an anarchist. To class John Wilkes Booth and Charles Guiteau as anarchists, or to try to liken their motives to those that in recent years have led to the political assassinations of European rulers, or to the recent murder of President McKinley, is either absurd or dishonest. But one assassination has had anything to do with foreign social and economic theories that are the legitimate products of despotic oppression and injustice.

IV. ANARCHY NOT THE CHILD OF FREEDOM.

In England, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States we find the greatest freedom and the widest liberty of press, speech, and thought. Now, in all these lands during the last century and a quarter—or since the birth of our Republic—there has been but one ruler killed as a result of the false theories and the dangerous doctrines of the revolutionary anarchists; while in France, where there exists an elaborate and in many ways exceedingly objectionable police system, which is the legacy of imperialism but which certain reactionaries and monarchists in our own land are advocating as a model for this country, we find President Carnot assassinated. There an irksome police system, only second to that of Russia in its power, was as futile as was the body-guard of secret service men in our own country to stay the murderous intent of the assassin.

In Spain, where anarchy is a crime and where anarchists had previously been horribly tortured—tortured in such a way as to remind one of the most bloody days of the Inquisition—we find the great prime minister (the real head of the government) assassinated; and furthermore, it is said that to-day Spain is literally honeycombed with anarchy, the savage perse-

cution only resulting, as is usually the case with persecution, in a rapid spread of the banned theories.

In Italy, where the most stringent methods had been taken to crush anarchy, and when the hand of government had fallen heavily even upon the starving ones who had headed the bread riots, the king, in spite of soldiers, detectives, police, and body-guard, was assassinated.

In Russia the most frightful and oppressive of despotisms was powerless to save the Czar. All history proves that it is in the land of despotism that the child of oppression—anarchy—best flourishes. Neither the suppression of free speech, with the blighting curse of despotism that always follows in its wake, nor a land filled with spies and paid informers, bristling with soldiers and burdened by an enormous police force, has been able to save Russia, Austria, Spain, France, or Italy from the hands of anarchistic assassins.

V. GENERATIONS OF OPPRESSION BEHIND THE HAND OF EVERY ANARCHISTIC ASSASSIN.

One great vital fact has been entirely overlooked by the short-sighted and essentially superficial advocates of the extension of police power and the introduction into our land of the ancient governmental despotic censorship, such as still prevails in Russia and Spain; and this ignored fact, which is as fundamental to the issue as is a premise to an argument, is that all the anarchistic and nihilistic assassins, whether in France, Austria, Spain, Italy, Russia, or the United States, are the result of generations of crushing oppression and of the very restrictions that certain editors, politicians, and reactionaries are advocating for our own country. In every instance the assassin has been the product of generations of despotism. Even Czolgosz, American born though he be, is of a Russian or Polish family who have come so little under the American spirit that it is stated that the parents have never learned to speak our language. Behind the hand that held the fatal pistol were centuries of injustice and oppression.

For America to turn her back upon the great principle of freedom which is to-day the crowning glory of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to imitate Continental despotisms, under the mistaken belief that freedom is more dangerous than despotism, would be not only to display ignorance of the history of the past and of the facts involved, but to stultify herself and

to commit a crime of measureless proportions. No doubt some measures will be passed with a view to guarding against political assassinations in the future, but it is to be hoped that the drafting of such measures will be intrusted to the wisest, most thoughtful, and most truly democratic among our statesmen, in order that they may be so framed as to render it impossible for the laws to be made instruments of oppression in the hands of officialism, or that they should be so drafted as to prevent that publicity and free discussion which are all-important for the preservation of free institutions and the crushing of corruption.

VI. SANE AND SAGE WORDS RELATING TO THE TRUE REMEDY FOR ANARCHY.

It is reassuring to find that, while many clergymen vied with sensational newspapers in advocating the introduction of Old-World despotic measures and in inflaming the public mind, there were many notable and conspicuous exceptions to the rule, among the most noteworthy of which were the utterances of the eminent head of the Episcopal Church in America, Bishop Henry C. Potter, and Dr. Washburn, who is Mrs. Roosevelt's pastor. These great divines struck the key-note when they declared that education, embracing moral culture, was the true remedy for anarchy. Dr. Potter said:

"Men and brethren, in this solemn and august moment we should remember that we cannot have the freedom of Republic without the responsibilities of Republic. We must have a great system of free education, a system that will reach and enlighten the perverted minds so as to give them true comprehension of the principles underlying our Government. And we must represent in our lives an example of sincere manhood and enlightened citizenship, and refrain from sinking into lying Pharisaism which, ever ready to denounce the wrong, will not lift its smallest finger to remove it and its causes. What St. Paul wrote to his followers in the corrupt Roman Empire applies to our life to-day. What is the summing up of the whole law? Love. And when we shall have lifted our brothers from their ignorance we shall exercise that love which is the keystone to the brotherhood of man."

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Washburn uttered these noble words:

"Neither a free press nor free speech is responsible for an-

archy nor the crimes committed in its name. Anarchy does not exist because of a free press and free speech. It did not have its origin here, but it grew up in the poverty, ignorance, and lack of moral education of other countries. If it has been transferred here, neither a free press nor free speech is to blame for it. The policy which should be adopted to suppress it must be moral training for our young, which will do more to obliterate it than all the laws that may be enacted. People must be educated, so that they can reason and think. That this is essential no one will deny, yet we are told that in New York City there are 50,000 children without school accommodations."

No utterances of the hour are more worthy of the thoughtful consideration of statesmen than are the above words of Dr. Washburn.

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PROBABLE RESULT OF THE STEEL STRIKE.

The result of the great steel strike cannot be regarded as other than a victory for capitalism and the most severe blow that trades-unions in the United States have received in recent years. It has shown the powerlessness of the unions of America to cope with combined capital, and this defeat will in all probability exert a demoralizing influence over trades-unions. Yet it is possible, if not highly probable, that what now appears to be a most disastrous result may eventually prove the greatest possible blessing to union labor. Certain it is that such will be the case if it forces the leaders of industry to see and understand that there is but one thing that can save trades-unions and make the workingman independent and the recipient of his own, and that is a solid ballot at the polls. This is the only way in which the toilers can secure justice and rescue the government from capitalistic domination which now threatens to subvert free institutions.

In New Zealand the workers have learned this most vital lesson. They understand that permanent success, the safety of the nation, and enduring progress all depend on the union of labor where union is most vitally important—at the ballot box. Hence to-day, in this "Newest England," industry instead of capital has the dominating voice, and man is placed above the dollar.

The reason why the trades-unions are more successful in Great Britain in their struggles than they are in this country is chiefly due to the union of their forces at the polls. In America the capitalistic combinations, who act in unison at the polls and wherever and whenever their class interests are at stake, have succeeded in dividing the forces of labor at the ballot box, until politicians, statesmen, and officials have ceased to fear the vote of industry, while too frequently they bow subserviently to the demand of interested capital. Here lies the supreme lesson for the workers—a lesson that, if the leaders of the trades-unions in America are wise, will lead to a compact organization whose first aim will be to secure the union of the voters at the ballot box. If, however, no union of this kind results in the near future, the trades-union forces will soon be hopelessly demoralized, and the toilers will be almost as completely at the mercy of the industrial barons as were the retainers under the old feudal system dependent upon their lords and masters.

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INDUSTRIAL BAZAARS AS A PRACTICAL HELP FOR WILLING WORKERS.

While it is important that the friends of justice should never lose sight of the fundamental problems that confront our civilization—the overshadowing demand that the new conscience has called forth and that will be satisfied with nothing short of securing an equality of opportunity for every child of earth, and the right and opportunity of every citizen freely to obtain work at fair and remunerative wages—it will, I think, be perfectly patent to thoughtful men and women that a vast amount of educational work must be done before it will be possible to unite the workers in such a way as to secure justice without the shock of destructive revolution; and during this waiting time all possible efforts should be made to aid the less fortunate of our fellow-creatures to maintain self-respecting manhood and womanhood. A nation or a civilization has few things to fear so much as the sinking of the individual from self-respecting citizenship to the position of a suppliant, cowed and willing to accept charity. And all work wrought for the amelioration of the condition of the poor should look toward aiding others to help themselves rather than, as is too often the

case with conventional charity, making those who are suffering through enforced idleness the recipients of alms. The soup-house is no proper answer to the cry of the hungry in a land where ample food and raiment can be produced when industry has the opportunity to labor. And there are thousands, and we believe tens of thousands, of persons in easy conditions in all our great cities who would gladly lend a hand to any well-organized movement looking toward aiding those who seek to help themselves. There are many ways in which such movements might be inaugurated and pushed to a successful issue if a few earnest men and women in a community would consecrate a small portion of the time at their disposal to the work; and it is our purpose from month to month to suggest some things that might be done along these lines. At the present time I would speak of the establishment of industrial bazaars in our cities.

During the great Anti-Corn Law Agitation in England the educational propaganda work was largely carried forward by funds realized through great bazaars organized by the ladies of Manchester and other cities. Now, in every city and its environs there are thousands of persons in more or less straightened circumstances, who, however, are masters in some special line of work. Here, for example, is a widow whose preserves and jellies have elicited the highest praise from every one who has tasted them. She lives in a suburban home, with orchards and vineyards. Her income is so meager that she lives constantly in the shadow of a great fear. If she could find a market for her preserves and jellies she would be rendered comparatively comfortable. She has tried to place them on sale, but the stores are supplied with the products of the great canning houses, and at the industrial unions she has found that red tape is the least of the obstacles, unless one has "a friend at court." Her attempts have all resulted in failure, not through any lack of desire or effort on her part, nor yet from any inferiority of her products, for they would readily rank with the very best procurable.

Case two is that of a lady who is an expert in making pickles, especially sweet pickles and pickled ripe cucumbers. These delicacies have elicited the most extravagant praise from connoisseurs, yet her efforts have been no more successful than those of the widow just mentioned. Case three is a poor woman with a fine education, who was raised in affluence. In her early life she had a passion for embroidery and fancy work. Reverses, however, have overtaken her, and

she is driven to support herself by her needle. Her greatest difficulty is to dispose of her wares. Not that this would be difficult if she could bring them before the wealthy, but she lacks the opportunity to display her work. Case four is a lady who is an expert in knitting lace. Case five is an artist; but it is unnecessary to extend the list.

The above are a few persons who have come under my own observation, and they are typical of a multitude in and around every city who are highly respectable, refined, sensitive individuals. They ask no greater boon than to be able to do that which they can do well, and to have the opportunity to dispose of their work on its merit.

If in every city a few public-spirited persons would unite and raise by subscription sufficient funds for a toiler's bazaar, to be held for, say, four or six weeks in the spring and autumn, it would give to all persons an opportunity to sell their own manufactures. A small commission might be charged on goods sold if the sum subscribed for rent of building and other expenses was insufficient to meet the requirements. We are perfectly confident not only that there are enough warm-hearted and generous-minded persons in every thickly-settled community who would aid by purchase of goods, but that many persons would through such bazaars secure regular customers for their products; and it is highly probable that the success of such an experiment would lead to permanent coöperative bazaars. The expense of such an experiment could easily be met by one or two of scores of liberal persons who are constantly aiding charitable work; and in the hands of a few persons of business ability success would be quickly assured, as nothing would be easier than to work up the enthusiasm of the public, for it is a work in which the pulpit, the press, and many society leaders would heartily join. This would be a practical measure for aiding in maintaining self-respecting American citizenship, and it would be a work that we believe would be heartily sustained by the public.

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TEXTILE FABRICS FROM GRASS AND LEAVES.

Edward Bellamy, in "Equality," represents the civilization of to-morrow clothed in beautiful garments made of paper of varying textures, suitable for different uses, and so strong

yet flexible as to be admirably adapted for all the requirements of clothing. This triumph had been rendered possible by the discovery of strong-fibered material that could be used at a minimum cost. The clothing as soon as soiled was returned to the factories, where the garments were submitted to chemicals, much as are rags to-day prior to the manufacture of paper, after which the purified pulp again appeared in fabric for clothing.

Recent experiments with China grass and palm leaves, while not producing clothing from paper, have resulted in surprising and highly promising textile manufactures, which, if they do not lead to a revolution in clothing and other fabrics, will doubtless add materially to the serviceable textiles of civilized man. Herbert Hoyle, of Halifax, England, has invented a process by which he makes a fabric that resembles silk to a remarkable degree. With the enthusiasm natural to an inventor, Mr. Hoyle confidently claims that his new invention will ere long revolutionize the textile industry of the world. The new fabric is made from China grass, which grows in the greatest profusion in India and the Strait settlements. The supply is said to be practically exhaustless. In the manufacture the dried grass is used, it being treated chemically and mechanically. The cloth is said to be very beautiful and strong. Its luster remains undimmed by usage, and in addition to its beauty and durability it has the merit of cheapness. It can be made at a price but slightly more than the cost of manufacturing cotton fabrics.

By another recent inventive discovery, surprising and satisfactory results have followed the treatment of palm leaves. These are first treated by an alkali preparation, or are thoroughly boiled, after which they are left to ferment. Next the pulp and fiber are separated by machinery. The fiber is of great strength and bids fair to enter extensively into textile manufactures.

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OUR RAILWAYS: THEIR GLORY AND SHAME.

The last yearly report of the Interstate Commerce Commission touching railway statistics contains many facts that are deeply suggestive, some of which are highly gratifying while others are either disquieting or discreditable.

There are at present over one million persons employed in

the railroad system of the United States. This vast industrial army operates a railway service whose single tracks extend over 190,000 miles, while the aggregate length of all tracks is over 250,000 miles. Upward of 37,000 engines, more than 34,000 passenger cars, and freight cars exceeding 1,365,000 are required to meet the requirements of this vast business.

There has been a steady and healthful growth in the railroads of the country, both in the extent of the new lines and in the volume of business. More than 4,000 miles of new roads have been built, while the passenger fares issued reach the enormous total of 576,865,230. There were over 50,000 more fares than were called for the previous year. The freight handled amounted to 1,101,680,238 tons, an increase of more than 140,000,000 tons over the preceding year. The amount paid in salaries and wages aggregated \$577,756,580. These figures are well calculated to stagger the imagination and impress the mind with the stupendous character of the railway service of the United States. But unfortunately the whole showing is not so favorable. Thus, for instance, the amount of capital stock paying no dividend was \$3,176,609,698, or over 50 per cent. of the total amount outstanding; while the capitalization of \$61,490 per mile suggests "water" enough to satisfy the demands of the greatest monsters of the briny deep. It is probable that the enormous salaries paid to railroad presidents and other influential officials have much to do with the lack of dividends.

There is, however, a still more gloomy side to this picture, and that is where it touches the waste of human life. The fact that 7,865 persons were killed in a year, and over 50,000 were injured by the railways of this country ought to call forth an indignant and persistent protest from millions of Americans—a protest so determined and pronounced that the Government would come to the rescue of the public, and especially of the employees on the railroads, and compel the management to provide ways and means for the material diminution of this frightful slaughter. Of the number slain or injured by the railways, 750 were killed and 1,350 were injured at the deadly railway crossings. With proper legislation very few of these two thousand casualties would have occurred. How perilous are the railway tracks to pedestrians is shown by the fact that more than four thousand persons designated as trespassers were killed during the year. Of the employees of the road, 2,550 were killed and 39,643 injured.

Thus more than one out of every four hundred employees were killed, and one in every twenty-six injured. This showing is highly discreditable to the railway management of our country. There is no good reason why an army of over 42,000 should be slain or wounded during a year in the performance of their duty. No such disgraceful showing would be made if the roads were compelled to pay \$25,000 to the family of every one who met a violent death at his post of duty on the road.

And this fact suggests the most ominous feature of present-day civilization—the placing of the dollar above human life. Manhood must be exalted and money brought down to its proper place as a servant of man if humanity is to advance. In order to do this it is necessary that educators, writers, ministers, and all men and women who would further the highest interests of the race make a direct appeal to the conscience of the people. Agitation for nobler ideals, education on the moral side of life—these are the things most urgently demanded to-day; and the above illustration is but one of tens of thousands that raise a warning finger before a heedless, money-worshipping civilization.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

HISTORY OF MEDICINE: A Brief Outline of Medical History and Sects of Physicians from Earliest Historic Periods, with an Extended Account of the New Schools of the Healing Art in the Nineteenth Century. By Alexander Wilder, M.D. Cloth, 946 pp. Price, \$2.75. New Sharon, Maine: The Eclectic Publishing Company.

A Book Study.

I.

Most histories of medicine, like medical works in general, hold little attraction for readers not specially interested in the healing art, as the authors are usually physicians with a weakness for loading their work with little-understood technical terms, while their style is not infrequently labored and pedantic. Dr. Alexander Wilder is a happy exception to the rule. His notable work is not only an immensely valuable contribution to liberal medical literature, but is throughout as interesting as it is instructive. It is indeed fortunate that progressive medicine should have found a historian at once so scholarly, broad, temperate, fair, and in every way admirably qualified for the creditable execution of the great work to which this author has devoted much time during the last ten years.

The author, in addition to his medical education, is a writer and journalist of no mean reputation. His work is ever characterized by accuracy, lucidity, and an engaging style possessed by few thinkers who discuss abstract problems, scientific themes, and the prosaic facts of history.

Into this work he has brought the rigid methods of a critical scholar, and a breadth of thought, an impartiality, and a judicial temper as pleasing as they are rare in such a work. Especially is this remarkable when one remembers that the author feels very deeply on many of the subjects that he discusses. In his thoughtful and highly suggestive introduction, Dr. Wilder observes:

"A history as a record of events should be faithful, impartial, and, so far as may be, unimpassioned. There should be neither inordinate praise of individuals nor any unwarrantable degree of blame. The writer is the servant of the reader, and discharges the obligation by candid utter-

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

ance and a tenacious adherence to actual fact. It is no person's prerogative to judge the motives of another, but the attention belongs strictly to acts and their tendencies.

"Such has been the sentiment of the compiler in preparing this work. While his convictions are positive and without disguise in relation to specific acts and measures when these were directed against personal rights and public welfare, he has been desirous even to eagerness to conform to the law of charity and to recognize whatever was worthy and laudable in individuals.

"Only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence. A School of Medicine will exist as long as it really deserves to exist. In medicine as in the higher ethics he only is great who serves: the greatest among us all is the servant of all. As physicians we are not craftsmen and mechanicals following a calling for the mere pecuniary emolument, nor are we a combination of medical practitioners with personal ends to advance at the hazard of every pledge to the public and of honest principle.

"The taint of selfishness enfeebles noble exertion and dishonors every motive. It causes the individual to lag behind, whenever he aims only or chiefly to secure personal profit. Nor is it innocent to place obstructions in the way of others. Our course is obvious: to cherish an invincible faith in the good and the true, to seek for knowledge as the most precious of treasures, to maintain our purpose resolutely and persistently.

"In this way can be established the right to the front rank in the profession of healing, as well as to realize the highest ideal of the physician—a priest of Nature and interpreter of her holiest mysteries."

In his work the author in a marked degree conforms to the high ideal and conception of his duty as outlined above. His fearless yet broad, sweet, philosophic, and judicial spirit is beyond praise.

II.

The first part of the volume is devoted to a general survey of medicine from the earliest traditional and historic times through the eighteenth century. Here in the compass of 280 pages we have a brilliant and authoritative epitome of the healing art down to the dawn of the last century, written in easy, flowing language, and in so engaging a style as to prove deeply entertaining to the general reader. This one feature of the work should insure it a wide circulation, as here thoughtful people desiring to be well informed will find the salient facts in the long record of one great department of human activity, without being compelled to spend precious time perusing many long, tedious, and dull volumes. Moreover, this history is one with which every young man and woman in this enlightened age should be conversant.

III.

Next our author enters into an extended and rather comprehensive historical examination of the healing art in the nineteenth century. Not only does he note and describe the remarkable general progress, especially in surgery, gynecology, and obstetrics, and the more important discoveries like anesthetics which have been introduced during the last hundred years, but he gives a concise and lucid description of the many

newer systems, theories, and methods of cure, including homeopathy and its various variations and modifications, eclecticism, the chromo-thermal system, dosimetric medication, the bio-chemic system, hydro-therapeutics, the Swedish movement cure, therapeutic sarcognomy, osteopathy, and mental therapeutics. It must have required wide reading and no little patient labor to prepare the clear, succinct outline of these various theories, and certainly nowhere else in a single volume can be found so clear, fair, and intelligent a treatment of these and kindred subjects as is here given.

The method employed throughout is so eminently impartial, and so unmistakably is it the author's aim to present as clearly as possible the main facts and distinguishing peculiarities of each claimant for popular confidence, that this division of the work must meet with the hearty approval of broad-minded thinkers. The following interesting extracts from his notice of mental therapeutics will serve to acquaint the reader with Dr. Wilder's style of presenting the various new therapeutic theories:

"Leading members of the medical profession have deprecated the crudeness of the common professional knowledge, and acknowledged the weak point in their art from not understanding the influence of mental causes to induce disease and promote health. Schiller, the poet, himself declares that 'a physician whose horizon is bounded by a historic knowledge of the human machine, and who can distinguish terminologically and locally the coarser wheels of the intellectual clock-work, may be, perhaps, idolized by the mob, but he will never raise the Hippocratic art above the narrow sphere of a mere bread-earning craft.'

"Dr. Forbes Winslow, an English physician of eminence, makes the following emphatic statement:

"The physician is daily called upon in the exercise of his profession to witness the powerful effects of mental emotion upon the material fabric. He recognizes the *fact*, although he may be unable to explain the *rationale*. He perceives that mental causes induce disease, destroy life, retard recovery, and often interfere with the successful operation of the most potent remedial means exhibited for the alleviation and cure of bodily suffering. Although such influences are admitted to play an important part, either for good or for evil, I do not conceive that, as physicians, we have sufficient appreciation of their great importance."

"With such conviction on the part of leaders, even materialistic in their notions of therapeutics, and the corresponding unrest and desire for better methods in all circles, we cannot wonder that there should be explorations into other fields, and even into regions often regarded as vague and visionary. Thus we observe a recurring to the old practise of simples and vegetable remedies, so ably set forth by Nicholas Culpeper in 1650; then mesmerism entered the arena, bringing in electricity and magnetism for auxiliaries; and Homeopathy, with the theory and procedures closely verging upon the spiritual. Religious teachers arose who professed to have the ancient apostolic gift to perform miracles. This was a function which the Roman Church has always recognized as still in exercise, but which the later Protestant bodies have generally ignored, as belonging to a dispensation long gone by. The psychologic revelations from mesmerized patients and the revival of Spiritualism in a new aspect helped to turn attention toward this neglected department.

"Accordingly there sprang up individuals here and there who professed to heal the sick without medicine, or else with remedies signified to them by occult means; some affirming that they were aided by su-

perior agencies after the ways set forth in the New Testament, and others that they operated through the faculties inherent in every person.

"About the year 1840, mesmerism or animal magnetism had begun to attract notice in America. Among those experimenting in this direction was Dr. Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, of Belfast, in the State of Maine. He was expert in producing the trance, and employed the agent in the treatment of his patients. The phenomena of clairvoyance and the revelations thus obtained led him to further researches in the department of psychology. He soon found in man, his biographer informs us, a principle or a power that was not of man himself, but was higher than man, and of which he himself could only be a medium. He also declared that he had discovered that 'disease is only an *erroneous belief*,' and upon this discovery he founded his method of cure. He accordingly gave up the practise of mesmerism, and the use of remedies however prescribed, and thenceforward adopted the new procedure. Of this success another writer says:

"'Had he lived in a remote age or country, the wonderful facts which occurred in his practise would have now been deemed either mythical or miraculous; he seemed to reproduce the wonders of the Gospel history,' etc.

"About 1863, the Rev. W. F. Evans, of Claremont, in New Hampshire, a minister of the New Jerusalem Church, became a disciple of the new doctrine and soon afterward engaged in the practise. He also published six duodecimo volumes, giving an explanation of the theory and treatment, its scientific character and harmony with the declarations of various writers of modern and ancient periods. His style is simple and attractive, and the reasoning cogent and not always easy to answer. Following the Swedenborgian rule of analogy, he declares every physiologic process a correspondence, or effect of some psychologic action; and diseases a consequent of abnormal psychic or moral conditions, which may be remedied by mental operations. Nevertheless he speaks very favorably of manipulating and mesmeric passes. 'All diseased conditions,' he remarks, 'connect us with disordered and unhappy minds in the other world. To cure disease is to "cast out devils," or to break our sympathetic consociation with undeveloped spirits.'

"Nevertheless, he does not let go of scientific knowledge. 'Whatever the physiological change which is demanded, the universal life-principle, which we call *nature*, is making an effort to effect it, and we may augment her curative endeavor by forming in our minds the idea of the change. Here knowledge is power, and refined medical science an auxiliary to the mental system of cure. And we would take occasion to remark that no *intelligent* practitioner of the mind-cure will wholly ignore medical science. Mind is the only active principle in the universe. The mind of a skilful surgeon performs marvels in saving the lives of people.'

"As has been already intimated, the practitioners of this school insist that 'metaphysical healing,' or phrenopathy, is substantially in harmony with the teachings of the philosophers, and is essentially the method inculcated and pursued by Jesus, as set forth in the New Testament.

"No claim is made by them to original conception of the idea, with regard to the theory of cure by mental influence, exerted through the imagination, or imaging faculty. The idea has existed thousands of years in the Orient. The term *metaphysical* is employed because the theory of healing thus named is based upon the laws which govern the intelligent side of human nature. It is the subjective before passing to the objective. 'To know anything purely,' says Socrates, in the *Phaedo*, 'we must behold with the soul itself.'

"Although the various schools of mental healing appear to be based upon the same principles, they differ quite widely in theories."

After naming various leaders who represent different theories under what may be broadly termed mental therapeutics, our author makes this excellent observation touching the attempt of the advocates of monopoly in medicine to secure restrictive or class legislation in their own interests:

"It is contemplated to procure legislation that will bring the various methods of 'mind-cure,' 'faith-cure,' 'prayer-cure,' etc., within the jurisdiction of the recently created medico-judicial authorities. This must naturally appear in the light of rapacity and lust of arbitrary power, without just reason. The dog that cannot eat hay is hardly a suitable judge to sit in the manger and dictate to oxen. There are many thousands who believe in the efficacy of these modes of treatment. They find such healing described and commanded in the New Testament, and with many of them the doctrines have all the sanctity of a religious faith. Such legislation will be inevitably regarded as of the nature of religious proscription, and will be included in the same category with the murderous persecutions that have made the Middle Ages infamous."

By far the largest portion of the summary of modern therapeutics is given to a history of eclecticism. This was to be expected, owing to the fact that the work was inaugurated under the auspices of the National Eclectic Medical Association of America, and also because the author has long been one of the most eminent and scholarly members of that school of practise. The pages devoted to the history of eclecticism comprise the first comprehensive and authoritative history of American eclectic practise that has appeared; and, though the somewhat extended account of the rise and struggle of eclecticism will be less attractive to many readers than some other portions of the work, it will be deeply interesting to all members of that school, and is in itself an important contribution to progressive medical literature.

IV.

Another interesting and valuable feature of the work is an extended and luminous history of the great conflict between the defenders of restrictive, class, or monopoly medical legislation and the friends of freedom. Restrictive legislation, under whatever guise it may assume, if it arises as a result of strenuous efforts from a class or section of society which through the sought-for laws will be immensely benefited pecuniarily and otherwise, instead of coming as a demand from the people, is pretty certain to be, to use the thought of Herbert Spencer in his great argument against medical restrictive legislation, nine parts self-interest gilt over with one part philanthropy; and, by abridging the right of the individual to employ whomsoever he desires in the treatment of his bodily ills, these laws lay the foundation for a possible future abridgment of the right of the individual to employ such spiritual ministrations as he believes in and desires. And this solemn fact reminds us that precisely the same arguments, recently advanced by the interested class—the medical priesthood of to-day—were urged by the religious priesthood in its attempt to uphold the greatest curse that blighted the life and stained the history of European civilization during the Christian era. The unrelenting persecution of organized churches,

denying the right of the individual to enjoy the spiritual physician of his choice, and seeking to crush freedom of thought and expression, barred the pathway of progress, chained the free-soaring spirit of science, and held the mind of man in thralldom. Wherever dogmatism and self-interest have so dominated a class, organization, or school of thought that the spirit of toleration has been discouraged and the inalienable rights of others infringed upon, the cause of human progress and happiness has received a severe check. What was true in religious Europe was also true for many long generations in political Europe. The spirit of despotism and oppression, resulting in the virtual slavery of the many to the few, rested like a crushing weight on civilization until the great revolutionary era inaugurated during the closing quarter of the eighteenth century. The reaction following the general uprising, however, prevented the full-orbed freedom that is essential to true and enduring progress, and in many lands, even where the loudest claims are made for freedom, the spirit of despotism is again moving forward with the arrogance that marked ancient oppression.

In the war waged by medical class interests, clamoring for protection and special privileges, and seeking under cloak of law to crush an opposition whose success has appealed to the enlightenment of the people, we find the same age-long struggle of egoism or selfishness against altruism and that wholesome freedom which is the handmaid of science and the strong arm of progress. In medicine, as in religion, science, and government, progress has best flourished where freedom has most abounded; and Dr. Wilder believes that the cause of true science, as well as the safety and happiness of the people, is best conserved by freedom, or the absence of laws that favor monopoly and class interests. In this respect he occupies a position identical with that taken by the late Professor Thomas Huxley, Professor Youmans, Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, and the Honorable William E. Gladstone, and which is also strongly maintained by many of the master brains and true leaders among the representative scholars of the world, including Herbert Spencer, Rev. Minot J. Savage, D.D., and Professor William James of Harvard University, all of whom have boldly assailed the position taken by the advocates of restrictive medical legislation. In opening his admirable story of the conflict for medical freedom, our author observes:

"It often seems necessary for us to learn old lessons anew, or at least that we did not learn them properly. We do not always profit by the experience of those who have preceded us. In the history of our country we are told that the early colonists of the English-speaking States came to this continent in order to enjoy liberty of conscience and religious worship. Yet it was very generally liberty only for those who believed the same doctrine and had similar views of life. Even the American Revolution did not immediately emancipate slaves or deliver from the thralldom of an Established Church. Though the Federal Constitution with its Virginian amendments assured equal rights to citizens and prohibited a national establishment of religion, its framers forgot other professions, and States kept up their old ways. An ascendancy was established in the medical profession as arbitrary, as pretentious.

and as imperious as ever in any country was that of the Church. Even before the Revolution, the General Court of Massachusetts, for example, not only prescribed the kind of dress and modes of entertainment, but required State attendance on religious worship, and forbade any one to administer a medicine which was not approved by the standard medical authorities. New Jersey did something similar. The history of the nineteenth century in the United States was introduced by a narrative of usurpation and persecution, authorized by statute and enforced by the various appliances of law as merciless and vindictive as the prosecutions of witches and dissenters from the established religion, till we might well doubt whether this was actually a free country or had a constitutional government. After this followed a period of successful resistance, and a swinging round the circle of legislation, which those who are curious and inquisitive in such matters will contemplate with surprise."

With these words the reader is introduced into a historical review of medical class legislation that is characteristically fair and judicial in treatment throughout, though of course the author does not disguise the fact that he believes the best interests of society and of the healing art will be conserved by the abolition of the laws conferring special privileges or guaranteeing virtual monopoly to certain schools of medicine. This historical review is I think the ablest as it is also the most extended account of a Titanic struggle that has been published. The success of the interested classes has in the past been temporary rather than permanent, and, though at the present time the political drift is favorable to trusts and monopolies, signs are not wanting of a reaction that will I believe be positive and far-reaching in character—at least in respect to medical science and religious freedom. No friend of the theory that a man should be free to select whomsoever he has confidence in to minister to him in the hour of sickness can afford to overlook this comprehensive historical epitome of one of the most notable conflicts of the present age.

V.

A very interesting feature of the book, and one that cannot fail to charm the reader, is found in brief but graphic pen pictures of men who at one time or another created much stir in medical circles. Of course, the majority of our author's subjects were eminent scholars and men of wide learning, but he is no less happy in paying tribute to the world's benefactors whose lack of early advantages prevented them from receiving a scholastic education. In the following outline of the early life of Samuel Thomson, and in the philosophic observations preceding it, we have a fine illustration of this interesting feature of Dr. Wilder's writing:

"Of Samuel Thomson we would speak in terms of respect and commendation. The friends of medical freedom and medical reform owe him a debt of honor and gratitude as a public benefactor. Great occasions are met by individuals who seem almost to have come into existence for the purpose. Such persons are often set down as of inferior mold, or are overlooked altogether by those more favored by wealth and social condition, till the exigency calls them forth and obliges them to take the responsible position. We find then that their humbleness of origin, their peculiarities of character which many are eager to point

out and blame, the trials which they have undergone, were so many preliminary conditions to prepare them for their work.

"Indeed, it is a very general fact that the persons who save us in the hour of mortal peril are seldom of our own selecting. Not many who are regarded as scholarly, able, or of superior social rank are at hand for such occasions, but chiefly individuals of another class. The records of the past abound with examples. Mirkhond, the historian of ancient Persia, tells us of the blacksmith who upreared the standard of revolt and expelled the murderous Zahak from the throne, and that his leather apron became the banner of the liberated nation. Another record, somewhat more familiar to us, treats of a youth of ignoble origin, whom his family hesitated to acknowledge, but who came from the tending of sheep to deliver his countrymen from their oppressors. In the last century a favorite play in the theaters of London burlesqued as tailors and mechanics the commanders who had, both in council and in the field, achieved American independence. In the later days of the Republic it was Lincoln from the prairie, untrained in statecraft and diplomacy, who guided the ship of State through its most critical period.

"Samuel Thomson was one of this little number of exceptional men. He possessed the qualities which characterize the leader and reformer: deep conviction and unflinching tenacity of purpose. His early discipline and experience brought these qualities into action. He was born at Alstead, then a frontier settlement in the colony of New Hampshire, and passed his youth in hardship and privation. The region had hardly been reclaimed from the wilderness, and every one's efforts were required to gain a simple livelihood. Thomson early displayed a passion for learning the names and medicinal virtues of plants, but his opportunities for even simple elementary instruction were limited. When it was proposed to let him become a student of Dr. Fuller, a botanic physician in the neighboring town of Westmoreland, he was rejected because of his defective education. He was considered as fit only to work on the land. He was in a far worse case than Grant and Jules Faure, the tanners, or Roger Sherman and Henry Wilson, the shoemakers, and Franklin, the Chandler's son.

"Nevertheless, it was not permitted that Samuel Thomson should bury himself in obscurity. He married and became the father of a family. The frequent occurring of sickness with his wife and children occasioned the employing of physicians, and he soon began to observe that with the medical treatment the sufferings of the patients were aggravated. Presently, in sheer desperation, he ventured to undertake their care himself, meanwhile paying the physicians for their professional visits. His efforts were rewarded by their speedy recovery. He had already acquired much information in regard to the use of simples and in nursing from an elderly woman, who was a Florence Nightingale in the neighborhood. The fact now impressed him forcibly that under the medical treatment in vogue the term of sickness was unnecessarily prolonged, and that it was very often followed by a permanent condition of ill-health. 'I had found from experience,' he declared in his *Narrative*, 'that doctors made more diseases than they cured.' He thus inadvertently reiterated the assertion of Dr. Rush, frankly uttered about the same time. Thenceforward he dispensed with the services of physicians, and took charge of his family through a formidable array of maladies, among which were measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and small-pox. In the last of these he was his own patient; and under his care they all recovered.

"His neighbors soon observed his aptitude in treating sickness, and did not hesitate to avail themselves of his services. As, however, he was regarded only as a farmer like themselves, they did not consider that, though they employed him, he was entitled to fee or remuneration like a professional man. The demands upon his time and efforts prevented

him from working steadily upon his farm, and threatened to keep him from providing for his family. He finally resolved to change his employment.

"This was in the year 1805. He traveled about for several years, afterward making his home at Beverly, in Massachusetts, and later he opened his office and establishment in Salem Street, in the city of Boston.

"Thomson did not adopt the methods employed by the botanic physicians and herbalists of the time, but some of them were current with the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. He propounded a theory and adopted the procedures which were distinctively known by his name, and discarded utterly the methods in common use—the lancet, leech, cupping-glass, and Spanish fly, together with the various mineral drugs and poisonous vegetable productions which constituted the fashionable physician's armament. The results were generally and often singularly beneficial.

"To think is to theorize—whether it be the speculation of the philosopher, the deduction of the scientist, or the conjecture of the private individual. Thomson's theories were very simple. He adopted the dogma of the Ionian and Grecian sages—that heat, the calorific force or excitative energy, is the substance of life; and, following it to its logical conclusion, he entertained as truth the sentiment propounded by Lord Bulwer-Lytton, in his favorite work, that this primordial principle of life may also be its renovator and the restorer of health. He expressed this sentiment, however, in quaint terms: 'That all diseases are the effect of one general cause, and can be removed by one general remedy.' This he affirmed to be the foundation upon which he had erected his fabric."

The work as a whole is a volume of great value to all thoughtful persons. Especially should it be read by young men and women. It should also find its way into the homes of those who believe in freedom in medicine, and whose experience has shown that vast numbers of precious lives, which the members of an empirical profession have failed to restore and in many instances have abandoned to the grave, are being yearly saved by "irregular" methods of cure.

AN AFFAIR IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Leigh H. Irvine. Cloth, 278 pp. Price, \$1.50. London: T. Fisher Unwin. San Francisco, Calif.: Payot, Upham & Co.

The name of Leigh H. Irvine is familiar to the readers of *THE ARENA* and other leading progressive publications, but they will hardly be prepared to find the serious and earnest student of social and economic questions appearing as the author of a bright but purposeless novel—or rather a novel with no distinctly ethical aim. We confess that in an age like ours, when civilization is halting as it were at the parting of the ways between liberalism, social and economic emancipation, and the happiness of the masses on the one hand, and a strong reactionary movement on the other, we could wish that all thinkers so admirably equipped as is Mr. Irvine would dedicate their best thought and work to the cause of justice and human progress. It is a disappointment that one so clear-seeing and able should fail to carry into his romance something of that holy passion for justice that has made "Les

Miserables" one of the most powerful sermons ever preached and a story of such profound human interest that its immortality is assured.

There is, however, at the present time a belief that if a novel is to be popular it must not be made the vehicle of a vital truth. "Art for art's sake" is the cry of the dilettante and conservative to-day as it was when Victor Hugo fought his splendid battle under the slogan of "Art for progress,—the beautiful useful." And Mr. Irvine, wishing to write a story that would sell, has striven to avoid anything that would make his romance a "purpose novel." He does not seem to have wholly succeeded, as several reviewers insist on treating it as a problem romance—a mistake doubtless due to the fact that the reviewer has not perused the book beyond the description of the founding of the ideal commonwealth and the election of the venerable sea-captain as president.

The story is written in a bright, easy style, the reader being led from page to page with a lively and growing interest to the climax. Like some of Robert Louis Stevenson's best work and the romances of Henry Melville, it deals with adventures in foreign parts. The story is related by a young San Francisco lawyer, who accepts the invitation of a wealthy sea-captain to become one of a colony he is arranging to settle on a luxuriant island in the South Seas. The colonists desire to flee from the crushing greed and brutal commercialism of the present age and to live a simple life "near to Nature's heart." On arriving at their destination their peace is made with the natives, and for a time all goes well; but at length a serpent enters the new Eden in the form of a cunning and resolute white desperado, who quickly gains a wonderful ascendancy over the natives by exciting their superstitious fears and by direful threats. The dreamers awaken to find themselves confronted by a deadly peril, and the conflict that ensues, together with the rather weird and unique denouement, forms some highly exciting chapters of a book that is not wanting in poetic thought and expression.

"An Affair In the South Seas" is quite out of the line of the ordinary conventional novel, and its light, breezy, and unconventional character will please readers who are satiated with immature historical romances that at best are but imitations of imitations of the elder Dumas' novels.

CHARACTER-BUILDING THOUGHT POWER. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 51 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

EVERY LIVING CREATURE. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 85 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

THE GREATEST THING EVER KNOWN. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 82 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

I.

"Character-Building Thought Power" is a volume that should be placed in the hands of every boy and girl in our land. The power and

influence of thought in molding our acts, and through our acts our characters, are dwelt upon in such a way as to make a profound impression upon the sensitive brain of youth; and the author goes on to show how we may so train our minds that pure, helpful, kind, and elevating thoughts will dwell constantly with us, inspiring and guiding our daily lives.

II.

"Every Living Creature" is another volume that all parents should read aloud to their children. It is instinct with that tender and humane spirit which goes out in love to all dumb creatures, but which is too often absent in the home training of our boys and girls. Hunting, vivisection, the wearing of birds by women who think that by so doing they make themselves more attractive, flesh-eating, and the relation of so-called "sport" to war and crime, are all ably discussed. Mr. Trine believes in *justice* for our dumb fellow-creatures; but above and beyond all he emphasizes the fact that, if children were early taught to treat all animals with kindness and consideration, there would be far less crime and brutality in the world than exist to-day.

III.

"The Greatest Thing Ever Known" is a luminous unfoldment of the source of our true inner strength, which is found, our author maintains, in a conscious realization of the essential oneness of all life. As we come day by day into a more intimate and personal knowledge of this great truth—the oneness of our lives with the life of the Father—so shall we gain strength, peace, health, and all things needful; for the attributes of Deity will be more and more made manifest in us, and then, and then only, shall we be in a position to attract to ourselves those things which are really worth having.

Our author goes on to show that this realization of the oneness of His life with that of the Father was the secret of Jesus' wonderful spiritual insight and power; and His mission was to teach that all men can and ultimately will enter into this divine consciousness.

Mr. Trine fortifies his arguments with some brief and well-chosen quotations from the philosopher Fichte. The book is one that cannot fail to be helpful and inspiring to all who read it, and is written in that simple and pleasing style which has helped to make Mr. Trine's work so justly popular with the great mass of the people.

A B C OF THE TELEPHONE. By J. E. Homans, A.M. Cloth, 332 pp. New York: Theo. Audel & Co.

This is a thoroughly practical work. The author has endeavored to make the subject at once clear and sufficiently comprehensive to afford a good foundation for the student who desires to master telephony and make it a life study, while at the same time he avoids an undue use of

technical terms. The subject is handled in such a manner as to make it highly interesting and instructive for non-professional readers. The chapter dealing with the Theory of Sound and the one on the Principles of Electricity are handled in a highly entertaining and lucid manner, and are, as the author observes, "necessary to a proper understanding of the telephone."

In perusing these pages one cannot help thinking how the knowledge of man has broadened in certain directions during the last quarter of a century. If, fifty years ago, a seer had described an invention similar to the wonderful instruments which Mr. Homans describes so perfectly, or had he advanced theories in regard to light, sound, and color which all intelligent people of our time are more or less conversant with, he would have been speaking in an unknown tongue to the men of his age, and his descriptions would have been set down as possibly possessing an interest similar to that of the Arabian Nights wonder-stories or Gulliver's tales, but as wholly impossible of realization. I well remember hearing the principal of the high school in an Illinois town give a description of the telephone before a literary society at the time when the first successful experiments were being made in the East with the Bell telephone. His audience was clearly so incredulous that it was difficult for many to be decorous; yet to-day how little do we think of the wonder of this instrument which transmits the sound of a loved one's voice for hundreds of miles, and even if we are still impressed with the marvelous triumph of scientific inventive genius shadowed forth in the telephone, how few understand the why and wherefore sufficiently clearly to be able lucidly to explain it! Mr. Homans in his work has made everything relating to the telephone so clear that those who read this book will be in possession of facts that will add in a real way to their general culture.

THE REFORMERS' YEAR-BOOK OR LABOR ANNUAL FOR

1901. Edited by Joseph Edwards. Paper, 176 pp. Price, 1 shilling net. Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, and Leonard D. Abbott, 336 West 71st St., New York.

This little work is of great value to students of social reform and economic progress, containing as it does a vast amount of important information concerning the reform forces, especially in Great Britain. Among the leading topics treated are Reports of Socialist Organizations, Reports of Miscellaneous Reform Societies, Coöperation, Trades Unions, Municipal Questions, Legislative and Parliamentary, Reform Movements Abroad, and International Congresses.

One has only to peruse the work to be impressed with the immense amount of earnest, radical, and progressive work that is being pushed forward by various reform bodies. It is unfortunate, however, that the Progressives should be divided into so many camps, and still more deplorable that frequently much of their energy is directed against other

reformers who do not see the truth through their spectacles. It may be that the reform forces of the Anglo-Saxon world will have to pass through the fire of great affliction or persecution before they will sink differences and move together in one compact and invincible body. At the beginning of the American Revolution petty jealousies and sectional animosities held the colonies apart and tended to paralyze the efficient work of many leaders; and it was not until the colonies came to realize that unless they hung together they might soon expect all to hang separately that victory was possible. And it may be, and indeed we think it is highly probable, that the social reform forces will have to face similar perils before they will be willing to sink all thought of self and allow pet theories and panaceas to be subordinated before the central issue. When such union is effected, however, the cause of social democracy will be absolutely invincible.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALASKA AND THE GOLDEN LAND OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN. By Eugene McElwaine. Cloth, profusely illustrated, 445 pp. Published by the author.

This is an extremely interesting and valuable book, dealing with a subject about which the majority of people have little trustworthy information. It gives an entertaining and exhaustive account of Alaska—its gold mines and other natural resources, its people, its possibilities, and its needs. The account is based on the writer's personal experience, extending over a period of three years, during which time he traveled extensively in various parts of the Territory. Unlike most volumes published by the author, this book will be of value to the general reader as well as to those especially interested in this golden land of the Northwest. The book is attractively gotten up and its value is enhanced by numerous fine photographs of Alaskan scenes and people.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Restricted Industry; Its Effect, Its Cause, the Remedy." By Wm. H. Berry. Paper, 136 pp. Price, 25 cents. Chicago: The Schulte Pub. Co.

"In the Shadow and Other Poems." By Herbert B. Robinson. Paper, 48 pp. Chicago: The Argus Press.

"Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor." In two volumes. Cloth, 1,642 pp. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

"Unseen Faces Photographed: Report of Dr. A. H. Reid." Illustrated. Paper, 54 pp. Price, 50 cents. Los Angeles, Cal.: B. R. Baumgardt & Co.

"Prospectus of the Boston College of Practical Psychology for 1901." Paper, illustrated, 79 pp.

"The Origin of the Book of Mormon, Reëxamined in Its Relation to Spalding's 'MS. Found.'" By A. L. Schroeder. Paper, 56 pp. Published by the author.

"Some Facts Concerning Polygamy." By A. L. Schroeder. Paper, 24 pp. Published by the author.

"Our Baby's Journal. No. 1. Hope." By M. R. and F. M. Kerr. Cloth, 175 pp. Price, \$1. Edgewood Press: New Haven, Ct.

"Tolstoy and His Problems." By Aylmer Maude. Cloth, 332 pp. Price, \$2. London: Grant Richards. New York: A. Wessels Co.

"A Bibliographical Contribution to the Study of John Ruskin." Compiled by M. Ethel Jameson. Cloth, 154 pp. Price, \$1.50. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE tragedy at Buffalo, by which the whole civilized world was shocked to its foundations, has dominated the periodical literature of the United States and elsewhere during the last two months. There is seemingly very little agreement, however, as to the cause and significance of anarchy, while suggestions concerning its eradication, though abundant, have been futile and irrational when not positively worse than the malady itself. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we present in this issue of THE ARENA two papers that throw some really helpful light on the world problem. Dr. Felix L. Oswald, A.M., the distinguished essayist and author of "Physical Education, or the Health Laws of Nature," and many other standard works, traces the evolution of the anarchic spirit and shows that it is a *symptom* of our abnormal racial growth rather than a *disease* of the social body. As such it should be treated; and the true method of procedure is clearly pointed out by our other contributor, Mrs. Evelyn Harvey Roberts, the wife of a Congregational clergyman, whose analysis suggests the fundamental defect in conventional economic teachings, by which ignorance and avarice are fostered, and explains why the prayers of a whole nation were powerless to avert a fatal consummation of the Buffalo assassin's deed.

The Rev. James Hoffman Batten's article on "The Failure of Freedom" is not without significance in the present crisis. It sets forth the appalling results that may be apprehended from the cultivation of selfishness in the higher walks of life—among those who exercise power and authority over the masses of men—and makes an eloquent appeal for simple economic justice and political honesty that is reassuring in a minister of the gospel.

In this season of municipal elections, Mr. Joseph Dana Miller's paper on "The Futilities of Reformers" reveals some of the most potent obstacles to true progress and analyzes the causes of the frequent failures among reform movements. Mr. Miller knows whereof he speaks, as he has been prominently identified with the Single Tax propaganda and many of the attempts to "purify" our city government in recent years.

The system of taxation promulgated by the late Henry George and his numerous followers has doubtless never had a more convincing argument in its favor, presented in so few pages, than the essay in this month's ARENA on "The Ethics of the Land Question." The writer is a New England scholar and thinker, at present engaged in other lines of advanced thought, whose profound study of social economics has led him to conclusions that should enlist the attention of every legislator

as well as of all minds devoted to the amelioration of life's conditions for the majority of men. The devotees of the Single Tax could scarcely possess a more effective campaign document than this essay, for it presents a side of the question too often ignored—its ethical basis.

The current contribution to our series of papers on advanced religious topics is from the able pen of the author of "Where Dwells the Soul Serene." In "The Office of the Preacher," Mr. Davis makes many excellent suggestions concerning the lines of thought and study best calculated to advance the spiritual interests of the race, and incidentally to promote the progress of the Church as an educational and reformatory institution. It were well if every clergyman in the land, regardless of creed, would read and heed his words. The next article in this series, to appear in December, will be a discussion of "Evolution and Theology," by Walter Spence.

Justice Clark's brief remarks concerning the utility of a governmental telegraph and telephone system, in this issue, will be followed in January by an extended "Conversation" with Prof. Frank Parsons on the same subject. This author's contribution to the present number completes his superb series on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century."

Frances A. Kellor concludes her study of "The Criminal Negro" also in the current ARENA. The investigation of Southern conditions pertaining to the black race on which these eight articles have been based was most thorough and comprehensive. The author with an assistant visited eight States and thirty-eight penal institutions; also schools and colleges and the slum sections of cities. Every facility was placed at their disposal by Governors and other State officials as well as by the superintendents of convict farms, prisons, jails, work-houses, reformatories, mines, and camps. Miss Kellor's articles, therefore, may be regarded as accurate and authentic.

Will Allen Dromgoole's introduction of our new Fiction feature is so charmingly pathetic that its brevity is to be regretted; yet it is an admirable character sketch of the antebellum negro—a type that is fast disappearing from the scenes in which he has played so tragic a part. Anna Vernon Dorsey, of Washington, D. C., will contribute a delightful Christmas story to our December issue.

We are pleased to announce that the opening article of our next number will be from the pen of the Hon. W. A. Northcott, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois—an elaboration of his Labor Day address at Springfield on "The Rights of Men." Among other contributions of timely interest and reformatory import, we shall publish in December a valuable paper on a recent bureaucratic oppression on the part of the postal authorities. The writer is Gen. C. H. Howard, president of the National Publishers' Bureau, of Chicago.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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THE RIGHTS OF MEN.*

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

GOD never made anything greater than the people. How sublime is the history of the evolution of the rights of men!

We are met at the threshold of the twentieth century with the greatest question of all the ages—the just coöperation of capital and labor. And over its gateway is the word "organization." The key-note of the hour is combination and co-operation. Shall this powerful force of organization be for the benefit of the few or for the benefit of all?

In liberty-loving Switzerland, whose snow-capped Alps echo to the huntsman's horn, is the great glacier. Long years in forming, it moves so slowly that only the nice ear of the man of snow and ice can catch the music of its motion. But in the fulness of time it becomes the swiftly-moving avalanche, in its terrible force sweeping all before it. The evolution of the rights of men through all the ages has been the slow motion of the glacier, but it comes upon the twentieth century with the swiftness of the avalanche.

Two thousand years ago a Flower Divine closed its petals upon the Cross at Calvary, and to-day it bears its ripened

* Address delivered by Lieutenant-Governor W. A. Northcott, at Springfield, Illinois, on Labor Day, September 2, 1901.

fruit in the spirit of brotherly love that is the basis of all that is best in our present civilization. And, above the avalanche of human rights that has come to bless our times, we look beyond the centuries to the Cross borne by the lowly Nazarene on the far-off hills of Galilee.

The strength of a nation is not in its armies and navies, but in the number of happy homes throughout the land. The strength of a community is in the distribution of political power, religious liberty, intelligence, and wealth among the masses of the people. Not that one man is stronger than his fellows, but that the many are strong. Not that one man is intellectually great, but that the many are intelligent. Not in the universities whose spires kiss the sky, but in the public-school houses on the hills and in the valleys. Not in great wealth concentrated in commercial centers, but in the fact that our laborers have "three square meals" a day and are able to clothe and feed their little children and send them to school. Not that a king is powerful, but that political power is distributed among and rests with the people. These are the conditions that make a nation truly great.

Slowly came the evolution of religious freedom down the ages. In the sixteenth century Martin Luther challenged religious intolerance and the Reformation began. Contemporaneously, the licentious arrogance of Henry VIII. of England opposed with all the strength of his kingdom the power of papal despotism, and, once broken, it slowly gave way to religious freedom. The builders of our Republic, remembering the flight of the Pilgrim Fathers from the religious oppression of the Old World, in making the Constitution, divorced Church and State and gave to our people the greatest religious liberty the world has ever known.

How inspiring has been the march of political equality! Nearly a thousand years ago the Magna Charta was wrested from King John by his haughty barons on the plains of Runnymede, and to the English people was given the right of trial by jury. In the seventeenth century Oliver Cromwell gave the first challenge to the "divine right of kings." The teach-

ings of Voltaire and Rousseau inspired the French Revolution, and when the streets of Paris ran red with blood the people answered Louis XIV. back across the century and said, "Nay, sire; *we* are the State." The glories of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown made America independent of the tyranny of kings. But when the boys in blue marched with Grant to Appomattox and the Emancipation Proclamation came from the hands of the immortal Lincoln, like the voice of God into the grave of Lazarus, then all our people became absolutely free. Then the spade and pick, which in the hands of the slave had been emblems of disgrace, became in the hands of free toilers the emblems of honor. Then was lifted into the forum of our Constitution, to shine forever and ever like a star, the great principle of the equality of all men before the law. Then for the first time in all the ages there was a perfect political equality of all men.

In equal advancement with religious and political equality has come the diffusion of the means of education among our people. "The public free school is the fountain whose streams make glad all the lands of liberty." The tinkling of the school bell calls upon the children of the people to advance. The glad laughter of the school-going children of the Republic is as musical as the bells hung on the golden-shafted trees of Eden, shaken by the eternal breeze.

Wonderful has been the material advancement of the world. For ages science moved but slowly, creeping on from point to point. Then in the nineteenth century it came as the avalanche pouring its ripened fruit into the lap of the twentieth century:

"At the command of science the spirits of air, water, earth, and fire have been made to do man's every bidding. They propel his steamships, railways cars, and mighty engines; they make his garments; they build his houses; they illuminate his cities; they harvest his crops. For him they make ice in the summer and grow oranges amid snow. For him they fan a heated atmosphere into cooling breezes or banish icy winds. They flash his news around the globe. They carry the sound of his voice for thousands of miles, or preserve it after he

is dead. Verily, the fairies and genii of old did not so much for Solomon in all his glory."

During the last hundred years the increase in the aggregate wealth of the world has been more than that of all the preceding centuries. In France and England the wealth accumulated in the nineteenth century is more than five times as great as the total accumulations of all preceding ages. The wealth of the United States in 1800 was about one billion dollars, while now it is nearly ninety billions, the rate of increase being six times more than the growth of population in the same period, the *per capita* of wealth having risen from \$200 in 1800 to \$1,200 in 1900.

We have reviewed the evolution of political equality, religious liberty, and the popular dissemination of knowledge among the masses of the people. What about the diffusion of wealth? What about industrial equality? Have they too kept step with the onward march of civilization? On the contrary, wealth has concentrated into comparatively fewer hands, till one-half of our people own comparatively nothing. One-eighth of our people own seven-eighths of the wealth, or forty-nine times their equal share. Four thousand millionaires or multi-millionaires have twenty per cent. of the total wealth, or four thousand times their fair share if the principles of partnership or brotherly love were applied. Says Professor Frank Parsons:

"The vast increase of wealth and the congestion of it, along with the vast increase of knowledge and the large diffusion of it and the rapid growth of political liberty, constitutes the paradox of the nineteenth century and the source of the deepest troubles it bequeathes to the twentieth. The congestion of wealth in the presence of diffused intelligence is the underlying cause of the great unrest of our time. There are only two paths to social equilibrium: the diffusion of enlightenment must vanish or the concentration of wealth must cease. Democracy of intelligence and aristocracy of wealth are incompatible. Industrial privilege must destroy free government and popular enlightenment, or free government and popular enlightenment will destroy industrial privilege."

This is essentially an age of the combination and concentration of capital. The capitalization of the trusts in America to-day aggregates ten billions, and, together with the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, comprises more than one-fourth of our country's wealth. The trusts are the natural results of industrial evolution, and if properly coördinated with labor are not evils to be condemned. "They make possible the maximum of product resulting from the minimum expense and effort. The trust is scientific production. The modern trust is competition finished."

Brain and muscle should never be too cheap in the American Republic; and the organization of capital, improved machinery, and facilities of transportation, all, if rightly directed, give higher wages to labor and a lower cost of the product to the consumer.

Since the communism and socialistic condition of the tribes of primitive men, there has been no industrial equality. History tells of no golden age of labor. In all these hoary ages labor has been a commodity to be bought in the market the same as horses, coal, iron, etc. Governed by the law of supply and demand, labor has rested under the yoke of the Ricardian law that the wages of toil would always be brought to the level of the cost of the bare living of the toiler. Trusts in the future can do no worse than competition has done in the past in carrying out this "iron law" of wages. Organization and coöperation under the ameliorating influences of our present civilization can, and I believe will, do much better.

If the forces of political equality, religious freedom, and the diffusion of intelligence cannot successfully contend with the greed of organized capital, then indeed will come the fulfilment of Byron's gloomy prophecy:

"Here is the moral of all human tales,
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past:
First freedom and then glory—when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last!
And 'History' with all her volumes vast
Hath but one page."

The enactment by Congress of the Sherman law was a material step in the direction of controlling the trusts, but under our Constitution it could only apply to interstate transactions. With the proper amendment to our Federal Constitution, much can be done by our national government in the regulation of trusts. The stoppage of production for the wilful purpose of increasing the prices of necessary commodities could be prevented. The courts have traveled a long way in this direction in declaring that in government is vested the power to fix the maximum charges of railroads and other public utilities. Publicity and accounting will curb many of the evil tendencies of trusts.

While capital has been organizing and combining, the individual has reached out his hand to touch the hand of his fellow-man, until in the United States more than one million workingmen form the federation of labor.† And thus has come upon us the great spirit of coöperation—the banding together of men. Organization is the breath of life of our present civilization.‡

† The solution of the century's problem will come when the trusts and combinations of capital coöperate with the federation of labor. The great combination of these separate forces makes their coöperation possible. The organization of each will make possible the coöperation of both. Before this time comes capital must learn that its best customer is labor—that high wages bring for the products of capital a generous consumer; that when the laborer is well fed and clothed, his children instructed in our schools, and he has the blessings of a happy home, then he is contented and brings to his employment a strong arm, an intelligent head, and loyal heart. Then indeed he is more to the copartnership with capital than the horse, iron, or coal. He is then not a commodity but a partner.

Before this coöperation is complete, the laborer has many things to learn. He must have the wisdom to know his own rights and the courage to maintain them; he must have the discernment to know the rights of others and the fairness to respect them.

Class hate must vanish forever. There is no place in America for hatred between employer and employee, between the rich and the poor. When our forefathers built this Republic, they built it strong enough for us all to stand upon. The banker who keeps our money safe has his place in the community. The lawyer that pleads our case and writes our will; the physician who goes to the bedside of the little child and brings it back to life; the old gray-haired minister that stands at the baptismal font, at the marriage ceremony, and at the open grave; the engineer with his hand on the throttle, in the storm and darkness of the night, guiding the train with its burden of humanity safely to its destination; the miner who goes down into the bowels of the earth to dig the coal that warms us in the winter and that converts water into steam to turn the countless arms of toil; the farmer in the fresh air and sunshine that raises the food to feed us; the man in the shop and the merchant at the counter; the rich and the poor; the high and the low: I thank God that the Stars and Stripes are broad enough to cover us all!

I have nothing but contempt for that demagogue who preaches a doctrine of hate between one class of our people and another. Let us uncover our heads while we listen to the words of the immortal Lincoln—the man of sorrow—who walked through the Gethsemane of his nation's woe, and who was the instrument under God to wipe away forever the stain of slavery from our fair land: "I would not tear down my neighbor's house, but rather build one of my own." "The fact that some have become rich is proof that I might one day myself be rich."

Remember that this flower of the evolution of industrial equality will not open its petals to force. Anarchy, riot, mobs, and bloodshed will not advance the cause of labor. And above all and supreme over all is the majesty of the law. He who raises violent hands in infraction of his country's laws insults its flag and dishonors that which protects his life, his home, his wife and children. Without obedience to law there is chaos. The proudest and the humblest, the richest and the

poorest, must bow in humble submission to the law that is over all.

Coöperation of labor, to be effective, must be moderate, honest, and fair. The greatest progress of the near future will be in the elevation of the character of labor organizations themselves. Diffusion of intelligence will promote it. Courage and character in their leadership will promote it. The relegation to the rear of their demagogues and false teachers will promote it. Already philosophers of economic thought are becoming their teachers, and the leaders of labor are becoming their students. This is an exceedingly hopeful sign.

Its most powerful weapon is the ballot, "which executes the will of man, as the lightning executes the will of God." Organization has taken hold of political parties and given them what is called "the machine." It is not evil of itself, except when it gets into evil hands. Let the laborer study this machine, that he may know how it should be controlled. It is not enough that he go to the ballot-box to ratify the caucus action of some political party, but he should go to the primary and the convention, so that he shall be a determining factor in the choice of the public servants of his land and of the laws that shall govern him. Men should be selected for official place "whom the spoils of office cannot buy—men of honor, men who will not lie." The honest and active participation of the laboring man in practical politics is one of the greatest factors in industrial evolution.

Looking back over the years we find much for congratulation in the condition of labor. Wages are now double what they were a century ago, and their purchasing power, as to products consumed, has increased at least one-fourth. The hours of labor have been shortened; government inspection of factories and mines has been brought about, child labor restricted, a national labor commission and State bureaus of labor statistics established, and truck stores abolished. In the eleventh century England had a law prohibiting the increase of wages; labor unions were prohibited, and a day's work was fourteen hours.

"Slavery has been abolished among civilized nations and the slave traffic driven from the high seas; popular education is the rule in enlightened countries, so that every child is now taught to read, write, and cipher; higher education for women is an established fact, and free schools and colleges place thorough education within the reach of every young man and woman who is willing to take the trouble to obtain it. Reform has changed government prisons from dens of fever and corruption into sanitary places of restraint. Comfortable hospitals under the management of expert physicians and capable nurses open their doors to the sick. Insanity is dealt with as a disease, not as a crime; the deaf hear, the dumb speak,* and the blind are well-nigh as efficient as those that see. The news of the world may be had for a penny within a few hours of the happening, and for a few cents private letters are carried by steam to the antipodes."

Let us remember that our happiness cannot be made by law or industrial systems. As John Ruskin tells us, if we want to be strong we must work. If we want to be wise we must read and think. If we want to be happy we must love our fellow-man. We can never get anything out of Nature's establishment at half price. There is no royal road to anywhere worth the going. The divine injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," is not a curse, but a blessing. Upon individual effort, after all philosophies, must depend the welfare of the individual. Depend upon your own work, your own honesty and intelligence, and remember the divine command to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

The crescent promise of the twentieth century is the harmonious and fair partnership and coöperation of labor and capital. It is the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time. "It is the genius of American institutions, in the fulness of time, to wipe the last opprobrious stain from the brow of toil and to crown the toiler with the dignity, luster, and honor of a full and perfect manhood."

I will give you the toast of the twentieth century: Here's to Labor and Capital—the organization of each and the co-operation of both!

W. A. NORTHCOTT.

Greenville, Ill.

PUBLISHERS AND THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

ON two points the publishers of newspapers and periodicals have a difference with the Post Office Department at Washington which they deem of sufficient importance to discuss before the great free parliament of the American people. One relates to the use of executive power. It has been a source of irritation for many years. As one newspaper put it as long ago as 1892: "Any third or fourth class postmaster or employee of his office may decide what is objectionable matter in a newspaper and withhold the entire edition until an appeal to the Department at Washington has been heard and answered. This requires time, and though the decision may be in the publisher's favor, he has, meanwhile, suffered great loss by the detention of his newspaper editions in the home post office, and there is no recourse for damages."

This sort of "hold-up" process is of frequent occurrence. It is the method just now resorted to in order to enforce the recent new and arbitrary rulings of the department which it is the purpose of this article to discuss. The publishers would like to submit to the public and at the proper time to the Congress of the United States whether this method and habit of the Post Office Department is not an unnecessary infringement of personal rights and an unwarrantable assumption of executive power. It often works positive hardship even when the initiative ruling is reversed. But the representations of the subordinate postmaster, or even clerk, are usually sustained, and the publisher is arbitrarily subjected to a fine without any proper judicial process and to an irreparable loss in his business.

The second point of controversy relates to recent rulings concerning "second-class mail matter." The law establishing the pound rate of postage and defining plainly enough what should constitute second-class matter has been in operation over twenty years.

The present Third Assistant Postmaster-General, the Hon. Edwin C. Madden, sent out a circular letter to four hundred

publishers, dated April 13, 1901, in which he asked the opinion of those addressed whether a ruling against the use of any bonus or premiums would be injurious to legitimate periodicals, and plainly intimated that if the publishers addressed should favor his new policy it would be carried out without waiting for any further legislation. From other communications from his office it appeared, also, that he was disposed to interfere with the sending out of sample copies, which is distinctly provided for in the act of Congress which established the pound rates for second-class matter.

The publishers of the periodicals affected, throughout the country, took issue with the expressed intent of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General and drew up protests without waiting for the proposed ruling. At a meeting in New York, April 23, 1901, the following action was taken:

Resolved, That the publishers represented at this meeting are unanimously of the opinion that the post-office ruling proposed by the Third Assistant Postmaster-General in his circular letter of April 13, affecting the use of premiums for subscriptions, if issued, would be contrary to the traditions and practises of our postal system, an assumption of legislative power not vested in the Post-Office Department and detrimental to the interest and circulation of periodicals now legitimately included in mail matter of the second class.

We, the undersigned, heartily adopt the above resolution and respectfully and earnestly remonstrate against the proposed interpretation or modification of the existing status, which would abridge the rights and privileges of second-class mail matter which it has enjoyed uninterruptedly since the passage of the law in 1879, and we beg that no such steps may be taken.

(Signed by)

THE CENTURY COMPANY.
HARPER & BROTHERS.
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & Co.
ROBERT BONNER'S SONS.
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THE JUDGE COMPANY.
LIFE PUBLISHING COMPANY.
THE TRUTH COMPANY.
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ART INTERCHANGE.

McCRAW-MARDEN COMPANY.
REVIEW OF REVIEWS.
THE CHURCHMAN COMPANY.
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NEW YORK OBSERVER.
E. L. KELLOGG COMPANY.
FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY.
THE EXAMINER.
NEW YORK WEEKLY WITNESS.
ORANGE JUDD COMPANY.
PHELPS PUBLISHING COMPANY.
PUBLIC OPINION.
COLLIER'S WEEKLY.

In Chicago a joint meeting of representatives of about sixty publications was held early in May and resulted in the formation of an organization, afterward joined by publishers of St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and other cities of the West, and of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, under the name of the National Publishers' Bureau.

The gravamen of the complaint against the ruling suggested, and which has since been in part actually made and published with the sanction of the Postmaster-General, is that the executive department of our government attempts to enact law. In the circular letter referred to it was distinctly stated that the department had endeavored to obtain a modification of the law relating to second-class matter before several successive Congresses, and failed. It seemed almost beyond belief that the Third Assistant Postmaster-General should avowedly and unblushingly propose to do by a department ruling precisely what Congress had deliberately refused to sanction.

It is this apparent intention on the part of an executive department to defeat the will of the people and to assume the function of Congress which has so greatly aroused the publishers of the whole country. A publisher of three different newspapers situated in different cities, pertaining to one of the great industries of the country, addressing the writer as an officer of the National Publishers' Bureau, used these words: "I believe, as you do, that many of the rulings of the department are purely arbitrary and without sanction of any statutes now in existence, but, on the other hand, contrary to the publisher's rights as therein prescribed."

There is a wider and deeper interest in this controversy than would arise from the fact that the new rulings of the department will interfere with the legitimate business of publishers. The question is forced upon us: Is there not here a dangerous tendency on the part of the executive to usurp legislative powers? Whatever be the motive and whatever the results, whether affecting the interests of only one class of citizens or of all classes, is of far less importance than that

the very principles of our government and a safeguard of our liberties should be set aside.

It is to be noted that the new rulings, when published July 17, 1901, by no means realized the sweeping suggestions of the circular letter. They seriously affected, however, most publishers who use premiums; they opened the door to more of the abrupt detentions of whole editions of periodicals referred to in the first part of this paper, and have already resulted in cutting off from second-class privileges many publications which have had them for nearly a score of years under the express sanction of the department. One of the New York publishers whose business has lately been thus rudely interfered with uses this strong language: "A mere post-office ruling, under these circumstances, excluding this and similar publications from the mails, would, therefore, be as distinct 'nullification' as that which was attempted in the times of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. It is a good law, which has had vast and healthful influence in disseminating knowledge and increasing happiness in millions of the best American homes, and it would not be right nor wise to nullify it, even if it would be safe to do so."

It is proper that, in this discussion, we should inquire what was the real intent of the law. It is evident that the act was passed, not for the benefit of publishers, but for the dissemination of newspapers and periodicals among all the people. The purpose was educational and was for the greatest good of the greatest number. Even should it be shown conclusively that the low rate on second-class mail matter resulted in a great financial burden, is it quite clear that for that reason alone the people would desire it abolished? If by means of it the great body of the people get the reading matter they want, and to an extent otherwise impossible, is it at all certain that Congress (representing the people) would consent to repeal the law?

The "premium" has come in a process of evolution in the publishers' business. Until something better is invented, the publishers must depend, as they have for the last twenty years

and more, on premiums and sample copies as a means of enlarging their list of subscribers. They would doubtless like to know of something more effective. Even the Post Office Department does not suggest anything better. Until it is prepared to do so the conclusion is forced upon us that the prohibition of premiums and the restriction of sample copies would be injurious to the business and a hardship.

Let us now inquire whether there would be any good results that would bring an adequate compensation for this loss to publishers and a resultant loss to the people. The circular letter suggested that "legitimate publications" would be benefited; that is, other periodicals, which use no premiums, would get the subscribers which these other papers lose and would secure the advertising and so enjoy a prosperity they do not now have. How would they get the subscribers? Would the people who now begin their subscriptions because of a premium suddenly change in their tastes and remit their money for what the circular letter calls "higher class periodicals"?

DOES SECOND-CLASS MATTER CAUSE THE DEFICIT?

But the principal reason for the department to cut off the premiums, as presented by the letter, seems to be to save the expense of carrying second-class matter. Waiving, for the present, the question whether the whole people desire to reduce the circulation of reading matter on account of the cost of carrying the mails, let us inquire carefully whether the carrying of second-class matter is really a cause of the deficit. From a careful examination of the figures in our own office, and judging from them alone, the deficit does not appear to be so caused. For example, we have the cost of second-class pound-rate postage each month and the postage for letters and circulars growing out of the former (since we have no other business), and the two are about equal. We are prepared to give the exact figures if wanted by the department. This proves that from this one source alone two cents a pound is received, and not one cent, as appears to be assumed by the department. Besides, the postage on letters written to us and

to our advertisers and that paid on their answers and circulars, catalogues, etc., amount (we estimate on carefully secured data) to an additional two cents a pound; so that four cents per pound is received by the Post Office Department instead of one cent a pound. This, if the proportion holds good with others using second-class mail privileges, would show that this fund should be credited four times what it has hitherto been credited, and the supposed deficit on the second-class matter would be reduced to just that extent. A more exact accounting, as indicated by the figures of our own business, would thus, to a large extent, relieve the second-class matter of the charge of being a burden upon the department.

But, taking up this question from the figures supplied by the Postmaster-General's reports, it appears that the increase of second-class matter each year results in a corresponding decrease in the deficit. Let us examine the figures:

1897—Amount of second-class matter carried.....	310,000,000 lbs.
“ —Deficit	\$11,000,000
1898—Amount of second-class matter carried.....	336,000,000 lbs.
“ —Deficit	\$9,000,000
1899—Amount of second-class matter carried.....	352,000,000 lbs.
“ —Deficit	\$6,000,000
1900—Approximate amount of second-class matter carried	370,000,000 lbs.
“ —Deficit	\$4,500,000

This last deficit (1900) includes the extra cost of the rural delivery, and is therefore not exact.

It will be seen that these general figures for four years apparently sustain the conclusion derived from those of our own office to the effect that the business growing out of the second-class matter, *i.e.*, the postage paid on first, third, and fourth class matter directly traceable to that of the second-class matter, is so much increased as in reality to diminish the deficit. In other words, the second-class matter, in view of all receipts caused by it, is not the source of the deficit, but helps out the deficit of the department. If this is correct the causes of the deficit must be sought elsewhere, such as the carrying of franked mail matter, the exorbitant cost of carrying the mails

in many instances, and other like expenses. But it is no part of our purpose to criticize the department or to account for the deficit.

Our conclusion is unqualified, *viz.*, that in view of the wants of the people and the law Congress has made in their behalf, and in view of the character and interests of the publishers who use second-class mail matter rates, and in view of the apparent mistake as to the cause of the deficit, there is no sufficient ground for cutting off the privilege of offering premiums, which is quite generally used by a large proportion of certain classes of legitimate publications. If there are abuses, of course, they ought to be corrected. The law is plain prohibiting free circulation and "circulation at nominal rates." No one can complain of the proper enforcement of these provisions; but for the department to enact a law that Congress deliberately refused to enact would certainly not be sanctioned by the people and is clearly against public policy.

In consequence of the rulings published July 17, 1901, there have arisen two other distinct protests from publishers. One relates to the exclusion of periodicals "having the characteristics of books." The question is asked, Why should periodicals that have come into existence by reason of a law of Congress, and have enjoyed the rights of second-class matter, be suddenly deprived of those rights? The other protest is against a ruling that would exclude "bulk subscriptions." Why may not one man subscribe for a thousand or even ten thousand copies of a periodical if he sees fit? The rule published states that such bulk subscriptions "must be restricted within a limited number of copies." This quotation is from a letter of the Postmaster-General dated September 23, 1901.

When the Postmaster-General was asked whether he would consent to an "agreed case" to be submitted to a United States court, so as to obtain an impartial and final interpretation of the law on these subjects, including the rulings as to premiums and sample copies, he replied: "It is the duty of the department to administer the law. It cannot be a party to an 'agreed case.' Its responsibility is its own." From this it would seem

probable that even a decision by a United States court might not be heeded, or that possibly the court would hold that it had no jurisdiction over a coördinate department of the government. If once properly brought before a United States court, any clause or section of the law would doubtless receive an interpretation as to its meaning. This need not imply any right to enjoin the Post Office Department.

This latest letter from the Postmaster-General makes it clear from a new source that this whole subject should be fully discussed before the people. It is certain to be so discussed in the next Congress, whether brought there by another attempt of the Post Office Department to have its rulings enacted into law or to have the law which has stood so many years materially changed, or whether the subject be brought forward by the representatives of the people with the purpose of preventing these arbitrary rulings.

C. H. HOWARD.

Chicago, Ill.

THE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

INDUSTRIAL coöperation cheapens production and distribution and *makes possible* a just and equitable division of the wealth created. Nothing at the present stage of economic evolution would do more for the good of civilization than to provide for the just and equitable division of the wealth created. This would be reaching to the very center-point of the present-day labor question, which is the one question of politics and economics.

Among the many coöperative enterprises started in recent years, a few have survived to become potent factors in our social evolution, in spite of their being called utopian. Although ninety-five per cent. of new business enterprises fail, yet there are foolish people enough to hazard the perilous venture of a business career and to assert that true business principles are trustworthy. Although many poorly planned and badly managed coöperative undertakings have precipitated themselves into the same chaos as that of the ninety-five per cent. of business enterprises, yet the practicability of industrial coöperation is attested by a number of successful surviving witnesses.

Every trust or federation of business interests gives testimony to the practicability of coöperation. The trust is a form of coöperation which cheapens production and distribution but which fails to meet the requirements of the age, in that it does not make any provision for the just and equitable division of the wealth created. The evils of the trust arise almost wholly from the inequitable division of the wealth created.

The Rochdale Coöperators of England put behind their testimony to the practicability of industrial coöperation a volume of business of over \$300,000,000 a year. Their method of business execution is similar to that of the trust, which is the true business method; but unlike the trust they take a long

step toward providing a just and equitable division of their wealth. However, it is one step only that they take in this direction. Again, in Ghent, Belgium, a population of 25,000 working people are witnesses to the feasibility of coöperation in business, for they share in the benefits of their own stores and factories. The Arlington Coöperative Association, in the small city of Lawrence, Mass., does an annual business of nearly half a million dollars and benefits 5,000 workingmen. These and dozens of other successful coöperative enterprises refute the common accusation arising from ignorance that industrial coöperation is impracticable and unbusinesslike.

The Coöperative Association of America is more ambitious than any other coöperative enterprise yet started. It is looking forward to larger operations than any other and promises greater returns to workingmen. It claims to have solved the problem of primary importance in the labor question mentioned above—that of providing a just and equitable division of all wealth created. In accomplishing this thing of most importance, it is, as a secondary and consequent achievement, providing employment for an unlimited number of men and women. Although but one year old it is operating successfully in several branches of business, and every present indication points to the success of its entire program.

It does not claim to be able *within a year* to employ every man and woman in the nation, neither does it claim to be able *within a few months* to rescue from the thousands of species of economic plunderers the entirety of the wealth created by labor. But it is now employing some people and continually making new places for more co-workers, and is saving for the labor that it already employs a larger proportion of the created wealth that belongs to it than is done anywhere else in the world. The employees are called co-workers because they are all in fact equal partners, although not partners legally defined.

Although the association did not become ready to start its first business enterprise until about seven months ago, it is at the present time conducting the largest grocery business and

general market in the combined cities of Lewiston and Auburn, Maine. (Lewiston and Auburn are separated only by the Androscoggin River and have a combined population of over 45,000.) This grocery and market is situated in a commodious and beautiful building owned and built by the association, and it is in the best business location of the two cities. The association is also conducting successfully one of the best restaurants in Lewiston in a building owned by itself, and is now remodeling another of its buildings for the uses of a bakery, which it intends to start very soon. Furthermore, the management has plans already definitely matured for absorbing several of the largest established business interests of the city. This absorption is expected to be accomplished before the end of the winter. Independent of this absorption plan, however, it has definitely planned the purchase of several large farms near Lewiston from which it will supply its own stores and its own co-workers with everything that can be produced from the farm.

There are people who believe that a just and equitable division of the wealth created prevails now: that the dollar-a-day man deserves but his dollar, and that the prospective billionaire deserves his hundreds of millions. But this philosophy is but the ebullition of arrant egotism. The perverse side of human nature is such that, with the man who lives for his selfish interests alone, egotism increases with personal power. Hence it is that many men of wealth (not all) believe candidly that they are so superior to their less fortunate fellows that they are actually deserving of their millions by natural right. The egotism from the perverse side of their nature flaunts a blind before their mental vision preventing them from seeing the injustice and cruelty of economic conditions by which alone their millions came to them. Egotism is a spiritual insanity that stoutly maintains an opinion without the support of facts and which is little affected by their force.

Every one knows that as the result of invention and business organization—in other words, as the result of civilization—there has been, especially within the last fifty years, a phe-

nomenal increase in the effectiveness of labor, whereas the average increase in the wages of labor has been very small. This increase of wages is so small that it is hardly to be compared with the percentage of increase of labor's creations. Hence it is that labor at the present time owns a smaller percentage of the wealth of the nation than it ever did before, and hence it is also that the great bulk of all wealth is accumulating rapidly in the hands of a very few persons. The fact is evident to any unprejudiced mind that labor does not get its just proportion of the wealth created. I should say that labor does not get on the average more than one-third of what by right belongs to it. How, then, does the Coöperative Association of America expect in the course of time at least to treble the income of the average workingman? This question leads to an explanation of the general scheme of the organization.

This association is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Maine. Its capital stock is but \$10,000, and will probably always remain that amount, even when the assets of the company rise into the millions. No dividends will ever be declared upon this capital stock because the earnings *all* go to co-workers and nothing will be left for dividends, and therefore the stock will never have any commercial value. *But by becoming a corporation the spirit of the association has clothed itself with a material body suitable to the environment of the present economic world.* It can do business with the same freedom as, and on the same footing with, all modern successful industrial enterprises. However, it has taken a unique legal precaution that is absolutely necessary to the security of its perpetual integrity of purpose.

In the eyes of the law those who work for a corporation are employees. There are no laws that would compel the officers and directors of a corporation to give to the employees the full product of their toil. But it is the specific pledge and purpose of The Coöperative Association of America to give to every one of its workmen the entire product of his labor. Without legal power vested in disinterested and trustworthy

hands for enforcing this pledge and purpose the future would hold no security for their fulfilment. The Coöperative Association of America, therefore, has transferred ninety per cent. of its capital stock to The Co-workers' Fraternity Company, a corporation organized under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for purely educational purposes. The Co-workers' Fraternity Company is composed of representative men, most of whom are known nationally or internationally as loyal advocates of the economic ideals which the Coöperative Association of America is endeavoring to fulfil. By virtue of owning the majority of the capital stock the members of the Co-workers' Fraternity Company have sufficient legal power to be in fact trustees for the rights of the co-workers, and they guarantee the future integrity of The Coöperative Association of America. The Co-workers' Fraternity Company is to receive from the Coöperative Association of America a certain percentage (probably from five to ten per cent.) of the wealth created by all the co-workers as a fund for educational purposes. It is planning the establishment of a great university with branches at every industrial center of co-workers. With the prospect of an almost unlimited income it hopes that its university may lead in usefulness all the universities of the world. But more will be said of the proposed new university and its new educational features in THE ARENA at a later time.

It is the purpose of The Coöperative Association of America gradually to form within itself a federation of *all* legitimate branches of business. It will manufacture or create everything that the co-workers (members) consume so far and as rapidly as is possible.

There is one thing upon which the success of the enterprise and the continual increase in the income of every co-worker must largely depend. It is that the association controls the consuming power of all the co-workers. This control has already been secured. The consuming power is in the economic world what the ballot is in the political world. Every co-worker thoroughly understands that it is money in his

pocket to make it his perpetual practise to buy what the association produces in preference to what is produced by others, and that even irrespective of price. When all co-workers purchase and consume their own product in preference to the product of competitors, a condition is at once established whereby the income of every co-worker is increased by the establishment of each new branch of business. This can be best shown by what has already taken place. The restaurant was the first business to be undertaken. The patronage was increased by the incoming of new co-workers because the new co-workers boarded at their own restaurant in preference to competing ones. With this increase of patronage was an increase of profits, and the increase of profits with this association means increase of income for *every* co-worker. The grocery store and market were next established. The clerk co-workers who did not keep house for themselves took board at their own restaurant, thereby increasing again the general profits. In turn the restaurant began at once to make its purchases from the grocery and market of the association, and thereby the earnings of the store were increased. Thus the store increases the business of the restaurant and the restaurant increases the trade of the store. And as all profits are divided equitably among the co-workers the income of each has increased with every increase of business. When the farm industry is established next spring the produce can be disposed of through the association's own store and market, and thereby the financial success of the farm will be insured, whereas every co-worker employed at the farm becomes a new patron of the store. A printing plant is soon to be added to the general industries, and also a laundry and a shoe manufactory, together with other kinds of retail stores. Every new business will play into the hands of the others by increasing their profits, thereby increasing the income of every co-worker.

By the time the association has accomplished the federation of all the branches of legitimate business, it will have turned into the direction of its own treasury the thousand different leaks that now diminish the wages of the toiler, and thereby

save to labor or to the co-workers all the wealth approximately that labor creates. And then, I predict, the average wage of a co-worker will be thrice the average wage of the present-day workman. Furthermore, the income of co-workers will increase very considerably as the result of the economy of improved business organization. In ordinary petty businesses the waste is something enormous. This waste will all be saved for the benefit of the co-workers. Every new invention that may come into the possession of the association will also increase the income of every co-worker but will never deprive any one of employment. The problem of employment for all and for all time is solved beyond peradventure.

Thus far the work has been favored with good fortune in every step it has taken. The general scheme of the organization had been thoroughly thought out before work began; and what is more important even than a good plan or a feasible scheme is a business management capable of confronting the business world with sufficient skill and experience to hold its ground. This business management has been secured. Mr. Bradford Peck, the president, is the most successful business man of the city of Lewiston. He is at the head of the B. Peck Company department store, which, it is said, is the best equipped and most commodious and attractive store, outside of Boston, in the New England States. Since the beginning of this organization Mr. Peck has left the work of his store almost wholly to his subordinates and given nearly his entire time and attention to promoting the work of the Coöperative Association of America. This he has done without salary, besides making the association a gift equal to \$10,000 in cash. Mr. Henry A. Free, the treasurer, who has also been serving without salary thus far, was born with all the qualities of a shrewd and cautious financier. The remarkable financial success of the B. Peck Company department store has been in large measure due to Mr. Free's careful handling of the money. The Rev. Charles E. Lund is an eloquent man, possessing the enthusiasm of a dozen ordinary persons, and he seems to have been born to become the ideal secretary

of the association. The chief organizer is Mr. J. S. Clark, a man possessed with remarkable tact and diplomacy and with the rarest genius of explaining lucidly the benefits to be derived from industrial coöperation. L. N. Huston, the manager of the grocery store and market, was the manager of the Armour beef interest in Lewiston up to the time of his taking his position with this association. The business management of the whole organization as well as of every department thus far could hardly be improved.

The grocery store and market have more than six hundred pledged customers who trade with it regularly, besides the unquestioned regular patronage of the co-workers and the irregular patronage of the public in general. The five hundred pledged customers were secured somewhat according to the Rochdale system of England. Each one has invested \$25 in the business, with the understanding that he is to make his purchases at the store and to receive every six months as a rebate most of the net profits accruing to his purchases.

The Coöperative Association of America is adopting, or rather utilizing, the Rochdale system wherever there is an advantage in doing so. Thereby it has already increased the volume of its retail trade considerably. But on the whole its plan is different from the English system. The Rochdale co-operators have succeeded grandly in increasing the purchasing power of the wages of tens of thousands of poorly-paid workmen by from ten to fifteen per cent. It has further than this taught the working class that they are capable of furnishing brain as well as muscle to the industrial world and of capitalizing their own labor, all by the simple process of organization. But, as just stated, the extent of financial benefit to the working classes seems to be limited to a ten or fifteen per cent. increase in the purchasing power of their wages. The Coöperative Association of America, on the other hand, is gradually working out a new and complete civilization wherein the working classes will receive the full product of their toil, which will lead to a doubling and then a trebling of their present wages. Furthermore, it is providing for an educational

system that, in turn, is sure to double and treble the intelligence of the average workingman, which is even more to be desired than that his income should be increased.

The organization is not communistic. It does not pay all co-workers equally. Its aim is to pay each one what his labor creates: no more, no less. It is undeniable that some men can create more wealth than others. So far as it is possible, the highest form of civil-service examination will prevail. Men will be selected for their positions strictly for their qualifications. The very best machinery and general equipment is to be employed in every branch of labor, so that each co-worker will be given the advantage of the very best aids to labor that civilization renders available. The machinery and all instruments of production are to be owned by the association: which is identical to what is commonly called collective ownership. This means practically that each co-worker owns the particular machine, or that part of the machine which his own hands operate, during the time he is at work. In other words, the co-worker gets whatever the machine has to give. Thus all co-workers are in fact partners in business. Their earthly interests are mutual. The earthly interests of *all men* ought to be mutual, and some day shall be.

The management does not anticipate serious trouble from what is commonly called "plutocracy." The association is endeavoring to establish what will be an object-lesson, illustrating a higher form of justice and purity than has as yet been realized in any community or State. It does not seek to deprive any man of his present possessions. Neither would it hinder any man from accumulating wealth that he is able to gain by legitimate methods under economic conditions that are honest and just. It would, however, prevent a man from accumulating wealth under unjust economic conditions; but its method of prevention is simply to alter the economic conditions by making them just, but not to interfere with individual liberty of action. Thus its aim is to lift all men higher; to open up new opportunities to all men; to establish conditions wherein every one may find that position in the industrial

and social life of the nation where his particular talents can most readily express and develop themselves. It would not make the rich poor but it would make all the poor better off. Hence, it assumes that rich and poor, trust magnate and wage slave, will alike welcome a method of production and distribution of wealth that would give every man security in what he now possesses and furnish relief from present strife and insecurity, which are now causing uneasiness, distrust, and even revolt in all classes of society. Certainly, men of wealth would render assistance to an enterprise of this kind rather than to seek to destroy it.

But to allay the fears of some who have misinterpreted the spirit and motives of those who compose the so-called "plutocracy," and who have by imaginings of fear pictured to themselves a creature of horns and hoof and tail seeking to destroy everything humanitarian, I would say that, even though there should be the strongest opposition, the association is not without its armor of defense. As stated before, by becoming a corporation the spirit of the association has clothed itself with a material body suitable to the environment of the present economic world. If such a thing should become necessary it has all the qualifications for becoming the chief of all competitors. The simple fact that it can afford to pay higher wages to its co-workers than can any competitor is assurance enough that in course of time it can so drain the labor market that competitors, if there are such, will find neither labor to do their work nor markets in which to dispose of their products. Let me repeat that in the simple fact that this association divides *all* its wealth among the co-workers who create it resides the magic power that will enable this association to be chief of all competitors in the industrial world.

Those who wish to identify themselves with this enterprise, either as a co-worker, an associate member, a helper of any kind, or as a looker-on, should address the secretary, Lewiston, Maine.

HIRAM VROOMAN.

Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMIC REFORM.

THE current and world-wide agitation of economic reform, which has become so earnest and so intense, must awaken a number of pertinent inquiries in the mind of every thoughtful Christian man, and especially every Christian minister. Among these none are more pressing to-day than this: What is the legitimate, the proper attitude of individual and organized believers to economic movements?

The answer to this inquiry in part is prompt and definite. Christ fed the multitude, first with bread, then with the truth. Following his example, all forms of organized Christianity have emphasized that charity and beneficence which devote themselves to the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and Homes, Orphanages, Hospitals, etc., have been a distinctive feature of Christian civilization.

That Christianity has thus recognized its duty and privilege is sufficiently apparent, and that this type of ministry deals with effects rather than causes, and is correspondingly superficial, is also apparent. Christianity should address itself to causes rather than effects. In the last statement sin in the individual explains, theologically, the presence of all the abnormal conditions of life, and, so far as it has aimed at the eradication of sin by the reformation of men individually, organized Christianity has had to do with fundamentals. Were that effort successful many of our economic problems would be speedily settled. Unfortunately, however, but a modicum of men are reached as yet in that way, and they have never exerted a dominating influence over either our political or economic life. Moreover, in the past there have been a decided reserve and hesitation upon the part of Evangelical Christianity about essaying to improve social or economic conditions by political or communal methods. Even

so gross an offense against humanity as that of chattel slavery was condoned by multitudes of Christian people, who declared that it must be tolerated pending the individual redemption of the race. Communal action looking to the abolishment of the evils of the saloon has always been handicapped by this same hesitation, which still obtains in greater or less degree everywhere.

In late years, however, the conviction has been growing that Christian ideals must be pressed upon men collectively as well as individually, and that the ordering of the communal life commends itself to Christian endeavor. The late earnest words of the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the action of the Episcopal Conference in San Francisco, October last, are but two of the many signs of the times.

We are recognizing that there must be a divine ordering or law for the life and conduct of the community, which cannot be safely ignored; and the supreme assertion of that Economic Reform for which we should all stand is this: that the inherent, essential, beneficent, and therefore divine law respecting the ownership and free enjoyment of natural resources is manifest, and should be accepted for our guidance, and for the solution of our fundamental economic problem, the Land Question.

A most significant fact must not be overlooked at this point, *viz.*, the moral sentiment of the great majority of the people is far in advance of the ethical standard reflected in our commercial life. The stress and competition of trade are everywhere drifting or driving men consciously or unconsciously into a position, a business attitude, which is essentially indifferent to the rights of others, when, in fact, they would gladly recognize these rights; and it is our contention that the highest ethical standard of the majority ought to be reflected in the law and custom which it is theirs to create, so that men may conform to their highest ideals without the constant temptation to think that in so doing they are imperiling their success. Stimulus to right doing should be found not simply in the conscience of the individual, but in the legislated and all-

governing expression of that conscience. The gain to all in this cannot escape us.

How much more adequate, far reaching, and beneficent our effort to feed the hungry would prove if we devoted that effort to the securing of economic conditions which would do away with involuntary poverty! How much more conducive to self-respect, self-assertion, and self-improvement, if, instead of doling out alms to meet immediate necessities, we gave every man and woman who is worthy of food a fair chance to work for it!

This, however, would not sum up the gain. Our past attitude, to which I have referred, has begotten two or three vivid impressions in the mind of the man who has too little work or too little pay, or both, and their name is legion. If thoughtful, that man is mightily tempted to entertain the opinion that what comes back to him through our philanthropy is but a moiety of what his hard hands have earned for the philanthropist, and that after all there is much withheld which by every consideration of right belongs to him; and, most naturally, he is tempted to judge us so far as to think that a good deal of our professed and very comfortable, if not luxurious, devotion to the principles of the gospel of brotherly love is altogether pretentious and insincere. He may also be led to think that an overruling Providence, which gives the fat things of life to him who first and last looks out for number one, and who lets the devil take the hindmost in the race, is capable of favoritism and injustice. How far he yields to these and kindred temptations is evidenced, perhaps, by the fact (according to the most conservative estimates) that more than seventy-five per cent. of the laboring classes do not go to any church, and are altogether indifferent to religious appeal.

Removed by these conditions both from the ministrations of the Church and the individual, the importance of any opportunity to reach and impress the masses with the genuineness of God's love for them, and our love for them, assumes colossal proportions; and no one thing would more surely

open a door to the hearts of the indifferent and unsaved, nothing would more certainly impress them with the sincerity of our faith, than an active endeavor on our part to secure for every one of them what they demand, and what surely belongs to them, *viz.*, a fair chance.

It is reported that when Jesus was preaching in Judea he was pressed by multitudes of all classes, and especially of the common laboring people. The disciples also in their world-wide ministry seem to have had little difficulty in gaining the ear of the masses; but to-day, in marked contrast with all this, one of the most serious questions of the average minister is this: How shall I get a hearing? The fact of half-filled churches is a topic of frank discussion in wellnigh all ministerial gatherings, and the effort to make the church service, and especially the Sunday evening service, attractive, has resulted in some plans and programs which, to say the least, would have greatly shocked our fathers.

Now, suppose the great body of the clergy were to evidence a sincere, intelligent, and practical interest in the economic movements and conditions which have to do with the laboring man's immediate welfare; suppose it became known, through their words both in the pulpit and out of it, that they were against unfairness and wrong of every type and in every station; that they were ready to recognize the appeal of labor in the presence of the aggressions of monopoly and corporate greed; that the patronage of the well-to-do, the attitude of those in authority, modified in no way or degree their condemnation of every un-Christ-like thing and act; suppose that in this way it came to be understood that the clergy stood unequivocally for justice and fair dealing, in the ordering of economic affairs: does any one doubt that in such an event there would be a wonderful advance in church attendance?

Let us consider a concrete case. The story of the formation of the vast deposits of coal and oil on this continent points unmistakably to the co-relation between universal need and God-given supply. By nature all had an equal right to these

necessities, and their wide distribution and great abundance suggest ample and divinely planned provision for the comfort of each and all. Now, it has come about by reason of the selfishness and cupidity of some, and the ignorance and indifference of the many, that, instead of ministering to the largest comfort of all who are worthy and industrious, these vast deposits of good have come under the control of a very few, so that what belongs to the people by the manifest purpose of God, and by every consideration of right, is withheld and monopolized by the few to their enormous enrichment. Furthermore, this advantage by the few has been secured by means of the most brutal selfishness, the most flagrant iniquity.* This fact is practically undisputed, and yet instead of ceaseless and insistent protest against the consummation of a wrong so monstrous, instead of the scathing condemnation which our Lord visited upon kindred injustice, we are called to witness the active willingness of some Christian churches, colleges, and theological seminaries to share in this "princely stealing," by seeking and securing endowments at the hands of those who have knowingly profited by the situation. The writer recalls that Mr. Washington Gladden, and a few other divines, have been heard in condemnation of this wrong, and of any participation in its gains; but for the most part the pall of silence seems to rest upon our pulpits and religious press, and, so far as they are benefiting by a "division of the spoils," that silence is entirely explicable.

Nothing could be more significant to the welfare of this country than the sad and momentous fact that, through moral paralysis, stolid indifference, or craven fear, we are in danger of becoming blindly tolerant of a gigantic all-pervading wrong, respecting which, when we understand one another, there can be no disagreement as to the proper attitude of every professed follower of Jesus Christ.

Just here there is need of a clearer understanding of the

* See the history of the Standard Oil Company as revealed in Mr. Lloyd's "Wealth vs. Commonwealth," and the report of the proceedings of the investigating committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

economic facts, and I have, therefore, used the term *all-pervading* advisedly. We are too much accustomed to think of monopoly as organized and limited, but its essential wrong is perpetrated by every individual who, to the exclusion of others, controls and benefits by natural resources that belong to all, or a value and advantage which society produces, and for which he makes no corresponding return to society; and this individual habit, multiplied indefinitely, creates a social condition that is subversive of justice, and that necessarily begets poverty, unfair competition, and consequent misery and crime.

It must be perfectly clear that if what I have earned by my own exertions is mine, and what my neighbor has acquired by his individual effort is his, then by the same law what we have produced in association cannot by right be claimed as the exclusive property of either, for it belongs to both. Since by a law so adequate, so opportune, so simple, and so necessary as to stamp it at once as divine, there is an abundant social fund to provide for all ordinary public expenditure without placing any burdens whatever upon industry or its products, it is also clear that our present system of taxation, with all the political corruption, the moral degradation and the social and commercial ill it entails, is fundamentally and irretrievably wrong. Its legitimate fruits are seen in the weakening and debasement of the moral sense to such a degree that by common recognition and consent a tax that is dependent for its efficiency upon the honor of the people can no longer be collected. It encourages selfishness by assuring its reward; it exploits the honest for the benefit of the deceiving, and thus fosters the two most menacing facts of our civilization, *viz.*: excessive poverty and excessive wealth, both of which never fail to rot and debase the moral fiber of the people.

That this insidious wrong should be done away is not a matter for discussion. We may not agree as to the best method of coping with it, but we are at one in its condemnation, and it would seem legitimate to expect that any plan or

suggestion looking to its abatement would receive the serious consideration of all those who are called to be leaders and guides in the world's struggle with sin and iniquity.

The seriousness of our present economic conditions, the horrible grind of labor competition, the dire poverty, the struggle for existence, the despair, the physical and moral degradation and the resulting crime—all this is generally conceded and needs no emphasis. To him who is in any doubt about the ragged wretchedness of his brother, digging and dying down in the lower levels—to him a campaign with Fr. Huntington of New York, or with the slum-workers of the Salvation Army, or the reading of Mr. Riis's "How the Other Half Lives," would bring a great awakening: the discovery that the one word adequately suggesting the facts is that used by General Sherman as a synonym for war.

There is, however, a question in the minds of many as to the responsibility of the submerged classes for their condition, and the assumption is often made that they are for the most part lazy and despicable; that, however much we may do for them, they revert to their native level, like a pig to his wallowing, the moment they are left to their own resources. This assumption is no doubt the result of some experience, and it would probably satisfy those who are capable of drawing a universal conclusion from a particular premise. The chief end it subserves, however, as we must allow in all candor, is that of bringing quiet and contentment to a lot of us comfortable folk who want to hear our names at the general roll-call, but who find it quite inconvenient and unconventional to love our less fortunate brothers as ourselves. It is exceedingly interesting to discover how slyly we all fool ourselves about our own unselfishness, and this is but one of the numerous ways.

Again, there are a few clergymen and others who attribute all our social ills to intemperance, and who are of the opinion that things could in no way be remedied so long as the drink evil remains. To these and to all, the fifteenth annual report of the Charities Organization Society of New York brings

a very significant word. It is there shown, in a carefully tabulated statement, that about 5 per cent. of the cases of need are due to shiftlessness, dishonesty, or a roving disposition, 10 per cent. to intemperance, 13 per cent. to sickness, and 47 per cent. to lack of employment or poorly paid employment. The value and authority of this showing result from the fact that it is the product of systematic and painstaking visitation and inquiry by an organization that is in immediate touch with the problem and which embraces in its affiliations and councils over 159 kindred organizations in the principal cities of the United States and Canada. When we further remember that insufficient food and clothing are directly conducive to sickness, and that the wretchedness and despair of poverty drive men to intemperance and crime, increased emphasis is laid upon the relation of involuntary poverty to the great social problems that confront us. It becomes apparent, also, that to cut the tap-root of involuntary poverty would at once and permanently relieve the situation.

It would do more, for, however dreadful the fact of poverty itself, the *fear* of poverty is a far more serious fact in our complex civilization; and in removing the occasion of poverty we would also remove that anxiety regarding our own future which permeates every grade and department of life to weaken its moral stamina, to seduce its virtue, and to effect compromises which interdict both individual and communal progress.

But, says one, while we concede the causal relation of poverty to degradation and crime, we do not see the relation of the Monopoly of Natural Resources to Poverty. This query demands a moment's notice. The fundamental fact is this: He who controls the source of my subsistence controls me, and my condition is essentially one of slavery—with this modification, that my master is not impelled by selfish considerations to see that I am well fed and cared for. Those who are permitted to monopolize the natural resources are in a position to dictate to labor what return it shall receive, and for the simple reason that the laborer must live; and rather than starve he

will accept the lowest sum that will make continued existence possible. When we know that all the land of New York City is owned and controlled by eight per cent. of its people, we may realize how far the drift of things has already carried us, and how absolutely that eight per cent. are masters of the situation.

This monopoly of that for which no man can show a valid title, for the simple reason that God is the only one who could give it—I refer, of course, to the natural and unimproved advantage—would be unobjectionable if the monopolist but paid to the community what others would be willing to give for the same privilege, *i.e.*, the ground rent. This, however, he is permitted to pocket, and consequently the support of government falls as an added and unjust burden upon the industry from which he exacts his unearned benefit. Labor, therefore, is not only subject to the disability of insufficient employment and insufficient wage, but it pays a double tax—ground rent, which is legitimate and which should go to the government but now goes to the landlord, and the general tax which is imposed upon everything that labor consumes. That involuntary poverty should exist under these abnormal conditions is inevitable.

To all this the answer of many Christian leaders has been : We are not insensible to the seriousness of the situation, nor to the wrong which organized and legalized human selfishness is inflicting ; but the ministry is not called to champion methods but principles. Having instructed the people as to ethical standards, and appealed to their Christian sense, our responsibility has been met, and they must work out the problem.

Issue might be taken with this position, but our present contention does not call for it. If the moral sense of the people is educated by the pulpit and religious press to see the eternal principles underlying the situation, then the people will assuredly settle these problems, and that is the right way. The supreme end to be served by religious leadership in the present crisis is the education of the people as to principles—fundamental rights and privileges, which live and speak out in our

Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, but which are not vividly seen in their relation to the economic questions of the day. Thus, to instruct the people as to the ethical principles which should govern them in their political affiliations, and especially in the exercise of their suffrage—this calls for an intelligent embrace of the facts, and unswerving, outspoken loyalty to the guidance of those moral principles the application of which alone can equitably and finally settle all our problems.

For an exhibition of this intelligent, practical interest, and an absolutely unfettered freedom in its expression, the world legitimately looks to our Christian leadership; and woe betide our country if it should look in vain!

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REVOLUTIONS IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

I.

THE revolution wrought by physical science and the change in man's view of life, due to discoveries and inventions, are often regarded as the most remarkable achievements of the nineteenth century; and yet there were going on during the last hundred years other revolutions quite as important and fundamental in character as those wrought by science and discovery, chief among which is, perhaps, the wonderful change in the religious or theological beliefs of Christendom—a change that has gone on so silently, and whose currents have been swelled by so many tributaries and hidden springs, that few people seem aware of the character or extent of the revolution.

II.

In the dawning of the nineteenth century the somber shadow of ultra-Calvinism still hung darkly over the Protestant world, and, to the great majority of those who really believed in the Church, religion was a joyless influence that exerted on life much the same effect that a death's-head would exert on the guests at a banquet table.

Protestantism had been a noble and austere revolt against the excesses, the corruption, the worldliness, and the moral degradation of the Church, but, as is usually the case with great reform movements, Protestantism went to the opposite extreme. It discouraged art and often looked askance at the beauty of Nature. It frowned upon many of the healthy and normal pleasures of life as things sinful in themselves or tending to wean the heart from God, who, to the vision of the followers of Calvin, was an all-powerful and wrathful Judge

rather than a loving Father who sought to draw all life upward to Himself, even as the sun woos and wins the life-germ imbedded in the clod. Thus fear rather than love became the strong arm of the Church. Extremes always beget extremes, and from the worldliness of the Roman Church and the gloomy austerity of Calvinism an atheistic reaction set in, which for prudential reasons, however, seldom expressed itself by word of mouth, but which was everywhere in evidence in the lives of men. This condition was very evident throughout western Europe and in America. The Reformation had laid great stress on *faith*; but it was the intellectual assent to dogmas that at best were incomprehensible that it demanded—not the living faith which translates itself into deeds of love and transforms every life that comes under its illumination.

The prevailing religious conditions in New England at the close of the eighteenth century were typical. The Church, clinging tenaciously to its gloomy theology and frowning upon normal life and the innocent amusements that should be fostered and encouraged, lost its vital hold in the hearts of the young. Skepticism and atheism spread on every side. "The Puritan colonies for some years prior to the Revolution," says the Rev. George C. Lorimer, "were noted for the most singular inconsistencies in conduct, and for a casuistry at once artificial and misleading, and which can only be accounted for on the supposition that, however deeply versed they may have been in the doctrines of grace, they had never given much sober thought to the doctrines of ethics." This author further shows that this unreasoning attitude of the Church and its glaring inconsistencies prevailed in some regions far into the century, for he says: "Frequently I have known young girls to be expelled from the church for dancing, while their accusers were retained in membership, although they were whisky distillers and whisky drinkers, and even worse. . . . Men might chew tobacco in church, but they must not presume to smile."

This irrational, unwholesome, and artificial condition preva-

lent in the Church, which "condemned as abominations novel-reading, the going to see a play, the making of jests, the singing of comic songs, the eating of a dinner cooked on Sunday, or the giving of presents on Christmas day," naturally enough fostered atheism, and Dr. Lyman Beecher gives us a glimpse of the reaction in his description of Yale College during the last decade of the eighteenth century. "The college," he tells us, "was in a most ungodly state. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptical, and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common."

Lyman Beecher was in his early years a sturdy representative of the prevailing theology, which was so largely responsible for the crass materialism that flourished during the opening years of the nineteenth century. He it was that assumed the leadership of the great divines who undertook to combat and overthrow Unitarianism, which rose in the first half of the new century as a broader, saner, and more Christ-like religion than that which exalted intellectual faith at the expense of the religion of Jesus as expressed in a life of love, and whose view of heaven was too often obscured by the smoke of the eternal pit.

Unitarianism as proclaimed by Dr. Channing fell upon the parched, withered, and dwarfed heart, soul, and imagination of New England as a refreshing rain upon a parched garden; and, in response to the vivifying and inspiring new truth or presentation of truth, the human mind expanded and the imagination blossomed as never before throughout rugged New England. Longfellow, Bryant, Lowell, and Holmes sang the songs of the new time, while among other distinguished leaders in the world of thought, who gave emphasis to the broader, and we think truer, religious teachings of Unitarianism, we find the historians Prescott, Motley, and Bancroft; the jurists, statesmen, educators, and philanthropists Marshall and Story, Sumner and Everett, Louis Agassiz, John Fiske, and Horace Mann; and among the eminent women, Dorothea

Dix, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Peabody, and Lucretia Mott.

In a vain attempt to stem the rising tide of a broader religious thought, Lyman Beecher thundered from Lord's day to Lord's day his threatenings of eternal doom. So insistent was he in dwelling on "hell," and so dramatic were his vivid pictures of the tortures of the eternally damned, that he might have inspired the admiration of a Cotton Mather or the envy of a Michael Wigglesworth. His church became known as the "fire and brimstone edifice." Dr. A. M. Beecher, a gifted niece of the great divine, related to me a timely incident that bears upon this question. One morning when Dr. Beecher was approaching his church his attention was arrested by seeing a lad standing on the steps of the house of God holding in one hand a package of little white sticks. The amazed divine stopped as if rooted to the spot. He soon observed that the child was engaged in sticking, one by one, these little slivers of wood into the keyhole. Each was held there for a few seconds and then replaced. At length Dr. Beecher approached and with stern and indignant voice cried, "Boy, what are you doing?" "Making matches," was the laconic retort.

Dr. Beecher later, however, came materially under the more liberal spirit of the century, a fact that is well illustrated by another anecdote related by Miss Beecher. The great divine was at Lane Theological Seminary, in Cincinnati, on one occasion when a professor was examining a candidate for the ministry. At length he came to the question that all Presbyterian clergymen are expected to answer in the affirmative. "Would you be willing to be damned for the glory of God?" The youth, who seemed to have scruples about lying, hesitated. He was evidently hardly prepared to declare his willingness to be eternally damned for the glory of God whom he had never seen; whereupon Dr. Beecher, turning to the professor, said somewhat sharply, "What was that you said?" The teacher repeated the question, and was the next moment con-

founded by the old divine putting the question abruptly to him—"Would you? Would you?"

"Well—I—I—I hope I should."

"Then you ought to be damned," replied Dr. Beecher as he turned away.

Here is another story, which further illustrates the spirit prevalent during the stormy days of religious contention that marked the upheaval in New England's theology. An orthodox believer had engaged in conversation with a new arrival in the town, who believed in the tenets of Universalism. After a heated and rather acrimonious discussion the orthodox believer left the stranger to attend a prayer-meeting. He arrived rather late and was shortly after called upon for a few words of exhortation; whereupon he rose, still trembling with excitement, and exclaimed: "Brothers and sisters, I have just been listening to a man who is preaching a new-fangled heresy. He actually declared that ultimately *all* souls would be saved! But, brothers and sisters," continued the speaker, fervently, "we hope for better things."

Unitarianism was one of the great factors that broadened and humanized the Christian faith in America, and to a certain degree in England, during the last century. It was largely indebted to the liberal and humanitarian philosophic thought which permeated French literature, and in a measure that of England and America, in the last half of the eighteenth century, and it also drew much inspiration from the great German transcendental thinkers and mystics on the one hand, and, strange as it may seem, it felt the spell of the religious revival in the England of a century earlier, led by Whitfield and the two Wesleys; for, though the emotionalism of Methodism seems far removed from the intellectualism of the Unitarian denomination, the emphasis that the former placed on practical Christianity, or on works as an absolutely necessary accompaniment to faith, and its insistence on the love side of God, were also master notes in the Unitarian reaction. Of course, in the theological tenets a wide gulf separated the two faiths. One appealed with great power to the emotional side

of life. The other was most effective in its influence on the intellect. "Unitarianism," says the Rev. Edward A. Horton, "sought to trace again the lost lineaments of Jesus—to affirm the Fatherhood and Brotherhood; above all to ring that text from shore to shore, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Its yearning was for unity of belief in the essentials of faith, and for unity of action in the building of God's kingdom on earth." Dr. Horton further asserts that it has ever been guided by three cardinal principles: (1) Love of truth. (2) Enthusiasm for humanity. (3) The spirit of Christ.

The revolution of the closing years of the eighteenth century and the early days of the nineteenth gave a new dignity to the common life. The rights of man, the responsibilities of life, and the dignity of being received new meaning—a meaning only known in the history of Christianity during the early days of the Church; and the new freedom of thought brought with it a larger dream of life into the heart and brain of the age.

From the prison-house of centuries the emancipated mind of man crept into the growth-fostering and health-giving sunlight of liberty. It was a time of unexampled growth, and all the manifold influences of the period tended to broaden, even though they revolutionized, the faith of the strong; while, as is usually the case in transition periods, the timid and faithless among the professors of religion became alarmed, and not a few enrolled themselves under the reactionary banners, saying to reason, "Peace; be still!"

III.

No one thing among the many agencies at work during the nineteenth century so shattered the old and popular idea of the creation as did the marvelous discoveries in geology, paleontology, and biology. In the last-named field the evolutionary theory encountered for a time well-nigh the solid front of united Christianity; but this opposition, fierce and determined as it was for many years, gradually gave way before the

rapidly accumulated evidences that tended to confirm the position of physical science.

In the light of the new revelations, the antiquity of the world, the large space of time since man appeared on its surface, and the vast and illimitable extent of the starry firmament were facts that jostled rudely with what the Church had long taught as absolute truth. Such discoveries and their legitimate implications could not fail greatly to modify religious thought, and perhaps it was to be expected that the first result would serve to shatter the faith of many in all religious truth, while filling the minds of the champions of the Christian religion with indignation born of fear for their faith. This phenomenon, however, was nothing new, as every step taken by man in his slow ascent has awakened the same alarm and aroused the same antagonism as that which convulsed the last century.

The revolution in geology and paleontology began more than a hundred years ago, but its influence extended only to a comparatively few among the pioneer investigators, and it was not until Charles Darwin published his epoch-marking work on evolution that civilization awakened to the importance of the changes that had been forced upon the intellect of the world through scientific research. Then it was that Christendom arose almost as one man in alarmed and indignant opposition to the new theory. A battle of almost unprecedented bitterness ensued, but it was soon evident that the conventional religious thought was waging a losing war, for seldom if ever in history had a great revolutionary theory conquered a commanding place in the intellectual world so rapidly as did this new theory.

One of the first among the great theologians frankly to accept the evolutionary hypothesis was the Rev. Minot J. Savage, the distinguished Unitarian divine. Dr. Savage made an exhaustive study of the subject prior to his public exposition and defense of the theory in 1876. Many other liberal clergymen and a few of the more fearless among the orthodox followed Mr. Savage, while still others gave the new view

a tentative acceptance. But it was not until about eighteen years later that a great authoritative thinker in the world of orthodox Christianity boldly and in a masterly manner defended the evolutionary hypothesis. Professor Henry Drummond had endeared himself to millions of the more spiritual among orthodox Christians by his "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," "Pax Vobiscum," and other luminous addresses. Hence, when in his Lowell Institute course of lectures in Boston he frankly accepted the evolutionary theory as a rational working hypothesis, his position, though it created much surprise among many who had long opposed the theory, was on the whole favorably received. Indeed, its reception was so cordial that it indicated how great had been the change in the thought of the religious world since the stormy days when Charles Darwin was a target for such unmeasured abuse and unmeaning criticism as a great man has seldom received save in the political arena.

Professor Drummond's exposition was far more than a masterly popular presentation of the views of Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, and Spencer. He went a step further and pointed out a fact very vital to a comprehensive understanding of the principles of evolution.

The physical scientists had heretofore made the struggle for life, culminating in the survival of the fittest, the key-note of the evolutionary hypothesis. Professor Drummond showed that this law, which runs through the ascent of being, is paralleled by another law quite as fundamental and important—the struggle for the life of others. Even in its early stages we find the prophecy. "Life," says this author, "is a drama, and no drama was ever put upon the stage with only one actor. The struggle for life is the villain of the piece, no more; and like the villain of the piece its chief function is to react upon the other players for higher ends."

The basis of the struggle for life is nutrition—a conflict with Nature and the elements, sustained by hunger and intensified by competition. The basis of the struggle for the life of others is reproduction and care for the young. This sec-

ond factor is intertwined with the other in the sphere of life, though its workings are more manifest as life ascends.

It would seem that the early evolutionists, being chiefly concerned with the phenomena of being in its lower manifestations, lost sight of what Professor Drummond terms the second great factor—the struggle for the life of others; for this at best is present as a hardly discernible thread of gold in the earlier phenomena of existence, but it grows more and more pronounced as life ascends, until in the higher animals its influence is very marked, while it is still more pronounced in primitive man; and in the well-developed human life it dominates the being, and we find egoism giving place to altruism and the supremacy of the spiritual over the physical, in which love becomes the lord of life.

Professor Drummond's exposition was so clear and reasonable that it did much to remove the deep prejudice of Christian thinkers, while on all sides evidences multiply that the more thoughtful in the modern world are using this theory as a working hypothesis. Only a few months ago the Rev. Charles Parkhurst, D.D., the eminent Presbyterian clergyman of New York City, said in a signed editorial in the *New York Journal*: "Darwinism is neither atheistic nor agnostic, and, if the Church had not scowled upon Mr. Darwin's deliverances with such a grimace of holy horror, both the old scientist himself and his philosophy might have been saved to the Church and added in with the other assets of our holy Christian religion. The Church has pretty regularly evinced a suicidal genius for drying up its own resources and feeding upon its own brain."

Such, however, were far from being the views of the great majority of the clergy when Charles Darwin promulgated his theory; and it has only been in very recent years that any considerable number of religious leaders have evinced a readiness to accept the larger view of life due to the steady advance of physical science together with the multitudinous other influences which have so operated as to show that man's

idea of God, heaven, and the past, present, and future had at best been in a large measure a childhood concept.

IV.

Modern research has drawn aside the veil, and all things have taken on a newer and more beautiful aspect to the eye of faith, and this broader conception of the eternal verities called forth vital and inspiring messages from the prophets, the dreamers, and the seers.

Victor Hugo, from an exile's refuge on the rugged isle of Guernsey, sent forth his great message of progress, "*Les Misérables*," which breathed the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, teaching love, coöperation, gentleness, and a nobler justice than society had ever accorded to the weak and erring ones, and supplementing this with his immortal work on genius and art through the ages—"William Shakespeare"—a volume that is instinct with vital thought for civilization to-day and that abounds in the religion of progress, the key-note of which is self-sacrifice (the losing of life for others), which finds expression in such passages as these:

"The function of thinkers in our days is complex: it no longer suffices to think,—one must love; it no longer suffices to think and to love,—one must act. To think, to love, and to act, no longer suffice,—one must suffer. Lay down the pen, and go where you hear the grapeshot. Here is a barricade; take your place there. Here is exile; accept it. Here is the scaffold,—be it so."

"Here is the truth: to sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, to pray toward the Infinite."

"To be the servant of God in the task of progress."

Thomas Carlyle, from his bleak moorland home, where, companioned by biting poverty and an ever-present fear for the morrow, he composed "*Sartor Resartus*," added materially to the living truths that were haunting the brain of the chosen few who had ascended the mountain.

Giuseppe Mazzini, an apostle of freedom and righteousness, proscribed by his government and sojourning in London, pro-

claimed the shallowness of all philosophy that failed to minister to the religious side of life, and the futility of all social experiments as programs of progress that did not lift man above thought of self and awaken in him that living, transforming faith which, to use his thought, creates martyrs and is the parent of history—which combats, prays, enlightens, and bids man advance fearlessly in the ways of God and humanity; that faith which makes the dullest soul alive to the splendid, solemn truth that life is a mission, a high and sacred mission.

Richard Wagner, in the darkness and in the light, in banishment and under the favor of a munificent king, ceased not to declare a higher and truer conception of the mission of music, showing that, instead of being something merely to gratify eye and ear, it must satisfy the deepest cravings of the soul—and thus exalt the idea of life, purify and elevate the aspirations of man, and draw him upward toward the Source of being, whose triple name is Light, and Truth, and Love. And, not content with exalting man to a higher interpretation of the mission of art, he seized upon the great myths and legends and made them further civilization's sore need by teaching lessons of the deepest import, chiefest among which is the redemptive power of pure, unselfish love.

Jean François Millet, from an obscure hamlet in France, painted immortal canvases dealing with the common life and portraying some of the less fortunate among our brothers who have been forgotten in the mad rush for wealth, or rather who have been enslaved by those who are fattening on special privileges. So great indeed was the work of this prophet of righteousness that he compelled the thoughtful to behold the hollowness of the religion of those who professed to follow the teachings of the great Nazarene, to hold all men as brothers, and to do unto them as they would be done by. Millet's pictures were disquieting. They propounded questions to the conscience. They proclaimed the power of the brush as a factor in progress. "The Man with the Hoe" and "The Sowers" are works well calculated to vex a sleek, easy-

going, and self-satisfied conventionalism; for the faces depicted not only inspire such questions as have been raised by Edwin Markham in his splendid verse, but they also show how far the Christian Church has fallen below the ideal and the imperative injunction of the Founder of its religion, and further suggest such poems as Lowell's "Parable," in which the representative of the modern Christian Church, rich in worldly goods but poor in self-sacrifice, proud in self-satisfaction but slow to succor the oppressed, is thus rebuked by the Master:

"Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
These he set in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garments' hem,
For fear of defilement, 'Lo! here,' said he,
'The images ye have made of me!'"

John Ruskin, artist, critic, poet, and son of a rich man, also heard the august voice of duty summoning him to battle under the luminous banner of "All for all;" and he went forth as true a hero as ever glorified the annals of the ages. The wealth of his rich inheritance and the proceeds of his commanding intellect were alike enlisted in the cause of God and man. "Right faith of man," he asserts, "is not intended to give him repose, but to enable him to do his work." And again: "There is no wealth but life; life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others." "It is the supreme end of civilization to produce manhood and maintain it in happiness." Ruskin, though a passionate lover of beauty, was above all a prophet of justice. "It is the law of heaven," he cries, "that you shall not be able to judge what is wise or easy, unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and

to do it! That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our Master—the order of all others that is given oftenest. ‘Do justice and judgment.’ . . . The one divine work—the one ordered sacrifice—is to do justice.”

Robert Browning, from bending beside the couch of his invalid wife in far-away Florence, and later when the light of his home had gone forth, bravely sang of the broader and higher conception of Deity, of life, and of the interdependence of all living things:

“ . . . God dwells in all,
From life’s minute beginnings, up at last
To man—the consummation of this scheme
Of being, the completion of this sphere
Of life.”

His is the larger faith that makes for freedom, and at times there is something lark-like in his cry, as when he exclaims—

“God’s in his heaven,
All’s right with the world!”

And again—

“Let one more attest,
I have lived, seen God’s hand through a lifetime,
And all was for best.
This world’s no blot for us, nor blank;
It means intensely, and means good.”

A man possessed of such faith finds no difficulty in thus encouraging the faltering ones:

“Aspire, break bounds! I say,
Endeavor to be good, and better still,
And best! Success is naught, endeavor’s all.”

How beautifully is his faith mirrored forth in the swan-song of this prophet-poet! A few weeks before his death he described himself and his faith as follows:

“What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly?
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel,
Being—who?

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward.

Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.”

Leo Tolstoy is another colossal figure that looms up in the nineteenth century as a prophet of righteousness—a doer of the will of God. Hugo tells us that: “Great is he who consecrates himself. Even when overcome he remains serene.” And it is true that the holy example of a great man, far more than his words, takes hold upon the deeper feelings of our nature. In his renunciation of wealth, position, the favor of a great court, and popularity as an illustrious author, in order to work with and for the poor, and to live as well as teach the Christ life, Count Tolstoy has become an inspiration to tens of thousands of lives, even among those who do not regard his method at all times as wise. He is one of the grandest figures of modern times and stands in stature a very Saul among the nineteenth century religious and ethical prophets.

These men have been the typical leaders in the advance-guard of the last century, yet they are but a few of the illustrious men of genius who from the mountain-tops have signaled humanity to come up higher; while like a “trailing cloud of glory” behind them come the prophet poets and bards of progress, each contributing to the message that broadens, humanizes, and ennobles the religious, ethical, and artistic concepts of the world.

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EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

THE doctrine of Evolution has produced a far-reaching and profound effect upon every department of investigation and thought. As a result we have a new biology, a new physiology, a new astronomy, a new sociology—in short, it has either revolutionized or greatly modified all science and all philosophy. Theology has not escaped from the conquering arms of this new Alexander. Though at first it made stubborn resistance, it was forced back from point to point, from one redoubt to another, until at last it has raised the white flag and surrendered. There has been many a hard-fought battle: the length of the “days” of creation—whether twenty-four hours or immeasurable ages; the method of the creation of the universe—whether instantaneous or gradual; the age of the human race—whether only six thousand years or very much older; the origin of man—whether by special creation or by derivation from the lower animals. These are the great battlefields where evolution and theology have met and fought. In every instance evolution has won the day. The last redoubt has been taken; the warfare is over; evolution and theology have made perpetual peace and joined their forces in the great work of uplifting the world and pushing forward the evolution of humanity.

We are to consider in this paper the modifications made in theology by the doctrine of evolution. First, we will consider the origin of man, concerning which there are three theories. One is that man was made directly by the Divine fiat; the second is that man was not made at all, but was simply derived; the third is that man was made by a process of development. Le Conte illustrates this by the origin of the individual. Says he: “There are three theories concerning the origin of the individual. The first is that of the pious child who thinks that he was made very much as he himself makes his

dirt pies; the second is that of the street gamin, or Topsy, who says, 'I was not made at all—I grewed'; the third is that of most intelligent Christians: *i.e.*, that we are made by a process of evolution." So with the three theories as to the origin of the human race. The orthodox clergyman believes that man was made at once by the Divine fiat without any natural process; the materialist believes that there is no Creator, that man is the product of blind force inherent in matter, that man "was not made at all—he grewed"; the Christian evolutionist believes that man was made by the eternal God by a process of evolution beginning at the very dawn of life upon earth. Man, instead of being created instantly out of the dust of earth, was developed from the lowest forms of life through immeasurable ages. This is not denying that God created man. The earth, as all educated persons admit, was brought to its present form through a long process of development from original nebulæ; yet we say God made the earth. The giant oak that towers heavenward and bids defiance to the storms grew from a little acorn; yet we say God made the oak. The individual man developed from a spherule of protoplasm to a little babe and from a babe to mature manhood; yet we say God made the individual man. So, though generic man reached his high estate only after ages of evolution through the lower animals, yet it is equally true that God made generic man.

This conception of creation is to my mind more rational and more sublime than that which was taught me in childhood. Think of God taking a handful of dust and molding it into the form of a man, then blowing his breath into it, and, lo! it comes to life and begins to move! That does very well as a story for children: it was adapted to the childhood of the race. It was of inestimable value to the people for whom it was written.

Just think how many ancient errors are corrected in this short account of creation! It corrected Atheism by showing that there is a God; it corrected Polytheism by showing that Jehovah-Elohim is the only true God; it corrected Pantheism

by showing that God existed before the universe, and created the universe, and was distinct from the universe; it corrected Pessimism by declaring that God looked upon all His work and said that it was good. "Its true and deep object," says Farrar, "was to set right an erring world in the supremely important knowledge that there was one God and Father of all, the Creator of heaven and earth, a God who saw all things which He had made and pronounced them to be very good." Its object was to teach, not science, but theology and religion. Taken as science it is incorrect; taken as poetry or myth it is profoundly true. No educated man accepts it as a literal statement of facts. Even those ministers who are so strongly opposed to the doctrine of evolution take great liberties with the Mosaic account of creation. Does God breathe, and did He literally blow His breath into Adam's nostrils? Did He really make Eve out of one of Adam's ribs? Were the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge literal trees with literal fruit? Was the serpent a sure-enough snake, talking to Eve with audible words? And did God really come down to take a walk in the Garden "in the cool of the day"? All this they interpret as figurative. They accept as literal what suits their theory and explain as figurative what they plainly see cannot be literal. I will be more consistent—I will consider the whole story as allegorical or legendary, and not at all a scientific account of creation. And I will accept that other account, which we read in God's Book of Nature, *viz.*, that of creation by evolution. It appeals to me as more reasonable, more scientific, more sublime and godlike.

Evolution also gives us a different explanation of the origin of human depravity—not different from the Bible, but different from traditional theology. The *fact* of depravity is not here in question. Though I do not believe in the doctrine of total depravity—it is contrary both to Scripture and to evolution—yet I cannot close my eyes to the fact that men are more or less depraved. Man is apparently a weak, erring, sinful creature, constantly going astray, constantly falling be-

low his ideals, constantly giving way to the demands of his lower nature. The *why* of this weakness, the source of this seeming depravity, is the question before us. Theology has explained it thus: God made the first man and woman perfect; they disobeyed God by eating the forbidden fruit and thus fell from their first estate; they transmitted to their posterity their fallen nature and thus the whole race was polluted and depraved. It is commonly supposed that this doctrine of the fall of the race in Adam is Scriptural, but it would be difficult to find any sufficient basis for it in the Bible. Long before I became an evolutionist I had reached this conclusion. The story in Genesis, even if taken literally, gives no hint of results so far reaching. No Old Testament lawgiver or priest or prophet makes any allusion whatever to such a catastrophe. Christ in all his discourses about sin and salvation never once alludes to the "fall" of the race in Adam. John in his sublime Apocalyptic drama of the conflict between good and evil never remotely hints at such a fall as being the origin of evil. Of all the Biblical writers, Paul alone alludes to it. Without affirming or denying, he speaks of this Pharisaic doctrine as if it were familiar to his readers. He uses it as a premise in an *ad hominem* argument, just as he used the practise of baptism for the dead, and just as Jesus used the belief of the Jews that some of them could cast out devils. As Mr. Beecher said, "It was Christ's moral sufficiency to heal all evil—no matter how it was supposed to have entered the world, even if through Adam—that was in Paul's heart." It is neither a Christian nor a Biblical doctrine: it is a bastard dogma borrowed from the Pharisees. And yet nearly every system of theology has been founded on this assumption that the human race fell in Adam.

It is an assumption without foundation. The race has never fallen. Individuals have fallen—are constantly falling. It may be that whole tribes and even nations have degenerated. But the race as a whole has ever been ascending. One of the surest conclusions of geology and archæology and history is that man was once a savage and has been climbing upward

ever since. Whether he evolved from the lower animals may never be demonstrated, but that he began very low in the scale and passed through the savage stage is certain. His progress has been traced from the lowest savage of the River Drift to the highly-cultured man of letters and civilization. The story of Adam and Eve is in accord with this. They are described as innocent savages; they feed upon fruit, they live outdoors, they go clad in Nature's garments; then they learn to clothe themselves with leaves; later on they are clad with the skins of beasts: a perfectly accurate description of man as the scientist finds him in the earliest ages. From this primitive condition man has risen, not fallen. The hypothesis of the fall of the race in Adam as an explanation of human depravity is contrary to the known facts in the case.

Evolution holds that the animal origin of man is the source of human depravity. The evil evinced in human nature is the animal nature that still remains in man. Sin is a falling back into animalism; a degeneration instead of a development; the subordination of the higher nature to the lower. What is normal and right in a lower animal may become abnormal and sinful in man. Gluttony is normal in the hog, combativeness in the dog, vanity in the pea-cock, ferocity in the tiger, libidinosity in the billy-goat. But these qualities when they appear in man are abnormal and sinful. It is much more reasonable to ascribe the source of these abnormal tendencies to the lower animals in which they actually occur than to put the blame on poor Adam, and worse still on Eve—neither of whom has ever been accused of any of the sins just mentioned. There might be some show of reason for blaming Eve for woman's curiosity and Adam for man's disposition to put the blame on his wife, but to make them responsible for *all* these forms of sin of which they were never guilty is a little unfair. No; man's seeming depravity came not from some legendary Adam and Eve, but from his animal progenitors. As man emerged from his simian ancestry he brought with him much of the lower animal nature. This has been transmitted by heredity from generation to generation

and has been bequeathed to every one of us by our parents. It has been modified here and there in different ages and different races. On the whole, there can be no doubt that the race has ascended very far from its primitive state; that there is much less of animalism in civilized man to-day than in the first beings that could be properly called man. But, though man has ascended very far, he is yet largely animal; and whatever there is of animalism in our nature can be traced to our animal ancestry.

This new point of view concerning depravity necessitates a modification of our doctrine of *redemption*. As with heredity, so with redemption: it is not a question as to the fact but as to the philosophy. The necessity of salvation from depravity and sin and the agency of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation must be firmly held; but the ground of this necessity and the significance and purpose of the atonement will be differently interpreted. The theology that holds to the fall of the race in Adam grounds the necessity of the atonement in the fall of Adam, "either because," as Lyman Abbott says, "the whole race was in Adam as the oak is in the acorn and sinned in him, or because the whole race was represented by Adam and is held responsible for his act, or because the whole race descended from Adam and inherited by the law of heredity his sinful nature from him." According to either of these views, if it had not been for Adam's fall the race would have needed no Saviour. The whole work of Christ is to save the race from the ruin wrought in the fall. Man is condemned to eternal punishment, either because Adam sinned or because man has inherited Adam's sinful nature, or because having inherited this evil nature he necessarily and continually sins. The object of the atonement is to undo what Adam did—to restore man to favor with God; to satisfy justice and to propitiate God; to remove the curse that is supposed to rest upon the race.

The evolutionary theology grounds the necessity of redemption in the animalism that is in man. Sin is not the old Adam but the old *animal* rising up and gaining ascendancy.

Christ came to save man, not from the curse of Adam but from animalism. Man needs salvation, not because Adam sinned but because he himself sins; because he yields to his lower nature; because he constantly falls back into animalism. Salvation is the lifting of man out of the animal nature into the spiritual nature. The work of Christ is to carry forward to perfection the evolution of man. As Henry Drummond has said, "Christianity is the Further Evolution;" it is the force that evolves character—that develops the spiritual nature. The object of the atonement is not to move the heart of God to pity so that He will forgive the race for something which Adam did and which the great majority of the race never heard of; neither is it to patch up some imaginary rent which Adam made in the moral law and thus to satisfy justice. The object of the atonement is to touch the heart of man; to reveal the Father's love; to present to him an uplifting ideal; to inspire him with a nobler altruism; to bind him to Christ with the adamant chains of a holy passion, and thus to lift him out of selfishness into altruism, out of animalism into spirituality, out of sin into righteousness, out of beast-likeness into Christ-likeness.

If evolution be asked how Christ uplifts men, it does not lack an answer. It does not undertake to give the answer in full—not even theology can do that; but from a scientific standpoint it sees and speaks. Christ uplifts men by the attractive force of an ideal character. It is a well-known law that men tend to become like their ideals. This principle is recognized by the scientist. Says Le Conte: "In organic evolution species are transformed by their environment. In human evolution character is transformed by its own ideal. Organic evolution is by necessary law; human evolution is by voluntary effort, *i.e.*, by free law. Organic evolution is pushed onward and upward from behind and below. Human evolution is drawn upward and forward from above and in front by the attractive force of ideals." The same writer says: "The most powerfully attractive ideal ever presented to the

human mind, and therefore the most potent agent in the evolution of human character, is the Christ." As men look upon this perfect man, and accept him as their ideal and strive to become like him, they rise above the base animalism that would hold them down; they become less and less animal, and more and more spiritual, until they be delivered from what Paul calls "the body of this death," and rise unfettered into newness of life.

That theory of atonement which makes it a substitutionary sacrifice finds no support in evolution. Whether God be a tyrant burning with fury toward His disobedient subjects and will not be propitiated till he sees the blood of His own Son, or whether He be a judge so inflexible and pitiless that He will not forgive transgression till He has inflicted the punishment upon an innocent substitute, or whether He be a Father so loving as to give His own Son that through him men might be saved—these are questions with which evolution has nothing to do. The character of God and what goes on in the mind of God are not within the sphere of the evolutionary philosophy. All it can say is that it knows nothing of substitutionary sacrifice, but that it knows much of vicarious sacrifice. It is one of the most important and most essential factors in all evolution. As Lyman Abbott says: "Vicarious sacrifice is not an episode; it is the universal law of life. Life comes only from life, and life-giving costs the life-giver something. It is a part of the order of Nature—that is, the Divine order—that the birth of a life should be through the pain of another." The lowest of all organic life, the unicellular organism, in reproduction must sacrifice one-half of its own life. The flower cannot perpetuate its kind without giving up all or a part of its vitality. The parent bird sacrifices its liberty to incubate and its energy to feed its young. The human mother in travail brings forth her child and in so doing sacrifices a part of her life. So Christ in sacrificing himself to give life to humanity is fulfilling the law of Nature. The only way in which he could give his life to us is through sacrifice. This is not substitutionary but vicarious sacrifice;

it is not Christ suffering *instead* of us but it is Christ suffering for the sake of us—not as a substitute to save us from penalty but as a life-giver to give life to us and thus save us from sin. Thus does the sacrificial law of evolution find its highest exemplification in the sacrifice that Christ made of himself.

True Christianity is the flower of altruism. Altruism is the scientific name for a very familiar principle. It means literally other-ism—regard for others. It is the opposite of self-ism. It is another name for love. We find the foreshadowings of this in the lowest forms of life. The two great factors in evolution are the Struggle for Self and the Struggle for Others. They appear first in the vegetable world as Nutrition (the struggle for life) and Reproduction (the struggle for the life of posterity). Then in the animal these two factors appear—the one struggling for the life of the individual, the other to preserve the species. As we rise higher in the scale the struggle for self becomes less intense and the struggle for others is intensified, reaching its acme in maternity—the struggle of the mother for her offspring. In the human species we find the same factors at work. At first altruism, or the struggle for others, is limited to the family; then it takes in the clan or tribe; then it extends to a whole nation, and even beyond. This struggle for others received a mighty impetus through Christ and burst into glorious flower in Christianity. Christ widened altruism to embrace the whole brotherhood of man and intensified it in every relation of human society. His whole life was a struggle for others, and the essence of his gospel is "Love thy neighbor as thyself." And as the years roll by and the race climbs steadily toward its Ideal—as men follow Christ and practise his Golden Rule and learn to live his law of *love*—the struggle for self will constantly diminish and the struggle for others will be intensified until by and by altruism shall hold universal sway.

I believe with Henry Drummond that Christianity and Evolution are one; that Christianity is but the Further Evolu-

tion: "What is evolution? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. What is Christianity? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. Through what does evolution work? Through love. Through what does Christianity work? Through love. Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit. . . . There is nothing in Christianity which is not in germ in Nature. It is not an excrescence on nature but its efflorescence. It is the only current set from eternity for the progress of the world and the perfecting of a human race." The God of Nature and the God of Christianity are one. We are not to think that God left the world to run itself till man appeared, and then left man to get along as best he could by himself till Christ came. For millions of years He was evolving the earth to fit it as a habitation for man. For perhaps millions of years He was evolving a human body for the indwelling of a human spirit. And perhaps for thousands of years He was evolving mind—from sensation to consciousness, and from consciousness to self-consciousness, and from self-consciousness to Mind: immortal spirit. And for thousands of years He has been evolving the race, pushing man upward from below and drawing him upward from above, preparing him for the advent of the Divine Man. And when Christianity stepped upon the world's stage of action it came not as a new force but as a higher manifestation of the same Divine force which through all the ages has been in operation. It is not a new engine hitched onto the train, but a higher pressure of the steam in the same old engine. It is not another battery attached but a higher voltage from that same Divine dynamo which has energized the universe from the beginning until now. As in the old-fashioned flour mills, when the miller wished to run only one millstone he would raise the flood-gate only a little, but when he wished to run all the millstones he would raise the flood-gate entirely, so in Christ God threw wide open the flood-gates through which the streams of Divine power pour into humanity.

Evolution would teach us that redemption is a gradual process. It is not the work of an instant but of months and years—yea, in its highest and finest effects it is the work of eternity. God works by processes of slow development; that is, slow as *we* measure time. But with God time seems to be of no consequence. As was said of an artist, so we may say of God: "He counts not the lapse of mortal years in creating an immortal work." When He wanted a world, instead of speaking it into existence in an instant, He took a good many years to make it. When He wanted certain species of plants and animals, He developed them through countless years. When He wanted man He evolved him through we know not how many years. To-day when He wants a tree or a flower He grows it from a tiny seed. Evolution has been well defined as "God's way of doing things." Whatever God wants, either in Nature or in society or in the individual, He accomplishes by evolution. The redemption of a human soul is an evolutionary process. In regeneration God plants the seed of the spiritual life in the soul, and from that seed develops the beautiful flower of character. It is "like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal," and the leaven kept on growing "till the whole was leavened." It is "like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field," and the little seed evolved into a tree. The redemption of a soul is evolution: it is God's way of saving men.

WALTER SPENCE.

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DAME FASHION'S THUMB.

THE subject of dress has assumed an enviable importance in public opinion, judging from the elaborately illustrated newspaper columns and the magnificent display in shop-windows and streets rustling with silk-lined skirts. Not many years ago the newspapers had only paragraph space for fashion notes; to-day they devote columns and sheets to the subject, till the time-honored war correspondent has formidable rivals in the New York and Parisian fashion writers.

Another notable fact is that for many years the leading stores of our large cities occupied comparatively small space on the main streets, and one wax model with angular wooden hands, in company with a "form" or two, in the windows was all-sufficient; but within the last two years these stores have absorbed all or the largest part of a block and support a magnificent array of wax ladies, and have handsome carriage-ways with liveried attendants.

The public eye is now able to behold without smoked glasses the glittering, bespangled throng attired in traveling gowns, suitable only for receptions, and matinee hats down in the business thoroughfares of the cities; and the shop-girl and restaurant cashier in pink and white satin waists are no longer conspicuous individuals.

If he who runs can read, it is very profitable business to appeal to woman's vanity. In fact the tailor and millinery shops, increasing at the present rate, will soon equal the every-other-door prominence of the saloon. The situation truly demands another Frances Willard and a new Temperance Union that will strive to overcome not only King Alcohol but Dame Fashion. The royal autocrat seems to have revived and adapted to her caprices the old game of "Solomon says, 'Thumbs up!'" somewhat after the following fashion: "Skirts down, skirts, up, coats loose, waists tight; hats bare, hats loaded, shoes

pointed, shoes broad," etc. And her subjects? Behold their zest in the game!

The four-dollar-a-week shop-girl displaying her last penny on her back hastens with all possible speed to join the throng, quite unmindful of the disapproving frowns of her wealthy sisters, who will soon have to adopt Puritan simplicity in order to be distinguished from plebeians—just as royalty and the Four Hundred have discarded their carriages and now "walk down town."

The highest ambition of Susan B. Anthony and her colleagues was to open all avenues of advancement to women, that they might become superior to petty vanities and whimsicalities and exercise their right to work side by side with man in meeting the needs of home and community. These hardy pioneers did not battle against the storms of adverse criticism that the women of this generation might have the privilege of spending half their time discussing perplexing social and political problems, and ending their responsibility in these matters with hand-clapping the earnest words of such women as Jane Adams and Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

It is truly amazing to observe the number of enthusiastic clubwomen who pride themselves upon their independence of thought and opinion and are yet among the most abject slaves of Fashion. They are positively afraid to be seen in church in a last year's garment; nor do they dare to wear loose sleeves at the present moment even though their proportions be those of a match. They willingly wear their nerves to a frazzle studying how garments not strictly up-to-date can be altered and devising new creations according to the prevailing styles, almost never according to their comfort, convenience, or proportions. It is no wonder that the little daughter of such a devotee, after hearing nothing but styles and patterns talked over by the dressmaker and family, should in her evening prayer ask the "dear Lord to bless us an' help us all to be stylish."

In a discussion that recently took place in one of the woman's clubs of Chicago to ascertain the cause of the prevailing ner-

vousness of women, it was attributed to various things—even to inoffensive health foods; but no one mentioned the harassing, nerve-wearing endeavors to keep in the fashion. The Rev. Jenken Lloyd Jones, in a recent address to women, paid tribute to the average society woman's powers of endurance in the following words: "I know of no skin so tough and enduring as that of a society devotee. Subject a strong, healthy man to the same harrowing efforts to be in proper form for one year, and he would be prostrated without a doubt." He also reminded us of the fact that it is dishonest to spend more money than we earn, whether it be the gift of father, brother, or husband; and also that religious, educational, and philanthropic movements are lacking funds for no better reason than woman's willingness to gratify her love of adornment, which places thousands of dollars in the hands of persons that already possess much more than their share of this world's goods.

The footpad is doing his best to teach women the safety and convenience of plain street attire. Perhaps after a few more women have their hands and faces lacerated in being shorn of their jewels, Dame Fashion will permit her subjects to appear in something less elegant than the finest of broadcloths, silks, and laces. It will be interesting to observe how long a lease of life the royal dame will allow the golf skirt—the only rational thing she has invented since the shirt-waist, which she now decrees must be relegated to the past.

In the face of such incriminating evidence of women's extravagance, it is comforting to reflect that there is a steadily increasing minority who believe that society has a rightful interest in the amount and use of the time and money spent on dress, and who feel morally responsible for the standards of economy and honesty held by their households and the girls and women of slender means with whom they come in daily contact in the shops and streets. Such a woman, who is possessed of a great deal of wealth, on being asked why she did not dress more elaborately, replied: "I have a few friends who can afford to dress magnificently, and a few who have to practise the most rigid economy, but the majority of my

friends are possessed of comfortable means, and dress nicely; and I feel that if I am dressed as are the majority of my friends I have struck about the right average."

Another hopeful sign is the increased number of organizations throughout the country whose members endeavor to put into practise the rule of beauty given by William Morris: "Nothing can be truly beautiful that is not useful." They try to overcome their physical defects and then model their gowns according to their own natural outlines, believing those lines to be beautiful enough to observe since the Creator saw fit to pronounce them good; and artists and poets use the natural form as a subject in preference to the corset-figure. For pattern suggestions, they study the portrait and figure paintings instead of Parisian *La Modes*, and it is needless to add that they discard the corset, which, by the way, was invented by the prostitutes of Greece—a very logical outcome of their perverted and distorted conception of life. Such gowns are simple, comfortable, and beautiful—beautiful because they are governed by the same laws of color and harmony that characterize all other artistic productions.

To plan a gown, choosing the material with regard to color, design, texture, means, and occasion, is a subject worthy of serious consideration. If the day is past when we allowed ministers to do our spiritual thinking for us and physicians our health thinking, just so surely has the time arrived for us to become responsible for our clothing and no longer allow the dressmaker to do our thinking for us. To be told what one should and should not wear is an indignity that every mature woman should resent.

The best architect is he who plans a house to express throughout its arrangement the exact needs of its inmates; he then selects his colors and materials to emphasize the particular use of each place. There is no mistaking a bed-room for a hall, or the dining-room for the kitchen; a perfect balance of space and material is evident on every hand. Even with unlimited means at his disposal, the true artist avoids superfluities; and in its style of architecture he makes its office as

a home perfectly evident and distinct from a church or theater. Now, if we substitute the word *dress* for *house*, and observe the same rules for selection and construction, we would have a garment that would distinctly express the individual needs of its wearer and the occasion for which it is planned—and it would be entirely in keeping with her means.

That it is right to beautify one's clothes cannot be doubted when we look about us and observe all other creatures of Nature clothed in such loveliness of color, texture, and form, all of which are absolutely essential to the life of the object. The most common illustration of this fact is observable in the reciprocal relations of insects and flowers. Extreme plainness of dress is little better than carelessness, and can seldom boast of a better excuse than the plea of "being too busy."

It is pleasant to observe the increasing evidence of the influence of all those who have stood for these principles—from the Grecian to the medieval period, from the Napoleonic empire to Ruskin and Morris, and to such dramatic artists as Bernhardt, Terry, Langtry, and Powers. There is a yearly increase of intelligent and capable women to be seen on the platform, in clubs and society, who have the courage to defy Fashion and dress in the above-mentioned manner and whose ability and character are appreciated even by the fashionables—thus proving that true worth appeals to the human heart and is respected quite regardless of Dame Fashion's say-so.

MARIAN GERTRUDE HAINES.

Fairmont, Minn.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

ONE of the definitions of the word *capital* given by Webster is "means of increasing one's power or influence." It is argued by some that, as money increases one's power and influence, it should be properly classed as capital.

Some things have a transient existence or power, being based on human laws, which are subject to change; other things are eternal, being based on natural law. Money has only the power given to it by man-made laws—class legislation. Labor can and does exercise power and influence in spite of human laws. Money without labor is powerless, while labor can perform great deeds without a cent. Beavers cut down trees, dam up streams, and build habitations in the lakes thus formed, without a thought of an "honest dollar," the "parity between gold and silver," or "the consent of other nations." Some people say that labor can do nothing without capital, *i.e.*, without money to offer an incentive to work. If that were true, the Pilgrim Fathers could never have founded this Republic nor our revolutionary fathers have established their freedom. Money is powerless in the absence of labor; and when this mighty truth dawns on the children of earth, now asleep under the hypnotic influence of this Pharaoh, they will smite the idol with feet of clay and destroy it.

It is becoming evident to the toilers—they who do the world's work—that to hire out to another is slavery, misnamed "free labor." The laborer is a slave to his employer—with the blessed privilege of quitting work whenever he chooses to starve. The chattel slave, the negro, labored for a living, but it was *guaranteed*. The wage slave works whenever so-called capital (the capitalist) can profit by his labor, but he is subject to discharge at any time. Since chattel slavery was abolished a system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution has worked its sovereign will until there are a dozen applicants for every job, wages are reduced to the

minimum, and we see millions begging for work as well as for bread. The system of wage slavery is doomed; but both laborer and capitalist must learn that no one can injure another without having the injury react upon himself before the bright day of brotherhood will light the new earth.

If a spoke in a wheel is injured the wheel is injured. We are all spokes in the great wheel of humanity, the motive power of which is God. Every person, good or bad, rich or poor, may be likened to a bolt or nail or piece of wood in the great human machine. When the truth of the declaration of Jesus, "Ye are temples of the living God," appears in all its beauty to the minds of those who struggle in the darkness of war and trade competition (which is simply war to the death between man and man and nation against nation), the desire to injure any one or have more than another will fade from human minds like a nightmare. A great light will shine about the sons of God as about Saul of Tarsus, when he was changed to the Apostle Paul.

Trades-unions are trusts, or combines, organized to fight greater trusts, or combines. The sugar trust expects to make a greater profit from sugar, which the consumers, among whom are laboring men and women, must pay. The shoemakers' union expects to raise the price of shoes, which increased price must be paid by the carpenter, the blacksmith, the farmer—fellow-workers—as well as by the lawyers, bankers, and members of the sugar trust. The carpenters, seeing that they are not only compelled to pay more for sugar on account of the sugar trust but are also required to pay more for shoes because of the shoemakers' union, proceed to organize a carpenters' union. The ironworkers, turners, brickmasons, etc., do likewise. Then the farmers, seeing that their fellow-workmen have formed trusts and combines with the intention to raise the price of all the manufactured goods they need as well as the labor of the artisans—the carpenters who build their houses or barns, or the blacksmiths who repair their wagons or farm machinery—are forced by the stern logic of events to organize a trust of their own; hence the Farmers' Alliance.

By this trust they hope to receive an increased price for their own products. If they succeed the burden must fall on all consumers—capitalist and producer, or workingman.

Evil always destroys itself. The great and growing infamy of the ages, competition, has about destroyed itself. Universal coöperation will build up the fair temple of the Brotherhood of Man—

“Where no throne shall cast a shadow,
And no slave shall wear a chain.”

GEORGE W. CAREY.

Los Angeles, Cal.

A CONVERSATION
WITH
ALEXANDER WILDER, M.D., F.A.S.
ON
MEDICAL FREEDOM.

Q. Dr. Wilder, as the author of an able and interesting "History of Medicine," which I have just had the pleasure of perusing, I would like to obtain your views on restrictive medical legislation. The advocates of this kind of legislation plead that it is demanded for the protection of life and health, for the welfare of society, and for the advancement of science. In regard to the first of these propositions, let me ask you whether you consider it true that the life and health of individuals are safer and better secured where statutes are in force that narrow the practise of the healing art to the representatives of two or three schools of medicine, or where a broader freedom obtains and every citizen is guaranteed the right to select whomsoever he desires to wait upon him in the hour of sickness, and each physician understands that he will be held responsible for his own acts?

A. The subject of medical legislation covers a wide field and invades not only the rights of persons in a professional matter but their rights as human beings. I wish, therefore, that the subject could be discussed by some one other than myself. I grew up from childhood with an intense hatred of oppression and love of fair play and fair opportunities for all. I believe heartily with Herbert Spencer that every individual has freedom, the right to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not on the equal freedom of any other person. It seems to me, therefore, that I am too decided and too radical

in my notions to give any but a positive reply, perhaps without due regard to the other side.

I do not think that stringent legislation which, under the pretext of regulating medical practise, aims or operates to confine it to the representatives of particular schools of medicine has the slightest advantage in regard to life and health over the freedom of every individual to select his own adviser, and of that adviser to give the aid desired. It would be an act of tyranny to force a person to take medicine if he did not believe in its efficacy, and it is equally such to compel him to do without advice and service where he does so believe. Until this American system becomes a paternal government or an Asiatic despotism, such wrongs are not to be countenanced.

Medical legislation as a general fact is but meddling and muddling whenever it interferes. It cannot be intelligent, and therefore cannot be just. For medical men seldom agree, and none of them are experts in matters of legislation; hence, it is not possible to obtain the requisite knowledge to legislate to any right purpose. The legislators who vote for such enactments are little else than dupes of those who seek them; and unfortunately medical men have a great pecuniary interest in disseminating exaggerated notions about infection and other matters. If there was no pecuniary interest involved, I do not believe that such legislation would be sought; and, indeed, medical men of the first class in their profession are seldom found seeking to obtain it.

The first of these statutes, the one enacted in Illinois about twenty years ago, I was told by a physician who took part in it, was passed and procured, not to elevate the practise or to drive off charlatans, but simply to make an office for Dr. Rauch.

Q. Is it not true that the independent practitioner is compelled to be far more careful than the physician who has a large and powerful medical organization behind him?

A. Yes; the practitioners who have no powerful medical organization behind them are sure to be held responsible as other physicians are not. It is a significant fact illustrating this statement that while criminal abortion is very general

physicians belonging to orthodox medical societies are seldom brought to answer for it. When they are called to account for alleged malpractice or mistreatment, their professional brethren generally swear them clear. But the slightest aberration or blunder on the part of the unprotected independent is very certain to be made the theme of general criticism and abundant exaggeration.

Q. Is it not true that the remedial agencies and procedures employed by liberal, progressive, and independent practitioners are, as a rule, far less dangerous than the drugs employed by the "regular" or old school of medicine?

A. Certainly; I am very positive in my conviction that the latter are far less dangerous. Any intelligent person will object to swallowing medicine when in health, because it will very probably do him injury; yet he is the same individual when ill, and will often suffer injury from it accordingly. Hence, he takes it in the hope of some incidental benefit compensating for the injury. My personal observation in early life in my own family and neighborhood made me apprehensive that the physician would prove more dangerous than the disease; and, indeed, one of my strongest reasons for studying medicine, beyond a passion for knowledge, was to be able to escape that peril. Nevertheless, it is hardly necessary for me to impeach the orthodox medical practise. Its history resembles the shifting of the kaleidoscope, in which the same material is presented constantly in different forms, but with no change in the articles themselves. The ablest and most learned members of the profession have often spoken in no doubtful terms. I will not quote William James or Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Five centuries ago, when polypharmacy was in vogue in most disgusting and extravagant forms, Paracelsus wrote: "Some poison their patients with mercury, and others purge or bleed them to death. There are some who have learned so much that their learning has driven out all their common sense; and there are others who care a great deal more for their profit than for the health of their patients." Dr. Ben-

jamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was equally positive. "We have assisted in multiplying diseases," said he, "and we have done more: we have increased their mortality." Even Dr. Chapman of Philadelphia declared the physician who abandoned his patient to calomel "a vile enemy to the sick." Yet the same boast was made then as now—that the art of medicine was more perfect than ever, and not to be improved.

If it is imagined that the blood-letting practise has disappeared, not to return, we have only to remember that there are recurrences of epidemic "fads" among medical men, like those of cholera. Bacteriology was a fad two centuries ago, and even now the leading medical journal of Great Britain is named *The Lancet*. No one will venture to call it a misnomer. "Monsieur Tonson" is very sure to "come again."

Meanwhile it is a fact easy to demonstrate that physicians of the homeopathic, eclectic, and other schools, practising medicine side by side with those denominating themselves regular and "the medical profession" *par excellence*, do not exhibit in their practise any such high percentage of deaths. I have scrutinized their books and interrogated them personally in order to be sure of the fact. One of them, who has had a large number of cases of pneumonia, has in forty years scarcely lost over one or two in a hundred; and in an epidemic of dysentery, which was very malignant and fatal, he had over seventy patients and all recovered. He is equally sure in small-pox, but never vaccinates. I could point at others. It is perfectly safe to pronounce the remedial agencies and procedures of the various schools of liberal physicians far more sure of good results and far less dangerous than those of their rivals; and another significant fact is that when they adhere faithfully to the formulas and treatment of the school to which they belong, not "going after strange gods," they leave no disease behind as a consequence of their medical treatment. To them, therefore, the emphatic words of Dr. Rush do not so forcibly apply: "Those physicians generally become the most eminent in their profession who soonest eman-

cipate themselves from the tyranny of the schools of physic;" or the declaration of Sir Thomas Watson, that in order to become successful the physician must first forget what he has learned in college.

Q. Is it not true that wise and just regulations can be provided for the protection of the community in case of contagious or infectious diseases, for example, without any stringent laws that are applied and intended to apply so as to give favored schools of physicians a practical monopoly of the healing art?

A. In regard to the protecting of a community in the case of contagious diseases, it is my opinion that this business of contagion and infection is prodigiously overdone. Much of the danger supposed to exist is only in the fancy, which is, often from motives of self-interest, stimulated abnormally to the point of alarm. Our people are educated to consider themselves diseased or liable to disease when such is not the case. Employment at something useful, pure air, pure water, and wholesome diet are more effective as prophylactics and disinfectants than the various expedients that are vaunted and exhibited. The legislation with which we are infested seems to be devised for the advantage of sanitary officers rather than for the benefit of the sick, or even the health of the community. I have yet to learn where health boards and their regulations have served to any noteworthy degree to lower the death-rate.

Q. It is often asserted that, in States and communities where no strict laws and regulations are in force, impostors, mountebanks, and charlatans deceive the people and lead their patients to believe that they have received a medical education when this is not the case. This plea was put forward several years ago as one of the chief reasons for the enacting of a medical statute in Massachusetts. It was opposed by a proposition that a measure should be enacted requiring every physician engaged in professional practise to hang up his diploma, if he had one, and a certificate giving his qualifications or lack of qualifications, which should be signed by the proper

official persons. But this did not meet the purposes that were sought.

A. As for strict laws to prevent impostors, mountebanks, and charlatans from deceiving the people, I have no faith in their efficiency, or even the necessity for them. We have schools, high schools, books and libraries, and innumerable periodical publications for education and to show every one how to look out for his own safety. Our American fellow-citizens are intelligent and able to take care of themselves, and need no such babying and swaddling by government. They know enough to go to bed without dry-nurses.

When protection is talked about it is time to be on the lookout for jobbery and trickery. The pretext of protecting the people by any regulating of the practise of medicine, such as is afforded by the statutes now in operation, is too utterly frivolous for serious argument. The man who puts it forth is either himself a fool in relation to the subject or he supposes he is talking to persons that he can fool. The people in no State of the American Union have ever needed, or asked, or wished for any such legislation. It has been foisted upon them at the behest of men who expected to secure advantage by it; and many of the bills were stolen through the legislatures when no one was on the watch. Lust of power and lust of gain are evident in them all, and we have a travesty of government—a government of the people, by the doctors, for the doctors.

If there exists any sincere desire to provide security for the people in regard to their medical advisers, it may be best met by some measure that will show individuals how to protect themselves. The late Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan proposed such a safeguard. He suggested that every physician who signed a death certificate should be required to name the school of medicine with which he was identified. This would be an applying of the test of the Gospel: "Ye shall know them by their fruits." Some would wince at *this* ordeal, but it would be a sure detector of impostors, mountebanks, and charlatans, even when they held, as so many do,

the diplomas of medical colleges and certificates of license from boards of medical examiners.

Q. As a matter of fact have not very many of the greatest advances in the art of healing been made when medical practise was free of legislative restriction? Has not the school styling itself "the regular" bitterly opposed the newer modes of treatment till the success and popularity of these compelled their acceptance?

A. The concept that medical or other progress may be promoted by restrictive laws is absolutely contrary to the experience of mankind. It is not possible to devise any kind of government handcuff or gyve that can help progress. You may as well prescribe restrictions within which Thomas A. Edison shall present his inventions. They can only shackle and obstruct, hinder and smother. An examining board to license editors is no more absurd and ridiculous than those we now have to examine and license physicians. It can be only what it is: mediocrity sitting in judgment, and yet only competent with mediocrities like itself. With such legislation in our country, Americans can but be a people of mediocrities.

The leading men of the medical profession, the scholars and men of eminence, who are named as honors to their calling, are not to be found trying to procure such legislation, or even approving of it. They know it to be little else than a matter of jobbery to procure the creating of useless offices and the multiplying of swarms of unnecessary officers, to infest the community like the frogs of Egypt and the malarious mosquitoes, to "prey upon the people and devour their substance." We had none of these statutes from 1845 to 1883, and neither the people, the medical profession, nor scientific knowledge suffered by it. Freedom of practise is imperatively necessary to allow advance and improvement. It has, however, been the history of the medical art from the remotest antiquity that any newer form of treatment should be first opposed, and, after being found beneficial, then adopted. It is always history that when a prophet appears he shall be rejected and

persecuted; and after he is dead—rear him a monument. I need but mention William Harvey, Thomas Sydenham, and Morton of Boston, who are now honored by medical men. Others will come in their time. But the teachings of the prophet—who heeds them?

Not many years ago a physician not far away was denied admission to a medical society because when a patient desired it he would administer the "little pills." Another was expelled from a State medical society because he consulted with his wife, who had graduated at a homeopathic medical college, and had left some of her medicines with her patients. All the remedies known distinctively as eclectic, and which were discovered and applied by botanic and eclectic practitioners, were under a similar taboo. But it was observed that great numbers of the people preferred physicians who knew and administered such medicines; and so there came a change. The medicines have very generally been accepted as "official," some physician of the orthodox fraternity having "introduced" them, while their real source was carefully ignored.

Q. Would the rise and growth of the homeopathic or eclectic practise of medicine have been possible if statutes had been in force in former periods such as now exist in so many of our commonwealths?

A. In archaic times medical men were priests and were invested accordingly with that dignity and divinity that were supposed to hedge about sacred men. It was accounted sacrilegious to ask medical aid outside the sacerdotal caste. Even when evolution had separated physicians from their caste they managed often to attach to their calling somewhat of the ancient odor of sanctity. Then men who prepared the first amendment to the Federal Constitution overlooked this, and, while trying to assure the new nation against an established church, omitted to give similar protection against the pretensions of a profession whose members often claim like priestly importance and right to domination. Hence, it has been empowered in one way and another to block the way of those who do not bow to its authority.

When Hahnemann began the homeopathic practise in Germany, he was beset by obstructions and petty persecutions. He was not even permitted to prepare and dispense his own medicines. Finally he abandoned the country where he was persecuted and made his home in more liberal France. Yet persecution did not prevent worthy and intelligent men from espousing his doctrines. Vincent Priessnitz encountered calumny and prosecutions. The legal physicians were not willing to believe in or permit the curing of the sick with water, especially by a man to whom they had not given authority.

Even Jesus is recorded as having been called to account for teaching without authority from the Hebrew Licensing Board. If he were to live here nowadays and heal people, as is recorded, he would be hounded, arraigned before a magistrate, fined, and imprisoned. The world has not changed much.

There were "class or monopoly laws" in force in many of the States when Samuel Thomson began his new Botanic practise. Others were enacted directly afterward on purpose to suppress the innovation. New York kept it up till 1828. Professor Waterhouse of the Harvard Medical School denounced the New York statute as unconstitutional, and contrasted the State as behind Massachusetts in enlightenment, both in theology and medicine. Courts took fewer liberties then. There followed persecutions diabolic in their malignity, the spoliation of goods, calumnies, prosecutions, and imprisonments. Such was the state of affairs in my native State in my boyhood. It was akin to the times of the Spanish Inquisition, only the rack and thumbscrew were not permitted.

The Thomson brothers, brave and heroic men, determined to put a stop to this condition of things. I would that there were such men here now as John Thomson and his associates, to beard the medical beast and his prophet. They carried petitions to be presented to the legislatures in scores and hundreds, but the prayer was denied. They then began a campaign of education, not intermitting for years. Innumerable pamphlets and periodical publications were printed and circulated. Then national conventions were held, State and local

societies formed, and appeals made to the people. They were able to convince a wide constituency of their right as American citizens to follow a lawful calling; also to show by successful treatment of cholera and more common diseases their superior skill and remedial procedures, and the utter meanness, as well as shameful injustice, of legislating against them and arbitrarily making the Botanic practise a crime. The people responded. Public men in the different States took their part. Horatio Seymour was their champion in the legislature of New York. Governor Chauncey F. Cleveland advocated their cause in the legislature of Connecticut. The conflict lasted from 1828 to 1844, and the obnoxious statutes were swept into the Acheronitic cesspool from which they had come. The result fully illustrated the declaration of Thomas Jefferson, that "error may safely be tolerated when truth is *free* to oppose it."

It was when such statutes were in full force that our School of Reformed Medicine came into existence. Samuel Thomson began his work in 1805, and Wooster Beach in 1825—distinct and opposed to each other. Homeopathy was introduced from Germany into Boston in 1825. Right in the midst of the persecution their schools were planted. There were no hostile laws, however, in several States—as in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and several Southern States; yet I am not aware that the new schools were much checked in their growth by partial legislation or indignant persecution.

Human experience has shown that no persecution short of massacre extinguishes a doctrine or a people. The Albigenses were massacred without mercy, and we know them no more. The Jews, the Parsees, and the Waldenses were all assailed for centuries with a tigerish ferocity; yet they still continue. The Protestant communities actually grew stronger when persecuted. The persecution of the Thomsonians advertised them and they became ruling powers in States; but when the dogs of war were called off they decayed and were largely absorbed into the eclectic body.

The statutes that have come into existence since 1870 are

simply a revolution of a circle—a retrograding after an advance—"Monsieur Tonson come again." War causes peoples to lose the instinct of liberty. The present generation has not the passion for just dealing and personal rights that the former one had. The political parties are not tenacious of freedom.

The present legislation was fabricated by the managers of the American Medical Association. That body was formed in 1846 on purpose to weld anew the chain of medical power. The design was to crush the rival schools of medicine. I do not doubt that that design is still maintained. The tactics, however, have been somewhat modified. The eclectic and homeopathic organizations were too strong, and so there have been alliances. It reminds me of the treaty that the wolves made with the sheep. The latter surrendered their dogs, and the wolves delivered over their cubs. Then upon the first pretext of ill faith the wolves attacked the sheep, who were unprotected, took away their cubs, and ravaged the flock.

I do not fear so much the check that these law-defying medical statutes may occasion as I do the general indifference and demoralization. The men who have not suffered, they who have had everything made easy for them, do not feel the importance of firmly adhering to conviction and principle. Revolutions are not made with full stomachs, and the steel must enter the soul before men will rouse to action.

The present situation reminds me of the Beast and two-horned Dragon of the Apocalypse, and the boycott of every one who has not the mark of the Beast in his forehead or his hand (Revelation xiii). Perhaps this stanza from the *Index*, addressed to England, may apply here:

"But when thy suffering millions feel
A foe in thee alone,
Nor throne, nor lords, nor martial power
Can stay the onset of that hour."

HIS LITTLE GUEST.

A CHRISTMAS STORY.

BY ANNA VERNON DORSEY.

Outside there was nothing in the night to denote for the morrow a merry Christmas. Murk and fog wrapped with a mantle of gloom the massive fronts of the houses of the rich along the Avenue, with their curtained, inhospitable windows and blank portals. Under foot was a kind of mud that seemed to be frozen only to break with icy moisture under the feet of the passers-by, who, muffled and laden with bundles, could be seen in the occasional blur of an electric light—an indistinguishable crowd of dark shapes threading in and out of the shadows and on into the distance.

To a woman who sat alone at a window of one of the handsomest houses there was something sinister in the vague and unknown throng. To her gloomy imagination they were not crowds of merry-makers hastening to happy homes, but *souls*—poor human moths fluttering for one moment in the radiance and then again into the darkness whence they came. This poor rich woman's thoughts were tinged with death, and all things were covered for her with a pall; for she was a widow and had been a mother, and her boy had died only two months before.

The room in which she sat was rich and comfortable. The furniture was carved ebony. There was a cover of real lace on the bed, and there were soft chairs with silken cushions and lamps with rosy shades. A fire burned on the hearth, and before it her warm wrapper and slippers were laid out by a careful maid. On the wall were oil paintings—one a portrait in a gilt frame of her husband, a sleek, prosperous-looking banker with side whiskers. On the dressing table amid other silver articles stood a photograph frame with the doors

closed. This was her son's picture. She could not bear to look at it: the wound was too fresh. It mattered nothing to her that the great rooms were below: parlors, conservatory, ball-room—all dark and empty; that hundreds of thousands of dollars were hers in banks and houses, to go after her death to nieces and nephews. Now that Harold had gone nothing mattered. He would have had it all. She had planned his life for him: three more years with a tutor, Groton, Harvard, and European travel; and then he would return to New York, and she would marry him to some pretty, well-bred girl and spend her declining years with him and his children.

And now she sat here, alone—a desolate, somber-clad figure—amidst all her grandeur. There were many who would have come to her had she wanted them—relatives and friends. Last year she had been busy with gifts for them and with seeing them and planning for visits and guests on Christmas day. But then Harold had been with her—only ten years old; frank, joyous, with something of the contour and dependence on mother-love of his baby days, and the eager interest of the boy in sports and playmates, the holiday parties and skating ponds and pantomimes; just a wholesome, hearty, happy boy; a trifle spoiled and selfish maybe: but then the mother was not discriminating or unselfish enough herself to have seen that.

She did not wish friends around her, to intrude upon her grief. They were out there in the carriages that rolled gaily past or sitting in family circles with other boys who had forgotten Harold. A maid upstairs laughed, and she shivered nervously. It seemed like disloyalty to her boy's memory to have sounds of mirth in the house. Last year they had been together, tying up packages of presents for his and her friends, he intent upon keeping the secret of his gift for her until the following day and yet anxious to tell; and when he had gone to sleep in his room next to her own she had crept in and kissed him and he had murmured "Mama" just as he did when a baby. It was not so long ago—those baby days with the little tired head next her heart, stilled to rest before she laid him on the bed, while she and his father filled the stockings. And now

the back room was dark, the little gilt bed dismantled, and her boy lying out there in the night and cold in that gloomy vault.

The poor mother, sitting behind the velvet curtains, knelt down and laid her head on the window-sill, disordering the coiffure the maid had so elaborately arranged. The attitude brought with it the suggestion of prayer, but she had forgotten how to pray. It seemed a mockery with the bitterness and rebellion that filled her breast. They had told her to seek consolation in charity, and she had given hundreds of dollars to churches and societies. She could not pray as she used to do, and there welled forth from her stricken soul only a great desire for the young dependent life that had been part of her own. Memories of what she had read of spirit communion came to her, and she begged her boy—the part of him that could not be chained in the vault, the joyous, play and companion loving nature—to come and whisper to her; to give some sign of his existence for the comfort of her desolate heart. The desire was so intense that she knew that an answer would come, and she listened, thinking to hear the soft-spoken word “Mother” in the silent, empty room,—but in vain. The tense moments passed and were followed by a hopeless lethargy from which she was roused by a ring of the door-bell. She heard the butler open the door and waited impatiently, dreading to hear one of her nieces calling up to her; for she did not wish to be disturbed in her sad thoughts.

There was the sound of parleying and of Johnston’s imperative tone as he spoke to petitioners. A moment later he came up the stairs to her with a deprecatory smile and gesture.

“It’s puffickly ridic’lous, mum—that hit his; but there is a dirty little boy down there an’ ’e won’t go away, mum, saying that ’e ’as a message for you, mum, w’ich he must deliver. An’ ’e his that persistent that ’e won’t git out, and I not liking to call the furnace-man hup or to huse vi’lence now Christmas his ’ere.”

“Where is he?”

“Hat the front door, mum.”

She went into the hall and looked over the banisters. There

in the doorway, with the soft glow from the tinted lamp-shade falling on him, stood a small figure so near Harold's size that it made her pulses quicken. But these outlines were tattered and ragged; there was a shock of yellow hair about his face and a bundle of papers under his arm.

"I want ter see the lady," said he.

"Let him come up," she said.

"But 'is feet his that muddy, mum," Johnston expostulated.

"Send him up here," she said, curtly; for she had been rich from infancy and brooked no opposition.

She seated herself in an easy-chair in front of the fire. Johnston gave the boy elaborate directions about wiping his shoes and walking next to the banisters, while the butler waited in the hall below to see him safely out when his mistress had dismissed the vagrant.

The child—for he was nothing more—pushed aside the portière and stood on the threshold gasping at the warmth and light: a thin, sharp-featured little fellow with big blue eyes, facing the pale, haughty lady with tear-stained eyelids.

"What did you want with me?" she asked, not unkindly, but with no touch of sympathy; for she had no graciousness toward inferiors.

"Ain't this grand?" the boy said, sinking into a chair and letting the load of papers fall on the floor beside him, his worn little face relaxing.

"What is your name?"

"Otto," he said.

"Well, Otto, if you wanted anything to eat the servants would have given it to you."

"No'm, they wouldn't," he interrupted.

The lady frowned. "Why did you insist on seeing me?" she demanded.

"Because of the message," he said, "that the little swell sent."

"Who? What was it? Tell me."

"Yes'm," he said. "You see, I've been out ever since six this morning wid de papers, but they ain't anything doing on the beat to-day 'cos the folks is all crazy about Christmas an'

won't buy no papers an'——" He leaned back exhausted, his eyes fixed on a plate of crackers and a glass of milk that had been placed on the table near her bed.

"Take them," she said, not realizing that it was the weakness of hunger that the child felt. "You shall have your dinner after you go down stairs."

Otto gobbled down the milk and munched the crackers provokingly.

"Milk's good," he remarked, conversationally. "The summer before Mutterkin died we lived in a place in New Jersey where they had live cows an' got the milk right out of them before your eyes. Oh!—about the little swell—I was down yonder in a box in the alley. You see, my feet was nearly froze." She looked at the sodden things that answered for shoes, through which rags of stockings showed, and did not wonder. "An' I was tired of standing there and not selling any papers an' I was feeling kinder empty and sleepy and all the folks seemed to be havin' such a lot of fun 'cept me, so I thought I might as well go to sleep. There's a big box I remembered round there in the alley by the stable half full of straw an' I got in there and sorter dropped off to sleep thinkin' 'bout how we used to have Christmas dinner and turkey and Mutterkin used to spoon on us an' it made me feel right bad 'cos the ole man's drunk so much now he can't git no printing jobs now, and Liza, she, the eldest, and the little kids they don't have no Christmas dinner now an' I hadn't no money from the papers. Well, I kinder closed my eyes like an' then I heard the little feller say 'Hello!' and when I looked up the little swell was standin' right there under the gaslight. 'Hello!' I sez; 'you've sneaked it, ain't you?' 'cos that kind of kid usually has a man or woman or something hangin' on to him. Then he laughed—I never see such a feller for laughin'—and then we got to talkin' 'bout a dog we both knew that lived there in the stable an' we got to be great chums. He didn't have no airs nor foolishness nor nothin' 'bout him. 'Look here,' he said; 'I know a place they'll give you your dinner and a place to sleep if you'll go there. You just go to the lady at —— Avenue an' tell her to give

you the refer and the brown suit of clothes that's hangin' up in the ——' ”

The lady bent forward and her hands trembled.

“The boy!” she exclaimed; “tell me—what did he look like?”

“A chunky boy 'bout as tall as me with brown eyes and freckles.”

She knew now what it was. “My child! my child! my little baby!” And to Otto's surprise the stately lady began to weep.

“‘She's my mother,’ sez he; ‘tell her Harold told you to come.’”

“Did he look cold and white and pinched?” the mother asked.

“No'm, he didn't have no overcoat, but he looked all warm and like he had a light inside or a good dinner an' he was laughin' and happy. ‘Have you run away from her?’ I asked. ‘I don't live there now,’ he says; ‘I'm goin' off to another country.’ ‘What's it like?’ I sez. ‘I guess it's California or some of those places out West. That's where I want to go an' edit a paper if I can get to school.’ ‘No; 'tain't West,’ he sez, and laughed again just like it was a riddle an' he knew the answer. ‘But my mother won't let me go. She cries and cries and calls me back. Otto, tell her I want to go; that I will be happier there. Now, Otto, you go there and tell her that there are lots of other people that need her. Tell her I ain't the only pebble on the beach. There are others!’”

“That was just like Harold,” said the lady, quietly. “He was always using boyish slang. Where is he? Is he coming again?”

“I guess not,” said Otto. “‘Will you tell her?’ sez he. ‘Cert,’ I sez. ‘Swear to goodness; cross my heart.’ ‘Say Honesty God,’ sez he; and just as I sez, Honesty God, hope I may die if I don't, an' was shutting my eyes an' crossing my heart, he went off; and when I looked up he wasn't there. An' I come around to give you the message.”

It never occurred to the woman to disbelieve him. She knew better—knew that it was Harold. To her mother's heart there was nothing horrible or strange in such an event, save

that he should have come to this ragged common little boy instead of to her. But it was all a mystery beyond her ken. Otto did not understand; boy-like, he had not curiosity to probe beyond the surface. He took the runaway boy to be a matter of course, and the incident was closed for him. The message, the wonder of it, and the problem of its meaning were things that no one need ever know—a blessed bond that connected her with her lost darling.

From her reverie she was aroused by the sight of the little waif. He had sunk in the chair, his face pinched and exhausted, his breath deep and hoarse. The woman's pity in her was awakened, and a sense of hospitality; for was he not her son's guest, sent by Harold, who had given him the clothes and things she had been hoarding and meaning to save? Harold had always been peremptory, and she had been accustomed to obey.

She rang the bell.

"Tell Johnston to bring a tray up here with a good dinner on it at once," she said to the astonished maid, "and prepare a warm bath and Master Harold's bed."

Johnston tried not to appear surprised even when the boy asked for a third helping of steak and fell asleep undisturbed before the fire.

When he awoke, the lady was sitting opposite and looking with shining eyes at a photograph in a silver case.

"Have you ever seen any one like this?" she asked.

"Yes'm; that's Harold," he said; "I bet if I lived here I wouldn't go away. I'd go to school like I did last year an' get a nurse for the kids. They're only four an' two years old an' Liza has to stay home to take care of them. They live over in Hoboken. I guess I'll go now."

But he did not go. The maid came in and soon he was splashing around in the white tub, the old clothes being thrown into the cellar. When the bath was over they put him between the soft sheets, and before his eyes closed the lady came and leaned over him. He looked very gentle and delicate lying there—more so than *her* sturdy boy had ever done.

"Was there any other message that Harold sent me," she asked, "that you forget? Try to remember."

"Yes'm," he said, sleepily; "we was talkin' 'bout mothers an' how they was all cuddly if you would let 'em, an' he sez, 'You tell Mother, "Bunny, Bunny!" for me.'"

Now, this was an endearment known only to her boy and herself, when he was sick or sleepy, and it was the token that her mother's heart craved. Otto, drowsily taking in through closing eyelids unaccustomed color and beauty, felt a tear on his cheek as the lady bent and kissed him and smoothed his hair; so that he dropped asleep, dreaming of another touch, murmuring "Mine Mutterkin."

And the lady felt no longer alone. She busied herself looking over boxes and drawers for clothes and trifles for her guest in the morning and in planning a brighter future for "Liza and the kids." There was a sense of a Presence near her, and she felt as if she had sent her boy off for a long, happy holiday.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

SCIENCE AS A HANDMAID OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

I. WORK OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT AND THE EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

Few persons are aware of the magnificent service that has been rendered the people of the United States by the Agricultural Department at Washington and the various experiment stations throughout the Republic within the last quarter of a century, and especially during the last fifteen years. Through the efficient work of these agencies vast industries, involving an aggregate of millions of dollars, have been rescued from threatened destruction and profitably extended until they are now major factors in national prosperity. The appropriations, though small and pitifully inadequate for the legitimate demands of this most important work, have been so employed as to enrich the nation without occasioning injustice, suffering, or misery to others. The fundamentally beneficent character of this work stands out in bold contrast to attempts to increase national prosperity by wars of subjugation. The money employed in fostering, building up, and extending agriculture, horticulture, and kindred pursuits, by which the earth is made to yield of her bounty for the material comfort, happiness, and well-being of her children, carries with it no blight or bitterness, while it opens up and extends the opportunities for hundreds of thousands of home-makers to become happy and prosperous—giving the Republic an army of wealth-creators very unlike a standing army of destruction, wherein tens or hundreds of thousands of men are practically idle when not engaged in destroying life and devastating lands, and whose maintenance drains the purses of the wealth-creators, as is notably the case in Continental Europe, where

great standing armies are a crushing burden and a blighting curse.

The Agricultural Department and the various experiment stations and agricultural colleges have during recent years laid the foundation for an enlightened husbandry that cannot fail to give the Republic a commercial as well as a monetary preëminence among the world's family of nations.

The educational work persistently and effectively carried on has been in itself of incalculable benefit to the agrarian population, as it has widely diffused the important results born of the practical experiments conducted by the departments and stations. The revelations of recent years in plant pathology, the important practical discoveries in chemistry as it relates to agriculture, the studies of the enemies of plant life and how effectively to meet them, and the discussions on the relative value of foods and kindred topics, have been given the widest currency through lectures, the agrarian press, and special bulletins and pamphlets issued at short intervals by the Agricultural Department. Moreover, those engaged in this important work have displayed the enthusiasm of the true scientist, wedded to the wisdom of the practical worker. Merely to outline the immensely important labors of the practical scholars employed in the interests of agriculture in national and State governments would require a volume, but a brief reference to a few striking achievements will be interesting to our readers.

II. SALVATION OF THE AMERICAN VINEYARDS BY A SCIENTIFIC APPLICATION OF FUNGICIDES.

The early attempts to introduce European varieties of grapes in America were unsatisfactory. The vines that lived were far less thrifty than the indigenous wild grape and were apparently unable to mature their fruit, owing to the mildew and the black rot. After numerous failures our husbandmen turned their attention to the wild grape, and by cultivation soon produced several choice varieties which thrived admirably for several years. At length, however, in many sections these also were attacked by the downy mildew and the black rot. In spite of numerous unsuccessful attempts to battle with these destructive enemies of the vine, many vineyards were abandoned, while the yield of others proved no longer remunerative.

About 1885 the Agricultural Department of our Govern-

ment entered upon an aggressive and intelligent campaign looking toward meeting the grave problems and the serious evils confronting the agrarian population. Bright, thoughtful, and enthusiastic scientific minds took up the important problems relating to fungus growths and insect pests, and while thus employed an accidental discovery was made in France that proved of far-reaching importance. The downy mildew was destroying the French grape, and no effective antidote had been discovered. The French fruit-growers also found another enemy in the form of pilferers who stole the grapes near the highways. To prevent these thefts a preparation known as the Bordeaux Mixture, and composed of sulphate of copper and lime, was sprinkled over the vines near the roadside. It was soon discovered that wherever this mixture touched the plants the destructive mildew disappeared. This valuable discovery was quickly utilized by our Department of Agriculture. Farmers were informed of the fungicide, and, when it was found that owing to failures of previous experiments they were slow to try the new remedy, the department made extensive experiments in typical localities, conclusively proving the value of the mixture. As might be expected, the success of this discovery was followed by extensive experimentation with various fungicides, with such favorable results that a wave of enthusiasm passed from the department over the agrarian population. In 1887 the work was further stimulated by the establishment of agricultural stations throughout various States, and during the same year the black rot was successfully treated; also many other plant diseases, notably several peculiar to the potato, as well as smut on cereals. The success attending spraying with fungicides led to the invention and manufacture of machinery by which the treatment of vines, trees, and plants could be conducted on a large scale; and since 1885 a revolution has been accomplished in the treatment of fruits, vegetables, and cereals that has saved millions upon millions of dollars.

III. HOW THE ORANGE INDUSTRY WAS RESCUED FROM A DEADLY PERIL.

The orange industry has been one of the large and prosperous wealth-producing businesses of the Pacific coast. It gives employment to an army of workers, yields a goodly revenue, and largely supplies the American market. From all

appearances orange culture was destined to grow with the years, but in an unhappy hour an enemy entered this garden of Hesperides. The intruder was a small, white, insignificant-appearing little vagrant who had journeyed hither on some shrubs imported from Australia. On reaching California and finding a genial climate and pastures to his liking, he rapidly multiplied. Soon some of his numerous progeny discovered the orange tree—an ideal browsing ground; and here the multiplication of the unwelcome guest was so rapid that in an incredibly short time great groves were infested and many noble trees killed. All attempts to destroy the white scale—for such is the common name of the pest—proved futile or but partially successful, and the orange growers were filled with dismay as ruin seemed to stare them in the face. The practical destruction of the orange industry in America was seriously threatened, for there seemed little doubt that the pest would ere long find its way to Florida.

The Agricultural Department, which had previously assisted the stations in the infested districts in efforts to find an effective remedy, now went further. Philosophic discernment as well as practical scientific experimentation played a part in the next step. Some of the brightest men in the department gave the problem their serious attention. It was evident that in Australia the white scale was nothing like the scourge it had become in America; hence, it was probable that in the land from which the insect emigrated some other life preyed upon the scale and kept it from becoming a pest. This reasonable deduction led to the sending of a government representative to investigate the subject in Australia. The scientist soon found a special variety of ladybird that fed upon the scale. Some of these insects were after much difficulty brought alive to this country and introduced to the scale in the orange groves. As the scale had experienced satisfaction when it discovered the orange tree, the ladybird likewise experienced felicity when camping in the midst of a colony of scales, it being the food of all foods most to its liking. Now, under favorable conditions the ladybird increased with marvelous rapidity, and in a short time the little bugs had the scale in California well under way. It would be difficult to estimate the value to the nation of this work, accomplished so largely through the philosophic foresight and energetic labors of the Agricultural Department, and which has saved a large and splendid industry from destruction.

IV. THE SAVING OF THE OLIVES.

In a similar manner the black scale attacked the olive groves of California to such an extent that the industry was in great peril, when an investigation similar to that described above led to the introduction of another species of ladybird, the latter having a penchant for the black scale. Its introduction also proved highly successful.

V. HOW AN IMPORTANT NEW INDUSTRY HAS BEEN FOSTERED.

Several futile attempts have been made in the past to grow the Smyrna fig in California. The fruit invariably fell off long before it reached maturity. It was claimed as a result of some preliminary investigations that the blossom of the wild fig, which grows in great profusion throughout the parts of Asia and elsewhere where the Smyrna fig was cultivated, was necessary to the proper fertilization of the Smyrna fig blossom. Accordingly, the enterprising American imported a goodly number of the wild figs, which were planted in close proximity to the choice Smyrna varieties. Still no favorable change was noted. The green figs fell off as before, and most of the husbandmen who had experimented with this fruit cut down their trees. The department at Washington and some determined fig growers were convinced that there was some reason other than soil and climate that caused the failure; and further investigations revealed the curious fact that the Smyrna fig was fertilized by the pollen of the wild fig, carried to it by a little fly. Accordingly, after much difficulty some of these insects were brought to this country and in due time were given the opportunity to repeat in America the beneficent labor that insures to the Old World immense crops of the most luscious of fruits. The experiment was highly successful, resulting in an excellent yield of the true Smyrna fig. The Agricultural Department now confidently looks forward to the rapid growth of what it believes will be an enormously profitable industry and one that will give to our people an abundance of a delicious fruit that is exceedingly healthful and valuable as a food product.

The interested efforts of the Agricultural Department in aiding the fruit growers successfully to establish and grow the Smyrna fig is typical of its work in regard to the cultivation of other foreign fruits, grains, and nuts. So far as the very limited appropriations have permitted, this department

has actively aided all attempts to introduce and successfully cultivate the desirable natural foods of other lands.

VI. MAKING TWO BLADES GROW WHERE ONE GREW BEFORE.

The work of the department is by no means confined to warring against destroyers of fruits and vegetables, or to the fostering of new industries that in the nature of the case will increase the wealth of the land. Perhaps the greatest service has been rendered in the field of agricultural chemistry. Since Liebig's great work on chemistry in its relation to agriculture and physiology, which appeared in 1840, chemistry has been more and more studied to a practical purpose, and during the last quarter of a century great strides have been taken in this vital department of agricultural work. Chemistry has indeed come to be the handmaid of agriculture and horticulture. The advanced position of the agrarian population in America is in no small degree the result of the efficient and timely educational work and of the numerous practical experimental labors of the department and the various stations and agricultural schools throughout the Republic. The yield of crops has been enormously increased through the proper fertilization of the soil, and the quality of the yield in many instances has been improved to a surprising degree.

VII. DISSEMINATING KNOWLEDGE IN REGARD TO FOOD VALUES.

Another positive service to the nation is found in the wide dissemination of practical results and conclusions attending experiments relating to the food values of different products, not only by lectures and through the agrarian press, but also by means of extremely valuable pamphlets published at the nominal prices of five and ten cents. In these such important subjects as the nature and value of various food products and how best to prepare the same are ably discussed in the light of the latest researches.

VIII. FOSTERING THE GOOD ROADS MOVEMENT.

Another important service is found in the furthering of the good roads movement by making in certain locations sample roads and illustrating the inestimable value of good highways

by practical tests before the people. There are two kinds of roads that are chiefly in favor with the friends of better highways. The first is the macadam. This is incomparably the best for the great highways, but where it is impracticable, owing to its expense or the character of the country, the broad steel track road has gained many advocates. This road is made by laying iron or steel sheets several inches in width and slightly turned up on the edges, along the main traveled highways. The steel slabs or tracks are sufficiently wide to accommodate vehicles of different widths and on roads thus builded great loads can be easily hauled where without such smooth and firm tracks for the wheels small burdens could be conveyed only with the greatest difficulty. It is the custom of the Government to build a mile of one of the above kinds of roads in certain locations, and then prove by the hauling of loads the value of the improved roadways to the people. With good roads it is probable that millions of dollars of perishable vegetables and fruits could be successfully taken to market or shipping points which are now lost, while the cost of transportation would be greatly reduced.

The above are a few typical examples of important works that are being fostered, encouraged, and carried on by the Department of Agriculture, to the extent possible with the meager appropriations made for this immensely important department. Were our statesmen wiser, they would resolutely oppose the efforts to burden the nation with the enormous expense of a non-wealth-producing army of destruction on the one hand, which in the end has ever proved a menace to free government, and on the other they would display some of the spirit of wise liberality that has marked the appropriations required for the proper conduct of the post-office—appropriating freely for the proper and effective labors of a department which seconds in every way possible the efforts which the agrarian millions are faithfully making to build up and maintain vast and vitally important industries which serve to sustain the life of the people and furnish healthful employment to hundreds of thousands of individuals. The money thus expended would aid millions in becoming more than ever the prop and stay of the nation—a wholly beneficent service which, while stimulating individual activity, would vastly increase the nation's wealth.

NATURE AND ART AS FACTORS IN GROWTH
AND ENJOYMENT.

Few things, beyond the cultivation of those ethical verities which made the life of Jesus supreme in its beauty and helpfulness, are capable of yielding such deep, pure, and abiding pleasure as that which comes to the imagination trained to feed upon the beautiful and the sublime in Nature and art. When from early youth the child has learned to delight in the splendor of the flaming sunset, with its clouds of glory that baffle the limner's skill, the grandeur of mountains and ocean, and the exquisite beauty of the wayside flower, he has come under a subtle spell, a magical charm, that stimulates and stirs into action the deeper emotions of his being, and that profoundly influences the moral and mental side of life, ennobling, enriching, and glorifying his existence.

To me it is one of the most regrettable facts about the life of our Western civilization that for centuries the vast majority of Christian men and women have passed from birth to death with so little realization of the power of the beautiful to exalt and enrich the common life. Ignorance, false conceptions of religion, and, later, the modern materialistic spirit of commercialism, which dwarfs and shrivels the imagination and blights and withers the fairest things of life, are chiefly responsible for the irreparable loss of that which is only the heritage of imaginations trained to enjoy the beauty side of life.

During the night time of the Middle Ages a false conception of God and His universe led men to believe that the great Artist who had filled every nook and cranny with transcendent loveliness would be offended if His children imitated the lark and nightingale and joyed in the beauty that He had scattered with such lavish profusion on every side. "During the Middle Ages," says John Addington Symonds, "man had lived enveloped in a cowl. He had not seen the beauty of the world, or had seen it only to cross himself and turn aside to tell his beads and pray. Like St. Bernard, traveling along the shores of Lake Lemman, and noticing neither the azure of the waters nor the luxuriance of the vines, nor the radiance of the mountains with their robe of sun and snow, but bending a thought-burdened forehead over the neck of his mule—even like this monk, humanity had passed, a careful pilgrim, intent on the terrors of sin, death, and judgment,

along the highways of the world, and had scarcely known that they were sight-worthy or that life was a blessing."

A story very characteristic of the unhappy belief that darkened the Middle Ages and from which the joyous reaction of the Renaissance came as a mighty protest, when Greece seemed born again and Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Correggio, and Da Vinci gave Italy a glory greater than earth had ever known, is found in the following incident, first related by Heinrich Heine:

"During the council of Basel, in 1433, a company of clerks were walking in a wood near the town and were arguing about annates, expectatives, and reservations, when they were saluted by the caroling and sobbing notes of the nightingale. They were at first charmed; they felt in a blessed mood, and their sympathies were quickened beneath the bleak snows of their icy scholarship. But at last one among them, more pious than the rest, concluded that the bird could be none other than an emissary of the devil, seeking to divert them from their Christian converse by its seducing strains. He straightway began to exorcise the evil spirit, and it is recorded that the nightingale immediately rose laughingly from his perch in a blossoming lime-tree, and, as he flew away, replied: 'Yes, I am an evil spirit.' They, however, who had been entranced by the song sickened that very day and died shortly thereafter. And from their dolorous fortune the monkish chronicler would have us learn that to yield even to innocent earthly delights carries with it a fatal ending."

How infinitely pathetic is the spectacle of life, so burdened as it is—life with so much of care, sorrow, and sadness that comes unbidden, yet further darkened by a grimly false theology! Happily that nightmare has passed, and the new spirit that has taken its place is fittingly voiced in these lines by the Rev. George C. Lorimer, who, after citing the above legend, continues:

"But I interpret the legend differently. When we reject the music that God sends, and count that evil which refreshes and delights, we are abandoned to our illusion as the nightingale abandoned the prelates and the doctors; and then speedily the spiritual life pines and sickens, while not far off waits the tomb, ready to swallow up our poor dead faith."

We are delivered from the gloom of a soul-shriveling asceticism, but unfortunately the imagination yet pines and sickens for the nourishment that is the right and should be

the heritage of every child born into this world. For the thought of our age is so centered on gain-getting that little time is given to a full-orbed development of the mind, and in consequence life has become prosaic and barren, the individual often reminding one of the poor man who on one occasion found a guinea in the mud and thereafter went through life with eyes riveted on the ground, in hope of finding more gold, wholly oblivious to the golden glory that canopied him. He who thus beggars his imagination wrongs his own soul. Beauty is potentially one of the strongest factors in the development of the divine in the human, and one of the most important demands of the present is for the recognition of this great fact.

* * *

BUREAUCRACY IN AMERICA.

There are few forms of government more dangerous, and which in time become more essentially despotic, than that which is known as a *bureaucracy*. The despotism of Russia is far more bureaucratic than autocratic. The Czar is rather the figurehead, while the bureaus are in fact the iron hand which is staying progress and moral and intellectual development while crushing rightful liberty.

During the last few decades there have been many alarming illustrations of bureaucratic tendencies in our own government—many acts that cannot be characterized other than as usurpations of power wholly unwarranted by law and in opposition to the genius of our government. Perhaps nowhere has this evil been more marked than in the postal department. For many years the post-office departments have striven to secure additional legislation that would enable the postal authorities to exercise more autocratic power, especially in relation to sample copies and the exclusion of periodicals which are mailable under present laws, but which are in themselves complete works, such for example as "*Les Miserables*" and other standard productions which have under present laws been sent to hundreds of thousands of people who otherwise could not have enjoyed the splendid educational influence they have exerted. The plea has been that the sending of sample copies and premiums was a burden to the department and prevented it from making the financial showing that was desired. Whenever this question, however, has come

up in Congress, it has been shown that the deficiency in the postal department was largely if not wholly due to the exorbitant and extortionate charges which the great railways levy upon the government and which seem to give the department little concern. Pertinent and unpleasant questions have been asked the department by our legislators, who are curious to know why the express companies are able to get better rates than the government of the United States. On the other hand, it was shown that one of the great functions of the post-office was to further the distribution of literature and thereby increase the education of the people.

Having failed repeatedly in its attempt to secure the legislation desired, the department has now arrogated to itself the right to gain its ends by arbitrary rulings calculated to cover the points which Congress has repeatedly refused to grant through legislation. Quite apart from the merit of the question, the wisdom of which the Congress of the United States has so repeatedly refused to recognize, the precedents which these unwarranted rulings are establishing are subversive to free government and should be promptly combated by every liberty-loving citizen of the Republic.

A splendid work is now being carried forward by the National Publishers' Bureau, under the able management of General C. H. Howard, the well-known brother of the veteran General O. O. Howard. The injury to the publishing interests of America as well as to the reading public, sustained by these rulings, is well set forth in a recent letter received by me from General Howard, in which he says:

"I have received a letter from our representative, Mr. Tuttle, who had an interview with the Postmaster-General last Friday. He was very courteously received and his statements in regard to the injustice and injury to business which would come from certain proposed rulings of the department were respectfully listened to. But the Postmaster-General stated that his rulings of July 17th will be 'strictly enforced.'

"One of these bears upon premiums, another upon sample copies, another upon periodicals which have the appearance of books, and another upon subscriptions in bulk.

"1st. As to premiums, he will attempt to rule out premiums or guessing contests or propositions of any kind which upon the surface appear to put the publication at a 'nominal rate,' and the department will be the judge.

"2d. He will strictly adhere to the ruling of the department which restricts sample copies to 50 per cent., although there is absolutely no law on which this is based.

"3d. He will exclude periodicals which have the 'characteristics of books,' though there may be in the nature of the matter published a necessity for periodicity. For example: many publications of Sunday-school literature, also of almanacs which have hitherto been published quarterly by such firms as W. B. Conkey of Chicago and N. D. Thompson of St. Louis. It would seem to be straining the terms of the law to consider such publications as books or having the characteristics of books.

"4th. The ruling against subscriptions in bulk is, as far as we know, without a particle of legal foundation. A gentleman came into our office a few days ago and subscribed for 1,200 of our monthly publication to be sent to veterans, mainly because my brother, General O. O. Howard, is writing a series of his army reminiscences which is being published in our monthly.

"The Postmaster-General will rule out all such subscriptions in bulk. This will affect very materially the business of a number of our stock journals, both daily and weekly, and it seems an utterly unwarrantable interference with business.

"The question to be taken up by the press in general and to be brought before Congress is, whether the executive department of the government shall be permitted to make laws for our people and especially to interfere with business transactions by rulings which have no basis of law."

We especially call attention to the closing lines of the above extract. This is a matter which deeply concerns every reader of THE ARENA, and we earnestly urge our people to bear in mind that free governments rapidly become despotisms when rulers or bureaus are permitted to usurp powers which have been delegated to the electorate or their representatives. The principle involved in this contention is of the most fundamental and far-reaching character. It is an issue that concerns every true American and that should be met by an indignant educational agitation that should forever preclude the possibility of bureaucratic aggrandizement in the future.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

TOLSTOY AND HIS PROBLEMS. By Aylmer Maude. Cloth, 332 pp. Price, \$2. London: Grant Richards. New York: A. Wessels Company.

This is a volume that all friends and admirers of the great Russian apostle of the higher life should possess. It merits the widest reading, as not only will its perusal afford a clear conception of the teachings of Count Tolstoy on the great fundamentals of conduct, the philosophy of life, the mission of art, and the eternal obligations that devolve on the human soul, as they are perceived by one of the greatest ethical thinkers of our time, but the atmosphere and thought of the work cannot fail to exert a wholesome influence upon the reader. It possesses the potency of a good book, dealing with a vital theme, to stimulate the better side of life.

The author has for years been an intimate friend of Count Tolstoy. As a seeker after truth he has sat at the feet of this modern Gamaliel; but, possessing the modern judicial or critical spirit, he has striven to weigh impartially the thought and philosophic deductions of the great Russian. In his preface he observes: "Each essay expresses in one form or another Tolstoy's views of life, and the main object of the book is not to praise his views but to explain them."

The volume contains nine luminous chapters in which the life and philosophy of Tolstoy are lucidly set forth. Something of the author's style and of his point of view of life may be gained from the following brief extracts dealing with two world types of men:

"There are two different and opposite ways of trying to promote the triumph of good over evil. One way is the way followed by the best men, from Buddha in India, and Jesus in Palestine, down to William Lloyd Garrison in America and Leo Tolstoy in Russia. It is to seek the truth of things clearly, to speak it out fearlessly, and to try to act up to it, leaving it to influence other people as the rain and the sunshine influence the plants. Men who live that way influence others; their influence spreads from land to land, and from age to age.

"Think of the men who have done most good in the world, and you will find that this has been their principle.

"But there is another plan, much more often tried, and still approved of by most people. It consists in making up one's mind what *other people* should do, and then using physical force, if necessary, to make them do it.

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

"For instance, we may think that the Boers ought to let everybody vote for the election of their upper house and chief ruler, and (instead of beginning by trying the experiment at home) we may send out 200,000 men to kill Boers until they leave it to us to decide whether they shall have any votes at all.

"People who act like that—Ahab, Attila, Cæsar, Napoleon, Bismarck, or Joseph Chamberlain—influence people as long as they can reach them, and even longer; but the influence that lives after them, and that spreads furthest, is to a very great extent a bad influence, inflaming men's hearts with anger, with bitter patriotism, and with malice.

"These two lines of conduct are contrary the one to the other. You cannot persuade a man while he thinks you wish to hit or coerce him."

From the above quotation it will be seen that Mr. Maude is in hearty sympathy with the illustrious Russian, although, as has been observed, he strives to maintain the judicial spirit in the treatment of his subject. We can heartily recommend the book to thoughtful men and women.

MARY MELVILLE THE PSYCHIC. By Flora MacDonald. 268 pp. Paper, 75 cents; cloth, \$1.25. Toronto: Austin Publishing Company.

This psychic work will hold a strong fascination for those interested in the remarkable occult manifestations of our time. It is put forth as a romance, though it is largely a biographic sketch of the life of a wonderful girl, Mary Melville by name, who graduated from Albert College, after which, in 1875, when less than eighteen years of age, she amazed some of the world's greatest savants at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition by her marvelous knowledge of mathematics. Her brief but beautiful life was filled with wonderful happenings. The psychic phenomena given are said to have actually taken place in the brief career of this sweet-souled girl, whose life was sacrificed through the ignorance of physicians unacquainted with the trance phenomenon.

In the weaving together of the facts at hand and the presenting of them in a connected and interesting story, the author has given rein to fancy and invention, but the main facts related are said to be absolutely true and accurate. In the course of a thoughtful introduction to the work the Rev. B. F. Austin, B.A., B.D., observes:

"The accomplished lady, whose wonderful narrative is now before us, had a unique task and in accomplishing it has marked out a new path in modern fiction.

"The task was the portrayal of a life full of beauty and poetry, full of sorrow and suffering, a life of vast accomplishments in a brief span, and a life rendered doubly interesting to us, both by marvelous outgleams of psychic power and by its early tragic close. . . .

"Living, as the heroine of this story does, in the memory of thousands, who, as friends, admirers, fellow-students, or teachers, were personally cognizant of her psychic powers and astonishing deeds, the story goes forth in the form of fiction—the names of persons and

places being but thinly disguised—and as fiction it will be accepted by multitudes; yet in all essential features it is a genuine biography of a real and wonderful life.

"Many who have not become acquainted with the wonderful phenomena of the mental realm in our day, through the reports of the Society for Psychical Research or the writings of Crookes, Wallace, Flammarion, and Zollner, and have not come into personal acquaintance with the psychics of to-day, will perhaps fail to recognize the possible truth of 'Mary Melville, the Psychic.'

"To such readers we would say that the marvelous features of the story now before us find abundant illustration and confirmation in the Bible and in the attested experiences of patient and careful scientific investigators of our own age. . . .

"Mary Melville's life was prophetic of the New Era of Psychic Unfoldment upon which the human race is now entering. What she did multitudes will yet accomplish, and the hour is not far distant when humanity will be forced to recognize the latent powers of the human soul in clairvoyance, psychometry, soul flight, telepathy, prophecy, and in transcending the apparent barriers of time and sense.

"That Mary Melville, like the Hebrew children of old, could come into contact with fire and not be burned; that she could and did frequently read the thoughts of her fellow-men; that she did in trance condition become cognizant of persons, places, and events at a distance; that she passed most difficult examinations for which she had made no preparation, and as a result of one such examination was elected vice-president of a mathematical society at the Centennial Exposition, representing many of the best mathematicians of Europe and America, and made a remarkable inspirational address at their meeting—these are all historic facts."

The story is cleverly told, and merely as a work of fiction would hold the reader's interest throughout; but it possesses a value far beyond this in that it is so largely the record of little understood facts that were manifested through the organism of this wonderful child.

ITURBIDE: A SOLDIER OF MEXICO. A romance by John Lewin McLeish, A.M., M.D. Illustrated, cloth, 166 pp. New York: The Abbey Press.

Dr. McLeish, who has recently received the degree of A.M. from Princeton University, is something of an authority on Mexican history, his father having long been a resident of our sister republic; and the fascinating stories of her people have held a special charm for the son. This novel is prefaced by some brief but interesting historical facts relative to the period of Mexican history which he has chosen to describe in story form.

The novel deals with the rise and fall of Don Augustino de Iturbide, and therefore is concerned largely with that period of Mexico's struggle for liberty in which the Spanish rule was forever overthrown. The first part of the story deals chiefly with the union of Santa Anna's forces with those of Iturbide in the successful effort to break the power of Spanish domination; while the latter part represents Santa Anna as leading the republic's forces against Iturbide, who has betrayed his trust in arrogating to himself imperial power. The story is told in a

spirited manner and at times is quite dramatic. There is one passage introduced which I think is unfortunate and hardly in keeping with the rest of the volume. In it the author indulges in the realism of a Zola in depicting the encounter of a beautiful but unfortunate woman with the head of the Jesuit order—a priest who has become mad over his religion, united perhaps with a long-suppressed or objective struggle with the flesh.

The volume is embellished with six full-page illustrations.

THE DUALITY OF TRUTH. By Henry Wagner, M.D. Cloth, 206 pp. Price, \$1. Denver: The Astro-Philosophical Publishing Company.

This work is an exposition of the occult forces of Nature from the standpoint of a disciple of the so-called Hermetic Philosophy. The author holds that all life, all law, all truth, is one in essence but dual in its expression, having positive and negative manifestations. To the elucidation of his theory he devotes some six chapters, dealing with "The Law of Progress," "The Door to the Duality of Truth," "The Sphinx, or the Riddle of Riddles," "Symbolism and Correspondence," "Hermetic Philosophy and the Occult Forces of Nature," and "The Soul's Awakening." It is a work that should prove of great interest to students of theosophy and of occult matters in general.

WITHIN THE TEMPLE OF ISIS. By Belle M. Wagner. Cloth, 156 pp. Price, 75 cents. Denver: The Astro-Philosophical Publishing Company.

This little volume will appeal primarily to students of the occult and those interested in those mysteries of being which are as a sealed book to the majority of men and women, but which, according to Mrs. Wagner, become as transparent crystal to the earnest seeker after truth. The book deals with soul-transfer, soul-marriage, astrology, and the mystic rites practised by the hierophants or priests of ancient Egypt "within the Temple of Isis." A pretty love story runs through the romance, which, the author assures us, is not based on fancy, but on certain fundamental laws and truths that will one day be again revealed to Western civilization—when mankind shall have attained to a sufficient degree of soul development to be worthy of receiving the divine gift.

THE WISDOM OF THE AGES: A REVELATION FROM ZERTOULEM. Automatically transcribed by George A. Fuller, M.D. Cloth, 210 pp. Price, \$1. Boston: Banner of Light Publishing Company.

The contents of this book were taken down automatically; that is,

it was written without the conscious mental volition of the one who penned it. The last generation has witnessed several works from eminent thinkers and persons of undoubted integrity which have come in the same strange manner, and which purport to be the contributions of disembodied spirits who are enabled to employ the organisms of certain sensitives in the physical form as amanuenses. Among the most eminent and well-known persons who have published under their own names works which they state came in this unusual manner are the late Professor Stainton Moses of London, England, William T. Stead, the famous journalist and founder of the *Review of Reviews*, and Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, the well-known writer.

In the volume before us we have an ethical treatise that purports to come from the ancient prophet, Zertoulem. It was given automatically through the hand of Dr. George A. Fuller. In speaking of the author and his work, in an introductory chapter, Miss Susie Clark, the popular teacher of higher metaphysical and spiritual thought and author of "Pilate's Query" and "A Look Upward," observes:

"The instrument through whom this grand, unique message has been transmitted—Dr. George A. Fuller—is admirably fitted to be thus chosen as a mouthpiece of wise inspirers, being a man of pure, clean nature, a close student, philosopher, and aspirant for Truth, loving honor and integrity better than fame or fortune. He has been for years before the public as a teacher of spiritual truth, constantly under observation when criticism was rife, without a stain or breath of calumny.

"Who shall say what other sacred books have not been similarly penned? The manner of inspiration, it is true, matters little, or whether the angel is seen, as it was by John in Patmos, and other early writers; it is the purport of the message that decides its value, and surely the exalted character of this scripture, its revelations of spiritual truth, its advanced teachings, its lofty conceptions and ideals, the beauty of its musical rhythm, the utterly impersonal feature of its authorship, must stamp this work, whatever its source, as pure inspiration of a high order.

"By the expressed wish of the intelligence inditing these pages, the volume is now given to the world. The same Power that had a use for it and thus called it into being will direct that those souls who are ready, whose further growth demands this nutriment, will attract it unto them, while minds less ripened may pass it by until a more convenient season. To sow the seed is all the disciple can do. The Lord of the harvest can alone bring the increase in His own time and way. May it prove an hundred-fold to every thoughtful, earnest reader!"

The work abounds in lofty spiritual thought and is an excellent embodiment of the ethics of Modern Spiritualism. Of course, it contains very much that is common to the teachings of the great spiritual leaders of the past, but here is far more gold and less dross than is found in many of the writings of olden times that claimed to be inspired. The style is simple and at times poetic, often reminding one of the poems of Ossian; also of passages in the Book of Job and some of the Psalms. Here, for example, are some lines that fairly illustrate the spirit, character, and style of the work:

"Purple and gold are the mountains of Sebas-tha-ontu; above hang wavy billows of golden fleece; for he that giveth life to all terrestrial things, mighty Tha, sleeps in the Chamber of the West.

"The valleys are filled with purple mists and gloom, for the arrows of Tha no longer speed on their course.

"The night winds laden with the heavy perfume of a thousand plants soothe the restless breast of man, and seal down his eyelids with a kiss.

"Sleep, the shadow of death, is abroad in the land, and all is quiet, save the shrill note of the night bird and the voices of innumerable insects.

"Behold the grandeur of the heavens! The crown that Omn wears sparkling with innumerable gems.

"The soul is filled with awe and reverence at the majesty of the scene.

"All that the natural eye beholds pales into insignificance before the illimitable depths and numberless globes of amethyst, purple, and gold that burst upon the bewildered vision of the spirit.

"Who made these chariots of fire that circle forever the throne of the Infinite One?

"Ever on and on!—from chaos to nebulae—from nebulae to suns—from suns to worlds!

"Who the mighty Sculptor that shaped the endless variety of forms?

"Who the mighty Artist that with brush dipped in molten colors made the heavens shine with new lights unknown before?

"What mighty Musician gave to each star and sun its key-note, and made the heavens vocal with a new song voicing the majesty and glory of the One, Everlasting Omn? . . .

"Zertoulem spake unto the multitude and said: Inasmuch as ye are led by the desire to gratify selfish propensities are ye excluded from the higher light which is the natural birthright of every soul. . . .

"He that overcometh the flesh, not by crucifixion and mortification, but by sublimation, that leadeth to the complete purification of this house in which spirit dwells, shall become a leader among men, and shall know all things in heaven and earth. . . .

"Only the things of the spirit are permanent. All outward things are transitory and fleeting. Vain pomp and glory of the world without life, ye flaunt your gaudy rags before eyes whose spiritual vision is sealed. Ye have no dominion over him who is baptized of the spirit.

"He rises glorified and exalted into the atmosphere of gods.

"He reflects no light of sun or star, but glows and shines with the inexhaustible light of spirit. . . .

"There should be no private ownership in land, but a portion should be set apart by wise leaders sacred to the uses of each individual.

"Remember, O my disciples, that ye are not of this world of selfish, discordant, sensual men; for ye have been called to the Higher Life, where peace reigns evermore.

"Ye are bound by indissoluble chains of love, and not by the bonds of the flesh, of avarice, of selfishness, and of passion, wherewith the people of the Outer World are bound.

"Love knows no evil, and only seeks to bless all. . . .

"Hold condemnation for no man. Be not so conceited as to think ye are higher or wiser than others. The veil has simply become thin between your eyes and the Infinite Omn.

"As brothers, commune together and enjoy the serenity of a pure and noble life.

"Walk among men, imparting of your peace and love to those in need, and your influence for good shall be felt afar in the world. Then shall thy soul become as sweet and fragrant as the air of morning,



and Peace and Love the wings that bear thee onward amid circling spheres of light."

THE WISDOM OF PASSION; OR, THE MOTIVES OF HUMAN NATURE. By Salvarona. Cloth, 248 pp. Price, \$2. Boston, Mass.: Mystic River Book Company.

In this work the author, who writes under a *nom de plume*, presents much food for serious thought, and the work is one that will doubtless be valued by philosophic minds interested in psychological and metaphysical theories. The author claims that, unlike the treatises on the passions by Hume and Spinoza, his work is unique in that it teaches (1) that passions have laws; (2) that laws of passion are psychic forces of mental causation; (3) that the book is explanatory of the laws of the involution of passion as a condition of the laws of evolution; (4) that it teaches that life is the involution and evolution of ethereal, chemical, and mental forms through the attraction of our own psychic forces, which are the laws of passion; and (5) that his work gives the only psychologically practical definition of the soul "ever known to history." How far these claims are met is a subject for each reader to determine. There is very much in the work that will impress one as being decidedly novel, and not a little that many readers will unquestionably reject; yet it is a thought-stimulating book. In speaking of this work, the well-known scientist, Professor Cesare Lombroso, observes: "I have found 'The Wisdom of Passion' to be a book of great erudition and fine intuition. I would be happy if, in a certain sense, I had inspired it. I shall mention it at length in my *Archivo Psychology*."

THE CHRISTIAN IN HUNGARIAN ROMANCE. By John Fretwell. Cloth, 124 pp. Price, \$1.25. Boston: James H. West Company.

This is an excellent study of the greatest masterpiece of the eminent Hungarian novelist, Maurus Jokai. At the time when Mr. Fretwell wrote his work there was no English translation of the romance. Within the last few weeks, however, there has appeared a translation under the title of "Manassas."

Mr. Fretwell writes very sympathetically, and not the least interesting part of the work is the introduction, replete as it is with important and little-known facts relating, not only to the author, but also to the Christian people with whom the story deals—the Unitarians of Transylvania, who for generations have suffered frightful persecutions on account of their religious beliefs.

The review proper contains an admirable outline of the great novel, and though, for those who have the time and opportunity to enjoy the original, a condensation is rarely satisfactory, still if one is unable to peruse this great romance of Jokai's Mr. Fretwell's volume will

prove highly entertaining, for it is an excellent review and condensation of a really great novel.

THE WHITE DOE; OR, THE FATE OF VIRGINIA DARE. An Indian Legend in Verse. By Sallie Southall Cotten. Illustrated, cloth, 90 pp. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

This rather long poem deals with one of the most interesting legends connected with the earliest American settlement. Virginia Dare was the first child born of white parents in North America. Her mother was one of the members of what is known to history as Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony. As to the fate of the White Doe we know nothing further than is contained in Indian legends, which, like most mythical tales, contain much fiction intermixed, doubtless, with much that is true. The author of this poem has evidently made a thorough research for all available facts and data concerning the subject, and a number of valuable historical notes attest her painstaking care. The poem is a pleasing addition to the poetic versions of Indian legends.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Biography of J. M. Peebles, M.D." By E. Whipple. Cloth, 592 pp. Published by author, at Battle Creek, Mich.

"Amata." From the German of Richard Voss, by Roger S. G. Boutell. Cloth, 116 pp. Price, \$1. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"Galopoff, the Talking Pony." A story for young people. By Tudor Jenks. Cloth, illustrated, 243 pp. Price, \$1. Philadelphia: Henry Altamus Co.

"Caps and Capers." A story of boarding-school life. By Gabrielie C. Jackson. Cloth, illustrated, 287 pp. Price, \$1. Philadelphia: Henry Altamus Co.

"What a Young Wife Ought to Know." By Emma F. Angell Drake, M.D. Cloth, 288 pp. Price, \$1 net. Philadelphia: The Vir Pub. Co.

"Fact and Fancy in Spiritualism, Theosophy, and Psychical Research." By G. G. Hubbell. Cloth, 208 pp. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co.

"The Occults in Council, or the Great Learning." Vol. I. By Sir William. Cloth, illustrated, 408 pp. Published for the author at Denver, Colo.

"Toward Democracy." By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, 367 pp. Price, \$2.25. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"The Science of Penology." By Henry M. Boies. Cloth, 459 pp. Fully indexed. Price, \$2. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"Karezza." By Alice B. Stockham. Cloth, 144 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago: The Stockham Pub. Co.

"A Visit to a Gnani." By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, illustrated, 134 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"Poems by Edwin Emerson." Cloth, 228 pp. Denver, Col.: The Carson-Harper Co.

"Suggestion and Osteopathy." By W. I. Gordon, M.D., D.O. Cloth, illustrated, 314 pp. Cleveland, Ohio: The Progressive Osteopathic and Suggestive Therapeutic Pub. Co.

"My Psychic Experiences." By John C. Kenworthy. Paper, 24 pp. Price, 6d. net. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.

"The Gospel on Commerce, State, and Church." By John C. Kenworthy. Paper, 54 pp. Price, one shilling. Published by the author. Agents: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd., London.

"Government." By John Sherwin Crosby. Paper, 112 pp. New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St.

"Mediumship and Its Laws." By Hudson Tuttle. Paper, 186 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Progressive Thinker Pub. House.

"From Bondage to Brotherhood." By John C. Kenworthy. Paper, 141 pp. Price, one shilling. London: Walter Scott, Ltd., 24 Warwick Lane.

"The Value of Esoteric Thought and the Philosophy of Absent Healing." By Charles W. Close, Ph.D. Paper, 16 pp. Published by the author, Bangor, Me.

"Tolstoy: His Teaching and Influence in England." By John C. Kenworthy. Paper, 10 pp. Price, 2d. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE ARENA closes its Twenty-sixth Volume this month with an exceptionally interesting and varied table of contents, which includes many contributions that exemplify the progressive reformatory policy adhered to in every number issued under the present management. Close readers of the magazine will concede that it grows constantly better, not only as an opinion-forming agency but as an awakener of the national conscience; and the rapidly increasing material support accorded it by the reading public is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated by its publishers. No degree of prosperity shall cause a relaxation of our efforts to maintain THE ARENA's leadership in its chosen field; for at no time in the history of the economic, sociologic, scientific, political, and theological thought and development of our country has such a periodical been more urgently needed than now. Independence is most vital in times of transition. Capacity to think must precede intellectual freedom; hence, our chief aim is to inculcate the habit of original thought.

In giving the leading place this month to an address by the Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois on "The Rights of Men," we invite attention to a fact that justifies the optimism of our shrewdest thinkers, *viz.*, that among those in high official station are to be found an increasing number of genuinely practical statesmen—real leaders of the people. Now that the conditions of urban life have thrust upon our lawmakers the problems growing out of the inequalities of wealth and opportunity, the day of the time-serving politician is passing away. Ideals are receiving attention, and no recent contribution to the discussion of human rights is more helpfully significant than our opening paper, from the pen of the Hon. W. A. Northcott.

Gen. C. H. Howard's article on "Publishers and the Postal Department" presents a number of facts and figures that, in connection with an editorial on the same subject in our

"Topics of the Times," should enlist the attention of every one interested in the spread of enlightenment. The usurpation of legislative power recently attempted by an executive department of our Government is an infringement of the rights of democracy that amounts to a veritable tax on education. The problem of correcting abuses without interfering with legitimate business is evidently as difficult as that of curtailing the monopoly privileges of railroad and express companies and other large contributors to partizan campaign funds.

Editor Flower's essay in this issue on the vast modifications of religious thought that characterized the nineteenth century is of value not only to the Church as an institution but to the moral and spiritual welfare of the race. His observations concerning the revolutionary influence of Darwinism are amplified most instructively in Walter Spence's essay on "Evolution and Theology," which follows in the current number. Not until our theological teachers avail themselves of the discoveries and conclusions of modern science shall the religious progress of the age be promoted.

It is not, however, in science alone that the Church may find a handmaid. In the realm of economics and sociology there is an urgent missionary field. That this is recognized by the advanced spiritual instructors of our day will be indicated in the January issue of THE ARENA. Our new volume will open with a timely paper on "Anarchism" from the able pen of the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D., whose recent sermons on that and cognate topics have made a sensation in the religious world.

Another proof that the really profound and conscientious thinkers in the learned professions are gradually breaking away from the conventional, "orthodox," and traditional is seen in our interview with Alexander Wilder, M.D., in the current number on "Medical Freedom." Dr. Wilder's recent great work, "History of Medicine," reveals the author as one amply qualified for the discussion of this important subject.

A "Conversation" with Prof. Frank Parsons on public ownership of our telegraph and telephone systems will appear in our next issue, together with an article on "The English Friendly Societies," by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., and many other papers of advanced-thought import. J. E. M.

25 CENTS

The ARENA

THE WORLD'S LEADING REVIEW

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By Dr. ALEX. WILDER

EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY

By WALTER SPENCE

THE RIGHTS OF MEN

By the
Hon. W. A. NORTHCOTT

DECEMBER, 1901

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Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois

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TOPICS OF THE TIMES—(*Editorial*) B. O. FLOWER

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NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS J. E. M.

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THE ARENA.

VOL. XXVI. - - - No. 6.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY REVIEW OF VITAL THOUGHT.

Editors: { CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON.
B. O. FLOWER.
JOHN EMERY MCLEAN.

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THE LAWS OF HEALTH.
MENTAL INFLUENCES.
THE UNITY OF LIFE.
DEMAND AND SUPPLY.
FREEDOM—INDIVIDUAL AND UNIVERSAL.
HEARING AND DOING.
SPIRITUAL TREATMENT.

THINGS WORTH REMEMBERING.
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MAN: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.
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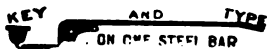


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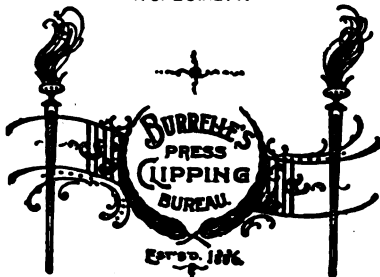
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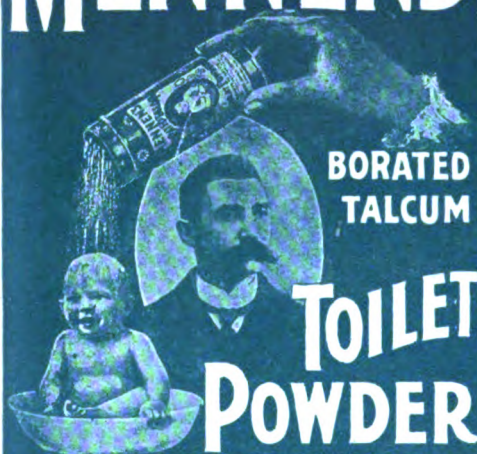
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